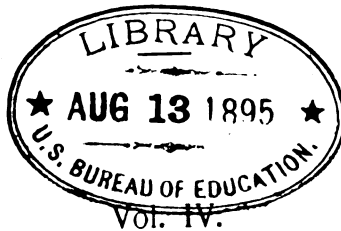


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THE AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

58.256

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EDITED BY
ANDREW J. PALM.



January to June,
1894.

NEW YORK:
ANDREW J. PALM & CO.,
114 NASSAU STREET.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS

JANUARY, 1894.

THE BALANCE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

BY DANIEL STRANGE.

THERE is perhaps no one subject in the whole domain of economic science regarding which there is such general lack of understanding, so much misapprehension, and so much of misrepresentation, as pertains to a balance of trade between nations. There is, moreover, no subject, I think, that has been so poorly studied and analyzed by economic writers, and since the fiscal systems of nations are built up largely upon theories, true or false, pertaining to the "balance of trade," it becomes a subject of utmost importance.

That I am not setting up a mere man of straw for my own amusement, I shall show by quotations from eminent men in exalted positions—and these quotations will fairly represent the prevalent teachings upon this subject.

So able a journal as the *Toledo Blade* published, January 30, 1890, the following :

IN OUR FAVOR.

The foreign commerce of the United States for the year ending December 31, 1889, is summed up below and compared with the figures of 1888 :

	EXPORTED.	IMPORTED.
1889.		
Merchandise	\$827,250,273	\$770,302,657
Gold and silver	91,623,632	32,218,221
Totals	\$918,873,905	\$802,520,932
1888		
Merchandise	\$691,760,050	\$725,411,371
Gold and silver	64,406,852	26,868,742
Totals	\$756,166,902	\$752,280,113

That is, we sold or exchanged abroad over \$116,000,000 of our products more than we bought abroad. Last year the balance of trade was only a little less than \$4,000,000. *As long as we sell more than we buy we are making money.*

There is no more common argument in support of this theory of a balance of trade than the last sentence illustrated by individual purchases, and, strange to say, to the common mind it seems all conclusive. Let us examine first the statement, then its application.

WE SHOULD SELL MORE THAN WE BUY. That depends entirely upon what you mean by buy and sell. If we sell all we part with in exchange and buy whatever we receive in exchange it is evident they are exactly equal. We sell our labor and buy the payment for it. We sell that payment and buy groceries. The payment is the same as the receipt. We simply exchange what we can spare for what we desire, value for value.

If to sell means to part with a commodity for cash and to buy is to give cash for a commodity, then it is true that if we sell more than we buy we are accumulating cash, but this can do us no possible good since we are barred from using it. The moment we expend or invest it we are buying, which is the thing we deprecate, and the balance is no longer "in our favor." But buying and selling never mean this when applied to business, and much less when applied to exports and imports.

If to buy is to receive, giving promise of future payment, and to sell is to part with, taking a promise of future payment, then perhaps the less we do of either the better—but this has naught to do with foreign commerce or with the sum of exports and imports. If the editor only wished to express the accepted adage that "We should live within our income," he has plainly misstated it. The income is the import; the expense the export, and he has exactly reversed an adage accepted by all.

This phrase, which is assumed to prove so much, proves nothing; if, indeed, it is not positively false.

A MORE CORRECT THEORY is at once reached by bearing in mind the literal meaning of the words, and this, indeed, is their only meaning: Export is to carry out, import is to carry in. If

from a man's pocket more is carried out than is carried in, the pocket will certainly become emptied. If a merchant carries out from his store more than he carries into it, it can only result in emptying it. The nation that carries out more than is carried in can only be impoverished thereby.

I asked the editor of *The Blade* this question: "Suppose we had found a better market abroad and had sold these same exported goods for \$200,000,000 more, thus putting the balance on the other side, in whose favor would that be? Or, suppose we had lost \$100,000,000 more than we did in mid-ocean, would not the balance in our favor have been \$216,000,000, instead of \$116,000,000?" He has not yet replied, but it must be plain to the understanding of the most ignorant, that a balance which may have been caused entirely by our losses and one that every incidental loss would add to, cannot be a balance "in our favor." Neither can a balance upon the opposite side, caused by more fortunate sales abroad, be rationally regarded as an adverse balance, although that term is so frequently applied to it.

A simple illustration is this: I exported last year, not to a foreign country, but to the distant lumber region of this state, a carload of horses, sending my agent with them. They had definite value here; that would be their export value. If they did not bring more after shipment than they were worth here, I should certainly lose the freight, insurance, and expense. If they do bring more and my agent wisely invests the proceeds in lumber, shingles, and salt, my import will exceed the export. What would I think of an agent who would insist that my gains in this transaction were my loss because I "buy more than I sell" or of agents who would persist in bringing home less than they took away, and insist that this was a "balance in my favor"? Still we have for a century employed agents at Washington who have taught just this. For more than twenty years past our exports have almost uniformly exceeded our imports, and the whole protectionist school rejoice at the result and declare the balance is "in our favor."

James G. Blaine said: "Our imports from countries south of us, both insular and continental, on this hemisphere, were \$216,-

000,000. Our exports to them were \$74,000,000. The balance *against us* in our trade with these countries, therefore, was \$142,000,000. By no figure of speech can we flatter ourselves into the belief that our trade with our American neighbors is in a prosperous condition. How can this state of affairs be remedied? It is useless to remind the reader that it has ever been the aim of Mr. Blaine and his adherents to remedy (?) or prevent or reverse "this state of affairs."

In England, however, they aim at this result. Their exports and imports are very boastfully given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, for every third year, in sterling, as follows :

	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.
1864..	£212,619,614	£274,952,172	1873..	£311,504,756	£371,287,372
1867..	225,802,529	275,183,137	1876..	256,776,602	375,154,703
1870..	244,080,577	303,257,493			

Mr. Blaine insists this is a balance against that country of over five billion dollars; Great Britain regards it as a profit of over a thousand million pounds and is aware that this balance is a constant source of her rapidly increasing wealth. Mr. Blaine said, "In Mexico we lost \$10,000,000. Imports from Mexico were \$21,000,000; our exports to Mexico were \$11,000,000."

Is it possible that Mr. Blaine and his followers ever believed that this implies a balance against us, or is it a necessary part of the protectionists' policy to create a prejudice against imports in order to perpetuate their system? The object of this paper is, however, not to question motives but to discover truth. It is nevertheless astounding that statesmen renowned around the earth for their wisdom should teach a theory so manifestly false, and that their teachings should be echoed and repeated by the entire partisan press of a great nation.

A BETTER THEORY.—President Chapin, one of the most eminent writers on economic subjects, wrote :

According to the old mercantile theory which so long ruled the commercial world, trade was regarded as profitable only as it brought money into a country. It was assumed that the difference between the value of a country's exports and imports must always be adjusted by the transmission of specie one way or the other. Hence, the inference that the balance of trade must be in favor of a country when its exports exceed its imports, and *vice versa*.

A better exposition of the principles of political economy has shown that the theory is false, that the data are uncertain, and that the inference is unfounded and misleading. The true advantage of foreign trade is found in the imports. Trade between two nations is profitable when it yields to both this advantage, that with each the value of its imports exceeds that of its exports. This supposes the estimate to be made of the exports as they leave, and of the imports as they come in. Just here it is that the customhouse statistics are fallacious, since the exports are stated at their value here and the imports at their value in foreign countries.

The old theory of the balance of trade sets down the real profits of trade as against the country. This may be illustrated by one of the two hypothetical or real cases thus presented.

American merchants ship to England beef, boots, etc., worth, in New York, \$100,000; worth, in London, \$110,000. The avails of the sale are invested in British goods worth, in London, \$110,000; worth, in New York, \$121,000. The customhouse returns show for the transaction: Exports, \$100,000; imports, \$110,000; balance against us, \$10,000. And yet our merchants have made a clear profit of \$21,000, and have benefited the country to this amount.

Again, there are shipped to Cuba wagons worth, in Baltimore, \$1,000,000; in Havana, \$1,100,000. The proceeds are invested in cigars worth, in Havana, \$1,100,000; in Russia, \$1,210,000. The avails are invested in Russia iron worth, in Venezuela, \$1,331,000. This is sold and invested in South American products worth, in Spain, \$1,464,000; there olive oil is bought worth, in Australia, \$1,610,510. It is sold there for gold which is brought home. The customhouse reports: exports, \$1,000,000; imports, \$1,610,510; balance of imports set down against us, \$610,510—though the excess is so much profit received in that which, according to the theory, is to be considered above all things else, real wealth.

The profits of a foreign trade must appear in its imports whose value exceeds that of the exports, and under a sound condition of finance it is of little consequence whether the surplus brought in takes the form of money or of goods.

This is the theory accepted by students of economics and found in every cyclopedia, general or political, and certainly might be true, while the old theory is unquestionably false. It will be shown further on that this illustration does not take into consideration all the conditions of the problem. But what could Mr. Blaine mean when he said: "In the republic of Brazil we lost \$51,000,000. Our imports from Brazil were \$60,000,000; our exports to Brazil were \$9,000,000. . . . To sum it all up, our imports from countries south of us were \$216,000,000; our exports to them were \$74,000,000. The

balance against us in our trade with these countries, therefore, was \$142,000,000." Mr. Blaine would have us infer that we paid this awful balance in gold or that we went in debt to these countries to that extent. There is no shade of truth in either inference. But, suppose either were true. To buy hides and coffee for cash does not imply a loss—neither does it to buy them on time. But Mr. Blaine knew perfectly well that we did neither. It cannot be shown that at that time we were owing any country (or any man in any country) south of us one dollar, and as for paying any such balance in cash, our entire export that year of gold and silver coin and bullion to every corner of the earth was \$64,406,852, and our import at the same time was \$26,868,742—and for the next year similar sums. There is no indication anywhere of any possible loss to us. So far as customhouse reports show anything, they simply show an enormous profit to us—Brazil giving us \$60,000,000 in coffee for \$9,000,000 in machinery.

BUT CUSTOMHOUSE RETURNS DO NOT SHOW ALL OF THE FACTS. No one knew better than Mr. Blaine that a comparison of the gross imports and exports between two countries indicates no balance whatsoever unless the entire trade between the two countries be direct—as, in fact, it never is. Our trade with the countries south of us may in the main be called a three-cornered trade. British merchants go there with manufactured goods, which the people there want. There they exchange for coffee, which we want. They bring it to us and exchange for agricultural products wanted in Europe. If we got \$60,000,000 worth of coffee, we gave \$60,000,000 in products for it, and gave the British sailors a round bonus besides. Each country sold what it chose to spare and purchased what it wanted, and made an exchange which was mutually thought profitable or it would not have been made at all. If we paid Brazil less, we paid Europe more. We paid for what we got and there was no balance against us—and that Mr. Blaine knew full well.

That the balance between exports and imports of merchandise is not paid in cash is abundantly shown by the fact that the imports of every country, under normal conditions, exceed

their exports. Of course, no country and no merchant can send his goods abroad and receive less for them than they were worth at home, and pay expense of shipment besides. He always receives more or quits the business.

In our own country, for the first twenty years of our national existence, from 1790 to 1810, our exports were \$1,227,800,000 and our imports \$1,519,200,000. The balance could not have been paid in the precious metals. Having no mines, we had no cash except what came here as a part of that self-same "balance against us."

If our exports all entered into trade the result would unquestionably be as shown by President Chapin, as we would certainly not export unless the goods brought more abroad than at home, at least enough more to pay expenses. That other factors enter into the problem than those yet considered is shown by the fact that our exports have sometimes exceeded our imports for a dozen years together. It is not possible that our merchants persisted in sending their goods abroad for a dozen years, constantly receiving for them less than they are worth at home. Our total exports of merchandise in 1876 were \$540,384,671 and our imports \$460,741,190. A balance in our favor, the protectionists say, of \$80,000,000, paid in gold. But instead of this we exported that year in coin and bullion \$56,506,302, and imported but \$93,164,963. "Then it came to us the next year," they will reply. This is the assumption, but what are the facts? Our exports of merchandise in 1877 were \$602,475,220 and our imports were \$451,323,126—again a "balance in our favor" of \$151,000,000. But that year we exported coin and bullion amounting to \$56,162,237, and imported only \$40,774,414. So follow the years through. When there is an excess of exports of merchandise, there is, as a rule, also an excess of exports of money. The "balance in our favor" never arrives. For eleven years, from 1876 to 1886, our total exports of merchandise were \$8,022,790,955, and our total imports of merchandise, \$6,433,994,643. A balance equal to our national debt, or more than one and a half billions! Did we receive it back in any form? We did import in the eleven years coin and bullion to

the amount of \$500,662,238, but we exported at the same time \$471,022,001, a final showing for the eleven years of \$1,559,156,075 sent out of the country more than ever returned. Nine tenths of the people in America call this a balance in our favor. Political economists call it, on the face of the returns, a dead loss to the country. Which is it? Is it either? Is it neither?

In 1888 all this was reversed. Our exports of merchandise were \$695,954,507 and our imports \$723,957,114—\$28,000,000 “against” or else a profit, which? “An adverse balance,” they persist in calling it, “which we had to pay in gold.” Well, we did export that year coin and bullion amounting to \$46,414,183, but during the same time we imported \$59,337,986—a total excess of imports that year of over \$41,000,000. A clear gain to our country through commerce, say the economists. This condition was again reversed in 1891, when we exported of merchandise \$39,564,641 more than we imported and, instead of receiving this “balance” in cash, we exported coin and bullion amounting to \$72,649,195 more than we imported. In 1892 the showing is vastly worse, we sending out of the country, all told, goods and cash, \$216,227,803 more than we ever received in return.

And yet Secretary Rusk, in his report of 1892, says that our exports of merchandise were \$1,030,278,030 and our imports \$827,401,573, and adds, “We find that during the past fiscal year the balance of trade in our favor was over \$202,000,000, against less than \$40,000,000 last year, and an *adverse* balance of over \$28,000,000 in 1888.” Yet upon the same page where the learned Secretary got these official figures he could have learned that this “balance of trade in our favor” in 1891 of “less than \$40,000,000” was settled by our exporting \$108,953,642 of coin and bullion and importing only \$36,259,447. Also, that in 1892 instead of receiving from abroad \$200,000,000 in precious metals, as his statement would lead us to suppose, we actually exported \$83,005,886, and imported only \$69,654,540. Nevertheless he goes on to say, “By this foreign trade and the abundance of our own production, the United States has been made the creditor of the world for a sum exceeding \$200,000,-

000. But great as this may seem, the importance of this fact is but slight compared with the extent of the benefits conferred upon the entire country by the removal of these domestic products. . . . In all considerations of our foreign trade this feature of relieving the home market from a glut of production must always be the most important."

If this be correct, then the "most important consideration" would be fully met by burning our products, and the next greatest "benefit" is to send them abroad and receive for them two hundred millions less than they were worth at home. Is it not astounding that a man who has once been governor of a great state and once a member of the most important administrative council on earth, can utter such sentiment and find cause for rejoicing in the fact that in two years we sent abroad in gold, silver, and goods, \$328,486,612 more than ever returned to us in any form?

WHAT, THEN, IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AN EXCESS OF EXPORTS? We have seen what it is not; let us consider what it may be. It may be due to either one or a combination of the following:

1. Bad markets. We may ship to Europe a cargo of cattle, and find on arrival that they will bring less than at home. The export would exceed the import, but it is not a balance in our favor; it is a loss.

2. Losses at sea. If untold millions of our goods were wrecked in mid-ocean our exports would certainly exceed our imports, and the Secretary's most "important consideration" would be attained.

3. Contributions to famine-stricken nations abroad may cause our exports to exceed our imports. But where is the balance of trade? This is not even an element of trade. All these are losses.

4. May be illustrated by a hypothetical case: I, a farmer, sell to my neighboring grain dealer, grain worth \$800. Mr. Smith gives me his check on our local bank. I hand it in, asking to have it placed to the credit of my bank account. It is done, and the same taken from Mr. Smith's credit. He next

ships the grain to Europe, where it brings \$1,000, its export value at New York being \$900. Mr. Smith writes a draft requesting the consignee to pay to the order of our local bank \$1,000. This he pins to his shipping receipt, hands it in to the bank and it is at once placed to his credit, and with it he buys more grain. The bank, meantime, sends the draft to their correspondent in Europe, asking that it be collected and placed to their credit there. The consignee accepting it, this is done. The amount is taken from his credit and placed to the credit of our local bank. Meantime, I determine, as farmers might if they were reaping the fruit of their labor and capital, to make a tour of Europe. I ask my banker for \$1,000 in bills current in Europe. He writes me a draft on his correspondent for \$1,000. I expend in Europe exactly what my wheat brought there. It costs me \$200 besides my wheat, but the customhouse reports \$900 exported, nothing imported; balance in our favor, \$900, and yet so far as our country is concerned in the transaction, it sustained simply the absolute loss of the wheat, unless, forsooth, I learn in Europe what may be worth \$1,000 to my countrymen. But if I return, as tourists have done, to teach false and pernicious theories, the country may suffer much more even than the loss of the wheat.

Now, so far as it relates to the balance of trade, it matters not whether I expend the value of my wheat abroad or whether another goes and expends it. One hundred million dollars at least are expended annually by tourists in Europe. They do not carry cash, but drafts against our exported products. It is not a balance in our favor by any means, but a material loss to our country. If it indicates that we are wealthy and able to indulge in the luxury of foreign travel, it is well. If, on the other hand, it indicates that the unrighteous have robbed the wretched, and that millionaires are spending abroad what they have mysteriously wrung from the sweat of the toiling poor, it is a most deplorable condition—like that preceding the fall of Rome. If a false theory of the balance of trade in any way contributes to this result, it becomes a subject of the utmost importance to every American voter.

5. It may result from payments of interest abroad, interest on government, state, municipal, and railroad bonds, and private indebtedness. Rejoice, if we please, that we can pay our interest, but let us never call it a balance of trade in our favor; it is an export that does not enter into trade.

6. Payments of dividends abroad on foreign capital invested in our breweries, factories, railroads, mines, etc. It is the earnings of capital owned abroad and is rightly sent home, but it indicates nothing whatsoever regarding foreign trade.

7. Payments of our debts abroad. Large exports may result from great and rapid payments and may indicate great prosperity at home, but indicate nothing regarding the profits of trade, or whether there is a balance for or against us.

WHAT MAY LEAD TO AN EXCESS OF IMPORTS ?

1. Famine, crop failures, pestilence or wars at home, indicating great privation or unthrift. This could, of course, be but temporary. It must eventually be paid in exports, unless it is a gratuity.

2. Hiring capital abroad on either public bonds or private mortgage. This may indicate poverty and lack of capital at home, or, on the other hand, great and valuable natural resources which only need additional capital for their profitable development. It indicates nothing whatever of the condition of foreign trade. Without tracing its course, as in case 4 above, it may be said the capital we hire abroad comes to us not in the form of cash, but in imports.

3. Immigrants bring their wealth with them. This in prosperous years brings us millions of imports. In what sense can it be regarded as an "adverse balance" ?

4. Capitalists send their wealth here for investment. We welcome this if the owner comes too. If he does not, we wrangle over the question whether it is a desirable acquisition—it certainly increases the import. What has it to do with a balance of trade ?

5. If our people engage in commerce instead of employing the English as common carriers, the earnings of sailors would

come here instead of going there, thus increasing our imports. Would this be an adverse balance?

6. If we find foreign trade *extremely profitable* to us we bring home the profits, thus enormously increasing our imports. This might very properly be called a balance of trade, not a balance due anyone to be paid in anything but our positive profit from trade; but this is the exact reverse of what is still termed a "balance of trade."

CONCLUSION. We see, then, that an excess of exports may be due either to prosperity or adversity, to gains or to losses—but it can never indicate a balance of trade in our favor. But you ask, would it not be possible to ship abroad \$800,000,000 of products and sell them there for just enough more to cover expenses, freight, insurance, commissions, etc., and then purchase and bring home \$600,000,000 of imports and leave the balance, \$200,000,000, in European banks "in our favor"? Theoretically, this may be possible, and the loss in that case is the use of all the money invested and the time and skill employed in the purchase and shipment. A second shipment would never be made. Merchants do business for a profit, and the moment there is a profit of one dollar it is set down as a "balance against us"; and, moreover, the \$200,000,000 balance could do us no possible good while it remained there, and the moment it is brought home it is set down as a balance against us. Practically, this condition is impossible, as explained above; our exports do not all enter into trade, and their excess indicates no balance whatsoever.

An excess of imports may be due to so many causes that the fact of an excess alone cannot be assumed to prove either gains or losses, while excessive profits may pay for and cause large imports, they are no measure of the profits, and since portions of both exports and imports are each year invested in all of the ways indicated above, it is plain that the excess of either can indicate no sort of a balance whatever; and the phrase "balance of trade," as applied to an excess of either exports or imports, should be banished from our literature of economics.

Finally, a large foreign trade indicates a profitable trade, for

our merchants will neither export nor import unless they find it profitable to do so. The one exception to this is the case where an industry may be so depressed that its product is sold far below the cost of production. Its cheapness may lead to large exportation. This was markedly the case with agricultural products last year, yet Secretary Rusk glorifies the result.

MORAL AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION. Those who still cling to the defunct theory of a balance of trade, believe the importation of goods is deleterious and should be discouraged by a fine or penalty which discourages this and encourages the importation of money. Mark the result: If they are successful, this brings to this country a larger proportion of money than others have. This in turn necessitates higher prices, which all must pay. This, by just so much, of course, tends to check exportation. We can boom prices at home at our own sweet will, except of those products which we *produce in excess* of our requirements. When prices all along the line have advanced to correspond with wheat at \$1.00 per bushel, and Indian wheat is offered at 40 cents, our farmers must compete with the latter. Farmers pay the inflated prices but sell at the depreciated price. We shall then have large exports of farm products, and men like the late Secretary will rejoice; but farms depreciate in value, mortgages and millionaires multiply; "Wealth accumulates and men decay."

DANIEL STRANGE.

ASPECTS OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

BY NED ARDEN FLOOD.

THE labor question, a problem well defined and constantly growing in force within the last twenty-five years, is exciting the interest and attention of a larger number of citizens to-day than ever before. Periodical differences between employer and employed have continued to increase in number and importance, the attitude of both parties generally having become at times of such a belligerent character, the one forcing the other to such extremities, that the well-being of society and the public good, if nothing else, prompts the inquiry whether or no these continuous uprisings are the result of greed and oppression on the one hand, or the spirit of unrest savoring of anarchy on the other, or both.

Is the future one of hope or are we on the eve of revolution? Were the fathers of the Constitution lax in their perceptions of human equality or have the constitutional principles of this federation of states been subverted by one class of citizens to the detriment of another? Are these alarming conditions, recurring at every stage in our history, the natural accompaniment of industrial progress in the New World; and is there any limit to their frequency and continuance under the present system? Is the condition of labor bettered by this growing strife and, what is of vastly more importance, how does society fare in the aggregate?

These are questions which are demanding attention everywhere. Only from the merest theoretical reasoning can answers, in the least reliable, to these or more important interrogations be evolved at this time, and the problem must be left for ultimate solving in the future while we hope that the present and succeeding generations may not be dumb to the vital exigencies of the times.

There are as many remedies for industrial evils, having their full quota of advocates, as there are conditions to be remedied, and infinitely more. The forcible fact, however, is not found in the variety of solutions proposed, but in the lack of unanimity which exists in the minds of reformers as to the causes which produce these social and industrial enigmas and the methods for their relief. Without underestimating the value of the work done by those whose office it is to follow the development of our industrial system and who busy themselves with the problems incident to the struggle for industrial supremacy, we may look well to the methods employed by these persons and the motives which furnish them inspiration.

There is the politician, more or less a soldier of fortune, who bids for public favor by proclaiming in a loud voice his views on the equality of man, and the injustice of all things which do not at the time contribute to the direct benefit of one or more of the oppressed classes. He is no stranger, this political demagogue, for he is to be found in every community and in many legislative bodies. It is this same politician who, while asserting his allegiance to the labor and other elements of the population, more or less secretly blocks all legislation calculated to remedy any industrial evils, provided such legislation is in the least offensive to the monopolistic or capitalistic interests which are represented by powerful lobbies and often by legislators themselves.

In these later days large campaign funds are the sinews of war in a political battle, and there must be more than ordinary interest felt in party principles and candidates before such funds are raised in sufficient amounts. The immense sums of money which for eight years have been spent in State and national elections have not come from the pockets of the party workers or members. The political machine has developed the necessity for "grease," and it has found a way by which it may be obtained. Legislation to-day is very largely controlled by the political machine. It is not put up for sale and auctioned off to the highest bidder; if it were it might be better than it is. The machine better understands its business than publicly to

barter away its goods after this fashion. Campaign funds are in a great degree the product of the legislation in one way and another inspired and enacted by the machine.

The political machine appears to be a necessary evil. It is a very large factor in party organization, and if it does not control in every case it directs to a great extent the channels through which legislation is to flow. The machine politician is the friend of the capitalist who makes large campaign funds a possibility and a reality. The fact that he is the friend of capital does not imply that he favors business interests. There is a vast difference. Being so situated, this political charlatan, and his name is legion, secretly conspires to defeat the cause of labor if it is in the least at variance with the wishes of his monied constituency. So long as the machine, as it exists to-day, is kept in power, and machine politicians are elected to represent the people, movements for reform and especially those affecting the condition of labor can hope for but little aid in the way of helpful legislation. These are the conditions which do exist, and they are more real than imaginary. Only has one to penetrate the political maze of the times to discover the truth of the argument.

No less zealous in the advocacy of new methods is the labor agitator, or, if you please, the walking delegate. Rising from the ranks of labor he speaks for a known constituency, which he leads often to defeat. As disputes between employer and employed increase and multiply, the importance of the agitator becomes greater, and if no real differences exist he is not slow to conclude that there is gross injustice hidden somewhere and with that presumption in mind he proceeds. He agitates; he fashions his logic so that it appeals only to the passions of men; he avoids calm discussion and makes demands accompanied by threats. Business may be brought to a standstill, those who follow his leadership may suffer and their families may want for bread during a prolonged strike, but what is that to him—even though he knows the cause to be hopeless? Forgetting defeat, he traverses again the beaten track and leads on, it may be to another disaster greater than any that have preceded.

A disturbing element is this individual. He is no less selfish than the political demagogue, with whom he frequently has an alliance to deliver a quantity of "goods" (votes) for a stipulated consideration. The labor agitators, or walking delegates, who infest the cities chiefly and represent local district unions or assemblies, officiate as a particular class in placing barriers in the way of the peaceable pursuit of business. They stand for a kind of tyranny which reacts against their cause and lessens the public confidence in labor. The building strike in New York more than a year ago, furnished a fair example of walking delegate efficiency. Hundreds of men in the American metropolis were thrown out of employment, numerous building enterprises were stopped, causing great and unnecessary expense and inconvenience to the public, all because of a pretext evolved from the inner consciousness of a few professional agitators. At the World's Fair hardly a week passed during the period of construction which did not bring some complaint or demand from the grumblers of this sort.

If there are differences between employer and employed, and there are many, much may be gained by fair discussion, and a great deal may be lost by imprudent methods and the continuance of a system of representation and agitation which is antagonistic to reason. Labor may be contented in the belief that capital opposes the walking delegate system because of its power for enforcing demands, but the opposition extends further than the capitalist. The public does not hold the walking delegate system in high esteem. It is the public which now demands the abolishment of that system of unionism which produces this species of industrial obstructionists. "The tyranny of unionism" is a popular phrase, but a faulty one. As the politician is made to pray at times to be saved from his friends (at the best a doubtful experiment), unionism, if it gauges popular feeling aright, will be constrained to free itself of its walking delegates.

In marked contrast to the professional agitator is the labor leader of higher authority than the walking delegate. The men who direct the large organizations of labor to-day are of greater

calibre ; they represent a larger aggregation of interests and in the main are exponents of far-sighted policies, based on prudence and caution. I have in mind a dozen such men, whose conservatism and deliberate action in times of distress have achieved much of benefit to their constituents. Given just cause for complaint, they take pride in presenting their grievances in manly fashion, avowing the willingness to submit them to fair consideration, hoping for a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of differences without resort to questionable means. Their respect for the moral and legal rights of others is emphasized in the methods which they employ, and their success is evidenced by the great number of labor disturbances amicably adjusted, the news of which never reaches the public ear. They exert a restraining influence, which, though sometimes overruled by an organization's membership under stress of some powerful circumstance, is none the less creditable to themselves and their cause. Above all, I believe it may be said of this class of labor leaders, that they are, in the main, sincere.

Another school of advocates, who from time immemorial have occupied a vast field, are the clergy. The Scriptures have been interpreted as having direct application to the action of humanity in the broadest sense, as it may mean the highest possible attainment of pure living. Especially have Christian teachers sought to point out the way to social regeneration and by successive stages there has developed a theory that the cornerstone of human equality and the guiding force in the affairs of men is to be found in the Sermon on the Mount, supplemented by the Ten Commandments.

There are not a few clergymen to-day who, without the simple qualifications necessary, prescribe the Christian religion as a panacea for all ills, forgetting that there may be a distressed working-man within hearing anxious enough to be led in the right direction but prevented by the knowledge that the rich person who sits in a front pew, apparently holding to a Christian experience, is what men term a monopolist, and perhaps an oppressive employer of labor. If this be so, Christianity at once becomes unattractive, for, in the mind of the workman, if

it affords eternal safety to the one man whom he knows to be undeserving, by reason of wrongdoing during six of every seven days, he wants none of it for himself.

There is nothing wrong with the fundamental doctrines of the church; far from it; but the clergy err at times in the presentation of divine truth, and the working church does at times fail to assert its sympathy for the great army of people who work with their hands. In the solution of the labor problem the office of the church is by no means insignificant; however, it cannot be relied upon to supply the force which is destined to relieve the threatening character of the situation, because the differences which obtain must be met by measures positively and definitely capable of practical application to present needs. We have much to expect from the church in its effect upon the new generations, and it will inspire the men of this day to do far better things than they have ever done in the past. Moreover, it will make the Christian's duty plain in any premises and serve to heal many a wound in the body politic. The church is the mainstay of our civilization and furnishes a world-wide impetus for Christian conduct and pure living. Its influence, carried as it is to the farthest ends of the earth, stirs men to develop in themselves that eminence of character which has its effect on every community and every nation. But while the law of God may shine forth as a beacon light in the darkness of the age, the will of man stands yet as an insurmountable barrier in the way of anything like a universal acceptance of the benign influence of Christianity.

Allied to the church in many ways is another class of workers, who, for want of a better name, must appear under the somewhat indefinite title of social reformers. They urge the adoption of a variety of devices for social and industrial ills, many or all of which are deserving a trial, if not acceptance. The organized charity movements of this country, essentially of a social nature, are doing an incalculable amount of good, not to mention the social and university settlements of the Toynbee Hall type; notably in this country, Hull House in Chicago, Andover House in Boston, and Livingston House in New York; the social

scheme of the Salvation Army, the industrial schools, and the various enterprises, such as the societies for the suppression of vice and various forms of public wrongdoing, and the many other movements which are being pushed forward on the lines of education and practical Christianity.

Again, the numerous plans for industrial coöperation, such as profit-sharing, progressive wages, the premium system, earning sharing, coöperative stores, and other enterprises of like nature, are deserving of much attention. The average man of business is not slow to condemn any system which will decrease his profits as it may appear on the surface of things. He holds to the prevailing commercialism, however debased it may be, justifying his methods by those of his neighbor without thinking whither he or the rest of humanity is drifting so long as his profits remain undisturbed. A system which has been adopted and continued with success and, indeed, profit, in more than three hundred great and small business concerns in Europe and America, has some good in it. That is a modest claim to make, certainly.

Of the prevailing plans for the abridgment of the possible differences between employer and employed, that of profit-sharing seems to show results proving the general success of the method where it has been given a fair trial. More than ten years ago an experiment was tried in one of the large printing concerns in this country, a quarterly dividend being paid at that time to the foremen of the various departments according to the prosperity of their departments of the business. At the end of twelve months, recently, there was distributed by the same concern to more than three hundred employees, including errand boys and girls, a sum equal to five per cent of the year's wages. The payment of dividends in this case is made provisional upon the good behavior of the working people, and there is an agreement that there shall be no strikes and no opposition to the policy of the proprietor.

An examination of the records of profit-sharing institutions develops the fact that strikes, or differences of any sort between employer and employed are of rare and exceptional occurrence ;

the saving which accrues to capital from the self-interest of labor pays in many cases for the increase in the workingman's share of the results of production; the workman and his family are on better terms with themselves and the world; the remuneration of capital is fair, and probably no less than before the adoption of the new plan; and the association of capital and labor is peaceful, even friendly.

It is true that in many instances, owing in part to the peculiarities of some businesses, the profit sharing plan has not been a success, but it is encouraging to find so many cases where the association of capital and labor is not only cordial but profitable. If the profit-sharing system is not to be tried generally, at least let it not be condemned without a hearing.

Again, there is the socialist who would upturn society to-morrow if it were possible, and in the place of the present system, which we believe to be in the main competitive, attempt the transformation of this sphere into an earthly paradise along the lines of common ownership of the means of production. Notwithstanding the fact that socialism aims to bring about its transformation by peaceable means, it is obviously true that the end of socialism could not be achieved, taking the present status of society and the frailties of human nature into account, without recourse to armed revolt against the present order of things. As to a realization of socialism in this or any other country nothing short of war can bring it about and such an event we may hope is a long way off. Socialism may breed discontent; it may beget revolution and anarchy; at the same time opening the way for agitation if not discussion of the problems of industrial life, and, gradually gaining power as the years advance, it may effect some changes in the social and industrial organism, but it will not transform society.

In the brief space allotted for the task it is impossible to more than review in brief the field of reform, if such it may be called, and I have been compelled to pass over, on that account, many subjects which might more properly be considered than some to which I have given attention.

The one great fact patent to everyone who studies the indus-

trial conditions which now prevail in this country is that we are soon to be brought face to face with an Old World problem fraught with national dangers, which must be solved on a basis determined with careful regard to the conditions and peculiarities of American life. Elements more or less distracting are the natural accompaniment of every civilization. The distressing conditions which are imposed by some unseen force on the world's workers at every advance in the march of history are productive of new desires which must have their outlet in some kind of human effervescence whether for good or evil.

American labor has seen the concentration of capital effected with every advancing stage in our history as a nation. With capitalistic concentration has come greater power over the forces of production. Labor has witnessed this development; it has felt the increasing power of the very element of production with which its interests are allied, and in many cases identical, and labor now finds it difficult and at times impossible to treat with capital on fair terms, or to withstand the encroachments of capital in its own field. Large coalitions of capital have been much more easy of achievement than labor. Hardly a week passes now but what the news of the formation of one trust or more is chronicled in the newspapers of the country. A careful estimate of the capital of one hundred and seventy-five trusts now doing business in this country places the amount at \$1,500,000,000. There is apparently no limit to the concentration of capital in the United States.

Large coalitions of capital are permitted by law for the purpose of cheapening production, and the law as it stands does not prevent large coalitions of labor for the purpose of maintaining wages. In the one case capital has made use of favorable national conditions and has cheapened production, chiefly, however, for the benefit of capital. On the other hand large combinations of labor have been effected in the way of trade unions and other labor societies composed of skilled and unskilled workmen. It is a fact which must be accepted that labor has not achieved the beneficial results from organization which have accrued to capital from its wholesale combination, and, elimina-

ting capital from the comparison, the present status of labor is recognized as unfortunate and without the prospect of great success in the future.

The present condition of American labor is one of transition. Labor appears to be sailing against the wind without the help of a compass. Of concerted effort there is but little, while the forces of labor and the aggregated strength of the organized working people are becoming widely scattered and weakened. The strike has been the one weapon, the only power capable, in the mind of labor, for enforcing any great demand of righting any inequality. Strikes mean violence and intimidation of other workers; moreover, with us they have already approached revolution from which men turn with distrust.

There are methods of conciliation and arbitration, which, if properly applied, help to bridge the differences between capital and labor, but they are not such as have been prescribed by several of our state legislatures. The boards of arbitration which are provided for by many of our states are so handicapped that their office is merely perfunctory. They may inquire into the causes of a strike, but they have no power to carry on an official inquiry which makes it compulsory on the part of both labor and capital to abide by any decision which may be reached. It is an old proverb which runs, "Law cannot persuade where it cannot punish." If arbitration is to relieve the situation it should have the positive authority of the state behind it, and be made an active instead of a passive force in our industrial system.

Is there not encouragement in the hope that labor will abandon a policy, which, if it has not been a failure, has certainly not proved a success, and with the superior wisdom of the times, adopt new means for the achievement of its ambition, which shall be the improvement of the condition of labor and the protection of its rights?

As to the formation of a great coöperative organization (not necessarily a federation) reaching into every trade and industry and including all men who work with their hands, there can be no good objection. Much good may come from such an organiza-

tion, but it will necessarily have to be careful of its power and watchful of its methods. Labor has the power to right existing wrongs if it is properly used—but this, many say, is a practical impossibility. If the same energy were expended in selecting and electing men to positions of public trust that is used to carry on great strikes and periodically unsettle business, there would be better legislation than we now have, and labor would share in the result. The ballot is a national safeguard, and in the hands of labor it should be mighty in its influence to persuade and protect.

The labor problem is not an isolated one, it is allied to numerous problems of a social and industrial nature. In times like the present, when men jostle each other at every turn in the struggle for existence, there should be no diminution of confidence in the safety of the republic. Every honest reform is calculated to do some good in its special field, and all should be encouraged. It is not one reform that we may expect to afford entire relief to society, but all taken together have the means of doing incalculable good. Above all is the great good sense of the American people capable of analyzing a critical situation and in the hour of national peril adjusting the scales that there may be justice done to all citizens of the republic.

NED ARDEN FLOOD.

HOME RULE: A PLEA FOR FREE CITIES.

BY JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

THE American who goes abroad is met, whenever he ventures to speak in praise of his country, with a taunt at the misgovernment of its cities. Those American centers of trade and commerce, where arts and science flourish, and men renowned in every department of human achievement gather—authorities in government and finance, scientists whose fame is world wide, physicians, whose teachings upon the prevention of disease and pestilence are part of the library of every medical student—in those centers, where such men make their homes, in communities equal in intelligence to any on the globe, the administration of municipal finance is blundering or dishonest, public works are defective, and proper health provisions are set at naught; and, though the mass of the people are unquestionably honest, shrewd, and keen, the government of many of our cities is given up to as conscienceless a gang of rascals as ever in falling Rome plundered a Christian temple.

These cities offer a spectacle which is the despair of many who are the real friends of popular institutions. Their governments are governments of brutality and barbarism. The decent citizen who would preserve his character cannot enter into the degrading and vulgar competition for civic honors. He cannot associate with the noisy demagogues, whose professed love for the people is the hollowest mockery of honest poverty, upon which evil and corrupt municipal government imposes burdens almost heavier than it can bear.

There are men who talk as if the problems of municipal government were difficult of solution—that mere citizens unacquainted with public business, can form no conception of the matter. But give to any intelligent citizen the necessary ap-

propriations, and behind him the public spirit essential to his support, and he can solve these problems with less exercise of mental energy than the performance of the duties of his private business entails. And while the average citizen can know but little of the details of such matters, he knows what he wants, and should be able to select competent individuals to undertake the management of municipal affairs. It is not necessary, for example, to understand the law of rent to know that it is a costly piece of business to lay out and grade useless avenues, and boulevards, and roads and driveways to encourage real estate speculation—the most dangerous and destructive of all forms of speculation. It is not necessary to be a political economist, nor to know the reasons which condemn the payment by posterity of debts contracted by the living, to perceive that there is something wrong when the payment of interest on municipal indebtedness bears so large a proportion to the general tax levy; and that were the money annually paid as interest on public indebtedness expended in beautifying the city and improving its public works, this sum would of itself suffice to make a municipality like New York superior in beauty and the utility of its common functions to any modern or ancient city.

In 1840, when the population of the United States numbered seventeen millions, less than a million and a half lived in the cities; to-day, with the population returned by the Porter census of 1890 numbering sixty-two and a half millions, more than eighteen millions are urban residents, an increase from nine per cent in 1840, to twenty-nine per cent in 1890. This is due as much to the multiplication of cities as to the natural increase in city population. Everything is contributing to make us a nation of cities, of homogeneous communities, with larger corporate responsibilities and interests than can safely and economically be entrusted to the state.

At the same time, the responsibilities of cities have grown. Public works, which must be completed within short periods, necessitating greatly increased taxation and increase of bonded indebtedness, have resulted in the waste and misuse of public

funds. The very ease with which large sums of money could be raised; the complex systems of taxation, necessitating, with the increase of revenue, greater complexity in the machinery for its collection, add each year to the opportunities for corruption, and to the manifest difficulty of tracing large sums of money from their sources through all the avenues of their expenditure.

The increase in the number of urban residents, it will be seen, is out of all proportion to the increase of population. It is not our present purpose to philosophize upon the causes of this. There are those who see in it an indication of the increasing severity of industrial conditions among the farmers. United as it is with great depression in agriculture, much of the indictment of the philosophers of discontent seems to be borne out.

Yet there is another side to the picture. With every step in economic progress, in the methods of distribution more particularly, cities must grow in population and area. This process is a mark of real progress. Its accompaniment in modern times by the apparently accelerating impoverishment of the farmer does not illustrate the lesson it seems to point. It could only do so were the poverty of the cities less intense than that of the agricultural districts; and this unfortunately is not so. Indeed, it is questionable if, all things considered, farm labor does not yield a larger return in the necessities and comforts of civilization, and in far better surroundings, than the same class of urban labor.

The fact is, we are becoming a nation of cities. For observable as the tendency is everywhere to congregate in cities, in America, owing to many causes, this tendency is more rapid. And it will go on in spite of bad industrial conditions, and probably at a much more accelerated rate when those conditions shall have been improved.

To some ingenious minds the causes of the corruption of city governments are all satisfactorily explained. Only these explanations are various and conflicting. It is due to the large influx of foreigners, says the blue-blooded American, descended direct from the Dutch market gardener, who, with his long

stemmed pipe and mug of ale looks out at us from the pages of Washington Irving. But the explanation will not do, since most of the elective officers of our large cities are men who can trace their American descent for two or three generations. It is due to the Irish, says another, who forgets the reputation which Ireland enjoys, in comparison with other countries, for immunity from small larcenies and crimes. But that explanation will not answer, since cities are as badly governed in which there are but few Irish. It is to be attributed, says another, to the fact that those who pay no taxes control the government of the cities, which thus liken themselves to private corporations in which the control of stock is in the hands of non-stockholders. But the corruption of English cities is less to-day than in the time when the suffrage was limited to the rate payer. And who are they who pay taxes? Who are they upon whom bad government casts its heaviest burdens? Not, surely, upon property holders alone, but upon the masses of the people of the city—the poor and the middle classes, who in the end, out of the proceeds of their labor, must pay for it all.

The concentration of power in the mayor, and larger individual responsibility, rather than larger municipal responsibility, is the remedy which finds the most supporters among those who would bring about purification of city government. It may be admitted that, to some extent, this may be an improvement, in so far as it divests the state legislature of the control of what are essentially the city's concerns. But it has wholly failed to stem the tide of municipal corruption. The question of official responsibility, however, is an extremely delicate one, which need not be dealt with here.

The city of Washington is sometimes pointed to as an example of what may result in the establishment of city government where the inhabitants are deprived of the suffrage. But a shifting population, such as Washington contains, can much better adapt itself to government by commission. A stable community would regard such a form of local government with impatience. Abuses, moreover, would be much more likely to arise in permanent communities governed in the way Washington is.

In these and other ways there is no likeness which can suggest an instructive comparison between a city like Washington, and cities like New York. Yet the government of Washington is by no means free from corruption; and if some day a corrupt commission should choose to exploit Washington for its own financial emolument, the citizens of Washington would be entirely at the mercy of the commission, having no remedy save an appeal to the United States government. The result would be that the residents of Washington would soon clamor for a change in their present irresponsible form of government, to which so many imaginary excellences are attributed.

The remedy for the misgovernment of cities in the limitation of suffrage to the property holders may also be dismissed. For to say nothing of the obvious difficulty of carrying out such a proposal, the dangers from a disfranchised class, smarting under a sense of injury, are likely to be greater than the harm now wrought by ignorant non-property holders who, for want of a true knowledge of the manner in which taxes fall, vote away the property of other people, which they do whenever they connive at extravagance and corruption—with no thought that they, too, in so far as they do not participate in the stealings—are seriously affected by every unnecessary increase in the cost of public service. And one reason for vesting power exclusively in the cities is the threat sometimes made that the state legislature has the power to deprive non-property holders of their suffrages without consulting the cities as to their wishes in the matter.

And it is by no means certain that municipal corruption is due to the ignorant non-property holder more than to the designing holder of property. The appropriations made for public improvements in our large cities may frequently be traced to organized conspiracies among wealthy and *respectable* men to enhance the value of their property. This, rather than the votes of the thoughtless poor, is responsible for the piling up of municipal debt, the remedy for which is absolute local self-government, and the abolition of the bonding system.

Finally, there is the man who points to municipal corruption

as a conclusive demonstration of the failure of popular government. He assures us that the freedom of municipalities is responsible for the early excesses of the French revolution. Nothing could be more untrue. Municipal self-government was unknown in France previous to 1798 ; and the excesses of the populace were merely the mad rebound of a people, who having been so long governed by kings and aristocracies, knew not how to bear the new and unfamiliar burdens of responsible government. "The progress of France," says Lecky, in his *History of England in the eighteenth century*, "has been restricted by an incurable capacity for centralization and over-administration." The French revolution has been made to serve as an illustration for many strange theories, but never one more false than this. And it is proposed to show in what follows that the evils of city government in the United States flow from a cause the reverse of this ; that, in fact, the internal corruption and mismanagement of cities are due to the absence of municipal self-government ; that such freedom nowhere exists ; that American cities to-day have fewer powers of local government than village communities under Russian despotism.

The Saxon engrafted upon Britain the principles of local self-government—the free spirit of the ancient Teutonic towns. The *Doomsday Book* records how the inhabitants of the free Saxon cities offered to William the stubborn resistance of freemen—how Exeter itself, in its refusal to pay militia taxes, held out against the army commanded by William in person. The charters granted to these cities—Lincoln, Stamford, Chester, and others—the provisions of which the *Doomsday Book* contains—show that these cities, differing widely as they did in modes of government, were demanding in these immunities from the Conqueror, merely the preservation of their almost identical ancient liberties, toward which ideals these sturdy Saxon independencies had struggled. The charter obtained by the City of London stipulates that all should be lawworthy, or, as we should say, equal before the law. Under the laws of the conquest, these cities received their charters, and were thereby independent and free communities, so long as they paid their tribute to the

crown, raised in some cases not by the king's officers, but by themselves, and according to modes to which they had become accustomed.

All the details are very interesting, but hardly important in connection with the point we are considering. The important fact is the large liberties allowed to cities under the conquest, which were liberties before existing, and which announce the cause of the stubborn defense of their rights against a foreign invader flushed with victory. Nor did these separate independencies weaken the spirit of Saxon nationality. The memory of the great Edward was still a glorious memory, and did not fade in any one of these free cities. Long after the Norman Conquest, stories of Edward, from the lips of Saxon mothers, must have delighted the children gathered around the blazing hearth, awaiting the clanging of the curfew, at which sound all lights in the town must be extinguished. There in the darkness the Saxon churl rehearsed the liberties of older England; and the achievements of kings of their own race who had stood close to the people.

Then began the process—slow and insidious—which substituted the state for the city in the affairs of the latter; the selection of burgher aristocrats as functionaries not answerable to the people; little by little these free cities, in one way or another, were made tributary to the crown. Evils arose internally, but these could not now be corrected because of the aristocratic and monarchical spirit of wealth and influence arising from the sedulously cultivated disregard of municipal liberty for the purpose of strengthening the royal prerogative.

In the reign of Charles I. many of these towns were known as "town boroughs"; and the royal functionaries were used to misrepresent the aspirations of the people for liberty; and to present petitions in the name of liberty, for its overthrow; precisely as Charles himself, a few months later, dissolved an angry Parliament in the name of the people of England. It was the substitution of the royal prerogative for local liberties which aroused the spirit of resistance to the crown, and greatly contributed to the success of the Revolution.

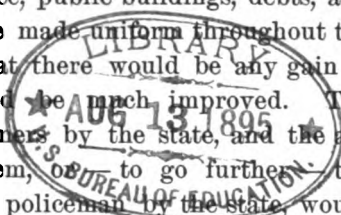
In the same way the New England towns, which stood for a sturdy type of local self-government, did much to urge forward the movement of resistance to English tyranny. These towns offer examples of the purest democracy, and of that local self-government which is the surest safeguard against oppression. They grew up side by side with the cities which received their charters from the British crown. After the establishment of American independence, the charters of these cities, restricting the exercise of local functions, under the dominating sway of the Federalist superstition, remained practically unchanged down to 1830. The slow growth of the Northwest prior to the Revolution, was due, according to Professor E. W. Bemis, to the absence of local liberties, all powers being vested by Great Britain in governor, council, and crown officers. Up to 1827, the towns of the Northwest could scarcely do anything for themselves beyond the collection of taxes for the support of their poor, and the destruction of noxious insects.

But the time came when the cities grew, and the towns dwindled; when the states became relatively less important; when the corporation expended nearly as great a sum as the state; when, in fact, the cities had to arrange the details of a distinctively more powerful and complex organization, with greater demands and responsibilities. With the growing importance of the corporations began the history of the conflict between the states and municipalities, marked, however, by the gradual but certain growth and extension of the principle of local self-government.

Nowhere in the world, at no previous time in history, have cities been such factors as they are to-day. Facilities of trade and enlarged means of credit and banking, the greater absence of civil strifes, the natural tendency to increased coöperation and combination, have all contributed to this result. The number of laws relating to New York City dealt with by the state of New York are steadily increasing. The number of special statutes passed by state legislatures for the government of cities in almost every state grows greater year by year.

No city in the United States to-day governs itself. Every mu-

nicipality is subject to the state in affairs that concern only itself. In most cities even the police administration is regulated by the state. There has been a great diversity of immunities allowed and powers conferred; but these have followed no settled principle in theory or practice. Municipal corruption has usually resulted in the abridgment of the power of mayor and aldermen to the state; and in the appearance of reformers who advocate the vesting of greater powers in the mayor. Hardly any one thinks at such times of vesting greater powers in the people.*

Unquestionably uniform regulation of municipal matters is to be preferred to special authority over municipalities. But if the laws of every city relating to police, public buildings, debts, and modes of collecting revenue, were made uniform throughout the state, it is not possible to see that there would be any gain in economy, or that matters would be much improved. The appointment of police commissioners by the state, and the appointment of policemen by them,  to go further—the appointment of every individual policeman by the state, would not only be no gain whatever in the matter of economy, but—to say nothing of the dangerous centralization of such power in a single head—would introduce further complications, and tend rather to weaken for effective municipal service every local police organization. It will appear to some that this would be to remove the police power from local relations with the corrupt rings which misgovern American cities. But it would transfer such power, enormously increased, to new relations with the more powerful rings which would govern American states. There is no more reason for making the police administration of cities a matter of state regulation than there is for doing the same thing with the fire department.

It is possible that objections will be judged against any comparisons which may be suggested between ancient, mediæval,

*After the overthrow of the Tweed ring, for example, a new charter was passed which practically deprived the city of all self-government, and which made the mayor and local officers little more than figure heads; so that a special act of the legislature was necessary to enable New York City to clean its streets.

and modern cities. It is true that Athens and Sparta stood to the Greeks in place of country ; that to be a Spartan was, to the man of Sparta, a greater glory than to be a Greek ; so, similarly to the Athenian ; that families rarely moved from city to city in ancient or mediæval times ; that these cities were recruited chiefly from within, not from without ; and that the inhabitants were not of mixed races, but sprung from a common stock, inheriting the same traditions, the same historical memories, the same ingrained customs and modes of thought—in most cases, the same religion, or the same habits of philosophy which stood in place of it—that all these things made for the stability of municipalities as against the different nationalities of our cities, their separate religions, their distinct traditions and national prejudices, and above all, the restlessness of modern life.

And yet the force of the argument is rather apparent than real. A form of municipal government is the business administration of the citizen's public affairs ; it is frequently influenced by his religious or national prejudices, just as his private business is influenced ; but such predilections rarely determine the form of either, and in the vast number of cases bear no relation at all, excepting as they are occasionally called into play for the purpose of injuring individuals who are candidates for public office. But if we will stop to consider, what seems an obstacle to the stability of local government—the presence of mixed races and many races—may be a positive advantage. We know how the body of customs and opinions, in a city whose population consists of a single nationality, is apt to resist innovations ; and how such conditions militate strongly against all advance and improvement.

It is frequently too true that national and religious prejudices are used to influence municipal elections. The existence of this spirit is to be deplored ; but it is to be attributed in great measure to the absence of vital issues. Under absolute local self-government, issues which are important to the people, improvements which all citizens would wish to see adopted, would make it necessary for those who were in favor of, or opposed to, certain given propositions, to place themselves for or against

these questions in campaigns or elections ; and this would have a tendency to overcome the present inclination of some of our citizens to range themselves in city politics on lines of nationality. Absolute local self-government would, moreover, in some measure, destroy the merely sentimental considerations of party ; and separate local issues from national or state issues, to all those not afflicted with the hopeless *rabies* of partisanship, which is the despair of all rational persuasion.

And, as a striking illustration of the effect which real issues would have in the obliteration of prejudice, national or religious, may be instanced the recent attempt in New York to overthrow a corrupt machine by an amalgamation of parties, in which were met individuals of every race and every creed, Protestant clergyman, Catholic priest, and Jewish rabbi. Make the government of a city dependent in all things upon those who live in it ; give to local issues that clearness and distinctness they would possess were they disassociated—in appearance and in fact—from state legislation and state politics, and such coalitions of men of all races and creeds would become the rule rather than the exception.

When neither nationality nor religion is recognized in the laws, there is little danger from a mingling of peoples of different religions and nationalities. Nor is the fact that American families move from city to city important ; since a newcomer may readily adapt himself to new conditions, and will find that the public responsibilities in his new surroundings differ but slightly in the burdens laid and duties entailed from those which he discharged in the city whence he came.

The consequences of what has been called “Municipal Cæsarism” are also to be met and considered. Municipal Cæsarism is bad enough, but alien Cæsarism ruling a municipality is worse. Municipal Cæsarism exists largely from the fact that cities have but small powers of government ; and that, therefore, the ordinary citizen takes little or no interest in municipal politics. The Cæsar comes into power as the boss of a machine whose only object is plunder ; and retains his power by influencing the police and the administration of justice, and through

these means using the saloon keepers, and the proprietors of gambling houses, places of prostitution, and others whose business is dependent upon the indulgence of the police. The power of feudal lord, though attended by gayer retinues, could scarcely have surpassed the power of the city Cæsar, in the exercise of irresponsible authority over the liberties, and sometimes even over the persons of the citizens. All things immoral and criminal in city life are his open or covert allies. His methods and his aims, if not openly avowed, are thoroughly understood. His Hessians stand ready to do his bidding in the high places of the public departments. The laborers who pave the streets look to him for employment in those periods of extraordinary activity in public improvements which precede elections. Lawyers of eminent respectability treat him with deference for the legal practice which the smile of his favor assures. Keepers of houses of ill repute, gambling saloons, and the like are contributors to the powers of the city Cæsar, and from the judges of the lower courts to judges in the district attorney's office are those who may be relied upon by the boss to postpone, to quash, to set aside, or to pigeon-hole such indictments as the authorities find it necessary to bring against the proprietors of these places.

These facts are known to many. When they are talked about nobody ventures to dispute them ; but the average citizen rarely hears of them, and when he does, hears of them only as isolated examples of corruption, and not as indications of what are common in nearly all of our large cities.

The influences of which we have spoken—together with the enormous power of public patronage, and in connection with the fact that the boss is not dependent upon the people of the city for the necessary legislation to enable him and his instruments to put into effect their schemes of plunder, but can procure it from the legislature of the state, which is not answerable to the people of the city, and which they cannot in any way control—maintain the municipal Cæsar ; but the effect of giving absolute control to the citizens over the administration of city affairs would be to compel a much closer attention to the details

of such matters, and make impossible the means by which the boss is enabled to grasp and retain the powers of city government.

The objection will be made that the population of cities is corrupt; that cities naturally engender corruption; that the system which corrects municipal extravagance by raising disinterested individuals as a bar to reckless action by the city is founded upon wise forethought. All this is plausible. But to the argument that the majority of men are vicious and corrupt—that they scarcely know the difference between right and wrong, and do not deserve to be free—what need be offered in rebuttal? What hope would there be for democratic government, or for good government of any kind, if this assertion were true?

Men who talk this way, in their hearts do not believe it. But supposing it to be true, yet the motive of self-interest is strong enough to make the majority of people in a city in favor of good government. This we must believe unless with Hudibras we admit that

“ Surely the pleasure is as great
In being cheated as to cheat.”

Ignorance and indifference are much stronger causes of municipal corruption than the viciousness of the people; admitting—which is by no means to be allowed—that any great numbers of the people would themselves become partners in corruption were opportunity offered. The real point is that they are not partners, but victims; and there is enough selfishness in even a vicious man to wish to prevent dishonesty in others, and to be in favor of honest public policy in the mass when he is one of the shareholders in that policy. The argument, then, of the inherent viciousness of men may be dismissed with the statement that whether true or false, it has no bearing in this relation. The indifference to public dishonesty, which is more or less manifest in many of our great cities, arises from the apathy engendered by an irresponsible system of city government, by the checks and balances which hamper freedom of political action.

The Tweed ring has been spoken of, that municipal banditti

of modern times, which continued its depredations long after the people of the city of New York had set up the cry of "Stop thief." And with the Republican party of the city arrayed against them, does any one doubt that their doom would have been speedier if the engines of power by which they worked their mischief had not been in great measure directed from Albany, and by men not answerable to the people of the city of New York? In other words, here was a ring opposed by a powerful party organization—the Republicans—recruited from the ranks of Democrats and independent voters, but using the Republican machine beyond the borders of the city of New York—the alien representation of the counties—to more strongly entrench itself in its robber castle. It is true that the Tweed ring grew and thrived by Republican alliance in the city itself; every corrupt ring which has made the government of American cities a byword and a reproach abroad, has flourished through such alliance; everywhere the right or left arm of the monster is Republican or Democratic. Those who pretend to see only purity in one or other of the parties, or, in fact, really regard the machine of either party as less corruptible than the other, are afflicted with mental ophthalmia; and to argue with such minds is criminal waste of energy.

With the treacherous members of the Republican party in the city who made common cause with the Tweed ring, the case was different than with the alien Republican representatives at Albany, who were the pliant instruments of Tweed. The former could be reached swiftly and surely by the voters of the city of New York, and punished for dereliction; but what cared Cuba, or Cayuga, or Canajoharie, how New York was governed? Self-preservation is the first law of cities; and what interests Syracuse is its own sewerage, its own debts, its own taxation—not another city's. And though in Orange County water came laden with diphtheria to infant lips, yet might it run in Oneida pure and healthful as the waters of Helicon. And the people of Oneida might speak with regret of the waters of Orange, yet—for such is human nature—that regret would not be tempered with the same keenness of anxiety, and the same severity of

practical measures, were the waters of Oneida similarly corrupted.

Absolutely self-governed cities would be the best sort of primary schools for the study of political principles. Every act of a city so controlled would contribute to popular education in the principles of government—would be a factor in moulding and shaping public opinion. The systems of checks, divided powers, and external interferences contribute nothing to the security of government, and are a bar to public progress. Representatives to the central legislature charged with direction of local responsibilities are anomalies in a democracy. Let the state in its charter say to the cities, these “primordial cells,” as they have been called, of a free state: We put no limit upon the exercise of your local powers, in so far as such exercise does not trespass upon what are essentially matters of state control. The mode of raising the quota of revenue demanded by the state you are at liberty to choose as seems best to you; arrange also the details of your excise legislation; and upon the amount of your municipal indebtedness we place no limit.

Municipal corporations exist for themselves. Let each be free to apply its own theory of government to its own affairs; do what may seem wise to it with its street railroads; apply the kind and degree of municipal control of gas and waterworks which may seem the most economical; raise by whatever means would seem to it the most efficacious its needed revenues; or decide by leasing its privileges whether it may not dispense with all taxation whatsoever. For if a city may be authorized by the state to erect a public wharf, and charge tolls for its use, as in the case of Pittsburg, then a city can be left free to charge for its tolls as New York does, or to abolish all tolls, and raise the entire cost of the city's maintenance by whatever means seem best to it.

The principle for which we are contending is to some extent admitted in the law of the highest tribunal. In accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, the state has no authority to authorize a city to incur a debt against its will. And a city existing under a charter that is silent as to the

powers of making municipal ordinances is qualified to make such ordinances. And these are legal where they are not in conflict with the general statute.

But, on the other hand, the city can do scarcely a single act not specifically authorized by the state. While this principle is definitely settled in law, conflicts are constantly arising, and litigation prolonged over those matters of municipal procedure against which the charters have failed to provide. Should the charters grant to the cities those powers which experience has shown and will further show, are their clearly defined powers, such provision will guard against future conflicts arising from the confused nature of such legislation, and sweep away an enormous amount of wearisome litigation. For the equitable operation of a municipal ordinance, where it did not conflict with the general statutes, or with the Constitution of the state, would be the only test of its validity.

Matters of common law are the concern of state or nation. General rights of property, on which depend the integral welfare of the people, are state or national concerns. So, too, there are riparian rights which are properly matters of state control in cases where trans-city commerce is dependent upon securing the best and most thorough facilities for navigation. In such cases where more than the interests of the city are involved, the amount of wharfage should be regulated by the state; but in matters of bridges, wharfage, and tolls, where these are confined to the transportation and exchange of the city, the city may safely be left to its own devices.

Counties, with their wider and more general but less intrinsically important relations, may be said to reasonably and justly derive their authority from the state, as having to do with the administration of larger territorial interests, which are part of the general or state legislation. But a city is a corporation, justly to be endowed with the rights and powers of a corporate body, where these do not conflict with the rights and powers of the state. And counties to-day may be said to have all that we are demanding for cities.

The creation of local powers by the state legislature would

give no authority to annul or abrogate a law of the state. Such authority would be used only in accordance with the will of the power which confers, and not against such authority. Thus any extension of a city's limits beyond the boundaries fixed in its charter, whether by purchase or agreement, would be a power resting with the state. The city's sovereignty would be local, and this is all that is asked for or implied in the demand for absolute local self-government.

The general proposition that a city should be left free to control its own internal affairs, will be understood without any enumeration of the things properly included under the general definition of the term internal. A city has frequently to go outside the city limits for its water supplies. Of course, the necessary authority to do this must be derived from the state. For the sake of clearness, however, it may be well to specify, under a few general heads, what is properly and naturally a city's business. There are doubtless other and minor matters which experience may reveal should be transferred to city authority.

Communication.—Roads, highways, and driveways, pavements, car lines. This need not convey the impression that the state may not have full power to construct a road or railroad running through the city, or any road or railroad beginning within and ending without the city limits. But merely that the city shall have entire control over all roads and railroads originating and terminating within the city limits. Roads other than these are the "king's highways," and are properly state roads.

Sanitary.—All drainage, sewerage, and quarantine. This need not, however, interfere with special health provisions by the state or nation.

Police and the administration of justice.—This would not interfere with the duties of a sheriff; nor with special action by the governor in calling the state militia into service, should it be needed for any purpose at any point. But it would properly include the selection of all officers of the judiciary who have the carrying out of city ordinances. Judges of courts empowered with the administration of state laws should, of course, be se-

lected by the state, or according to methods directed by the state. When the city judiciary is amenable to the state legislature, the appointments are almost certain to be dictated by the desire to strengthen the representation of whatever party is dominant in the state. Thus the legislature of Connecticut, which is Republican, has long maintained the control of New Haven city courts—that city being Democratic—by the selection of candidates to the judgeships, nominees being selected by the New Haven delegation, and ratified by the votes of the legislature. With the position of parties in the state reversed, the evils are the same in Jersey City, where the leader of a corrupt ring and a liquor seller, have been clothed with the powers to enforce the laws, which both have systematically set at naught. Such appointments as these never would be made in a city controlling its own affairs.

The effect of the present system is to minimize the opposition to unfit appointments, which men belonging to the dominant party in the state would make, did not such opposition endanger national or state issues which are matters of party conviction, and lead to the appearance on their part of sacrificing the greater to the lesser interest. With fullest liberties granted to the cities, matters of municipal government would cease to be questions of politics in the common acceptance of that term. In the conduct of a city's business it is of no importance whether those who are to carry it on call themselves Democratic or Republican. That a mayor of a city should be of a certain political stripe to effectively administer the city ordinances is no more a necessity than that the directors of a bank should be of the same religious faith as the depositors.

Public buildings, harbors, markets, cemeteries, public hospitals, gas and water supply, licenses.—The erection of buildings for national or state purposes is, of course, a matter for the state or nation. There are laws, too, relating to harbors, which may be said to be peculiarly the concern of state or nation. The question of licenses is an important one ; and it should be left to the city to decide whether poor people should be licensed to sell shoe strings, or the melancholy little pile of merchandise strapped

to the shoulder of the hawker of trifles be levied upon to sustain the administration of the richest city in the United States, and almost the richest city in the world, when the revenues raised in this stupid fashion are scarcely sufficient to meet the cost of collection.

Taxation.—The problems of taxation have been discussed by political economists; but the masses of the people have taken little interest in what has been regarded as an intricate matter of figures, and a subject of no particular concern to any but property owners. Complaint, however, is general against the inequalities in taxation. Here, in the system of city government proposed, is an opportunity to appeal to the people directly, and to permit them to arrange the kind of a revenue system they desire; and to test the merits of such as may be most strongly justified in argument.

Unquestionably, while the reform which this article advocates will seem radical to an unusual degree, the whole trend of political thought and progress—even among conservative and retroactive statesmen—lies along the lines of larger privileges to communities in the management of their own affairs. One would hardly expect to find, as an illustration of this tendency, the leader of the party in England whose chief tenet is antagonism to the idea of home rule. Nevertheless such is the fact. Lord Salisbury, in a remarkable speech delivered on May 30, 1891, said: "I venture to make remarks in favor of decentralization, of avoiding as much as possible the extreme interference and officialism which arise from centralization, and pointing to the powers of municipalities as the great remedy for such an evil. . . . I should like to give to the municipalities, the municipal authorities, the oldest representatives of popular government in this country, the very utmost power in dealing with all legislation that is of a business-like character."

The subject of the administration of a city's affairs has not been regarded as an important one by the student of civil government. Yet evidently any careful inquiry into our laws and institutions cannot omit the part which has been played by cities in shaping and forming our theories and practice of gov-

ernment. For the city is the oldest form of political organization. Even in the United States the city or town antedates those political organizations corresponding to our idea of the state. It is important that our forms of local government shall be studied with a view to perfecting them; and this work of perfecting the laws of city and township is the best sort of preparation for the performance of the citizen's duties to state and nation. Were our cities self-governing units, the citizen would become at last in name and in truth a citizen. For the full daylight of publicity would beat in upon every elective office. Civil doings would lose their secrecy and their mystery. Taxation would come to be perceived as the thing it is. Public works, when their execution and cost were matters of direct relation to the city, would touch more acutely the citizen's sense of interest in what is being done with his earnings.

Not only would the government of a city and its politics be relieved from state entanglements, but state politics would cease to be under the dominance of corrupt municipal rings. The local halls which now misgovern cities, and which reach out and corrupt the sources of state politics, would be shorn completely of all powers in the state. State legislators would cease to find such independent action as they might wish to assume upon purely state matters hampered by local considerations, by the fear of local bosses and local rings. Governors, senators, and assemblymen, would be free from those entangling alliances with municipal politicians, and the petty considerations of local patronage. Official honors in the state would take on a new dignity, and municipal offices new responsibilities, which would induce a keener discrimination in the selection of nominees.

This system of local government is scientific as well as democratic. It makes allowance for the circumstances of time and place, and all possible peculiarities of situation.

Will municipal extravagance and corruption run riot? Will some communities ruin themselves by running in debt? If these results condemn a system, surely the present system is condemned; and the dangers of such results cannot be greater than now. But it will appear upon a little thought that the reverse

of this is more likely to happen. Think of how the creation of municipal debt is encouraged by the present system. Act 4,011 beginning, "Be it enacted," authorizes the city to issue bonds for the construction of a sewer in some remote part of the city, and is composed in its various provisions of an interminable string of legal and technical phraseology, which nobody, except those personally interested, ever reads. Then the comptroller, in some obscure corner of a newspaper, offers the bonds for sale—an announcement read chiefly by those anxious to lend the city money, and passed unheeded by the average citizen. Then in some court the assessment upon property owners benefited by this public improvement—or a portion of such assessment—is set aside, and the burden falls upon the city in increased taxation. Now suppose the issues of bonds for all purposes were matters of debate in the local chamber. The whole subject of municipal indebtedness would loom up in its true proportions; the justice and expediency of a system of paying as you go—which every man knows is a better method of conducting his private business—would soon appear the best method of conducting his public business. Does it not seem as if the exclusive power of the city over the issue of its bonds is the surest way, ultimately, of demonstrating the evils of the assumption by a city of any indebtedness?

The power of cities to create debts has been looked upon as injurious to the welfare of the cities, and it is urged that this power should be taken from them. With the usual halting policy of men who will not think to a conclusion, it is argued that the amount of indebtedness which a city may assume should at all times be limited by the state. But why, if such power is dangerous, it should be granted at all, is a pertinent question. And the fact of such limitation, if we will stop to reflect, is as dangerous as an unlimited power to create debt. For in the latter case the limit is pretty certain to be reached, whether there be a real need for the money or not. And why a city may be trusted safely with a million, where it may not with twenty million, is a query which will be found difficult to answer. Why we should carefully limit the city's power to

create debt, while doubting that cities are wise and virtuous enough to limit their own indebtedness within reasonable bounds, is inexplicable. For if they be not wise or virtuous enough to limit their own indebtedness, then they may not be trusted even with limited powers.

Cities have frequently issued bonds beyond the limits fixed by the Constitution, and it is a question still unsettled by the highest courts in the land, whether a city is answerable to the innocent holder for debts incurred after the constitutional limit is reached. Acts of the state legislature directing the issuance of bonds by the municipalities for the building of railroads, have frequently resulted in extravagant measures being forced upon the cities against their will and wishes, and have defeated the very purpose sought for in the constitutional limitation of the debt-creating powers of the city. So a defense of the reasonableness of such constitutional limitation based upon the fact that so many cities have touched the limit only because of extravagance, receives its own answer. Leave the debt-creating power, tremendous as it is, to the city, and instead of the irresponsible assumption of his burden by the citizen, ignorant of the whole matter, we shall have men more keenly alive to their relations as members of a corporate body interested in the assumption of debt, and finally, in all likelihood, awakened to the stupidity of assuming any indebtedness where all municipal service may be paid for out of the annual tax levy.

Is there no equilibrium, no balance of authority—phrases which too often are made to serve the office of ideas—between city and state? There is none. It is precisely these fanciful theories of government, of checks and counter-checks, which have brought our so-called democratic communities largely under irresponsible control. Self-governed communities, in their various operations, would in time produce a model system of government. Experiment would follow experiment, and out of a thousand imperfect or abortive attempts to approximate to what is best, the model city would rise at last for the admiration and imitation of all its rival cities.

Local self-government, as has been said, is the surest safe-

guard against oppression. Not that communities may not oppress themselves—may not pass laws which hamper and restrict; but how much more sharp and keen is such oppression likely to be if the power to enact and enforce it is left to men who do not feel the smart of the blow they inflict; and how much more quickly would such oppression be removed if the power to correct it were possessed by those who administer and endure.

Eternal vigilance and alertness are the price of liberty. And it is precisely because men are more likely to be alert and vigilant when upon them alone rests the burden of responsibility, that the government of a city should be left to its natural governors—*i. e.*, the people who inhabit it.

Where local freedom does not exist, freedom itself is moribund. For robbed of self-government, men are helpless. Institutions in the likeness of democracy that give to central authorities powers over local concerns, are a despotism hidden and insidious, and therefore more dangerous than the tyranny that makes its menace boldly and openly. Freedom demands that the business of corporate partnership shall rest only with the partners. External interference is the death of civil life; and in these seemingly small considerations is involved the preservation or sacrifice of all that makes for liberty as against all that makes for despotism.

Mankind as it is, mankind as it might be! Cities as they are, and cities as they might be! These are wide questions. Men with ideals think they see a glorious future for humanity, when it shall be purged of much of its grossness, trade and commerce made unselfish, want destroyed, and in the trail of it, greed and crimes against property—which spring from want or greed—abolished utterly. All this is by no means unprofitable speculation; the ideals differ, but the hope is indivisible and one. The practical reformer bids the idealist be assured; the truth toward which he struggles shall be for the world some day, if not precisely in his way, at all events, all and more than he ventures to anticipate.

With the facilities now at man's disposal, with the enormously increased economies of production, a city is possible that will

more than rival the Utopias that were merely dreams in the imagination a century or two ago. The ardent spirits who recoiled—some with natures soured and minds embittered—from the disappointment and failure of the Brook Farm experiment, may not live to see the Utopian city grow ; but some day it will come.

Absolute local self-government will not of itself build the fair city. But it will enable any municipality to be all and more than seems fitting to the discussion of the subject in sober dispassionate prose.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

FREEDOM OF DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

BY. E. N. DINGLEY.

THE exhausting and exhaustive debate in the United States Senate on the repeal of the purchase clause of the so-called Sherman Silver act, occasioned many harsh criticisms of the highest legislative body in the land, and particularly the minority thereof. The sentiment was freely expressed that the action of the minority was revolutionary, in that it subverted a specific right delegated to the upper branch of Congress, namely, the right to legislate. Several remedies were suggested, among them (1) a Reed in the chair to put the motions, (2) the adoption of a rule allowing the majority to set apart a day on which a vote on the main questions should be taken, (3) the adoption of a rule permitting the moving of the previous questions. As to the remedies suggested, all but the first involve a revision of the rules, while the first assumes that a Reed would either act without rules or violate existing rules, neither of which assumptions appears to be reasonable. Those involving a revision in the rules are merely different formulas of the same remedy. They involve a curtailment of debate and a forced vote.

Now that the smoke of the battle has cleared away, the facts appear in a clearer light; and a post mortem examination gives rise to a suspicion that the first public diagnosis was not correct, and that therefore the remedy suggested is not justified by theory, by precedent, or by fact.

WHY RULES EXIST.

Theoretically the rules of every legislative body are for the protection of the minority. Jefferson says in his manual: "The only weapons by which the minority can defend themselves against attempts from those in power, are the formulas and rules

of proceedings by which the weaker party can be protected." The rules of parliamentary procedure which came down to us from the British Parliament were comparatively few and simple, the underlying objects of which were : first, good order ; second, freedom of discussion ; and third, the protection of minority. Any kind of a gathering, great or small, assembled to accomplish some fixed object, might do its business just as well without as with rules, if a unanimity of opinion prevailed, so as to preclude the necessity of any discussion. But no body of citizens in a representative democracy, or limited monarchy, ever assembled under such conditions. Hence something is necessary to permit the different shades of opinion to be expressed with perfect freedom, so as to avoid all danger of coming to a hasty or wrong conclusion, or of permitting what appears to be the majority to oppress what appears to be the minority. Equal representation of states in the Senate was decided upon after an exhaustive discussion in the original Constitutional Convention, as a safeguard against and a check upon the probable hasty action of the lower house, the representation of which was based entirely upon numbers. The triumph of the plan finally incorporated in the Constitution was a triumph of the conservative element which from experience and by intuition feared the oppression of mere numbers. The Senate was looked upon as the conserving body of legislation standing between the populace and possible shipwreck ; and subsequent events show how accurately the framers judged the present and discerned the future. So that when on Thursday, April 16, 1789, the first rules of the Senate were reported and adopted, and business was undertaken under those rules, some of the senators even went so far as to apologize for having rules at all, the dignity of the Senate and the courtesy between members being such as to well-nigh preclude the necessity of binding rules. So strictly did the senators guard the freedom of debates and chafe under the restriction of any rules that curtailed an honored right, or gave new powers to the presiding officer or the majority, that every attempt to follow in the steps of the populous lower branch in the matter of rule-revision, was stoutly resisted.

THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.

Rule VIII. of the original rules adopted by the Senate in 1789 permitted the moving of the previous question, as it was so called. The previous question here adopted, however, was not the previous question of to-day. It was rather the previous question in its original signification handed down from the Congress of the Confederacy for the purpose of defeating a consideration of the main question on that day, the mover always being the one who desired to have the question go over. When, however, the previous question came into use as a means of bringing the house to an immediate consideration of the question, and thus shutting off debate, the Senate at once dropped it. The house, however, retained it. Thus the same parliamentary motion has met with a fate in each house of Congress, differing as the inherited theories and tendencies of the two bodies differed. March 26, 1806, a new set of rules prepared by the Senate was adopted and printed. Rule VIII. of these rules omitted the previous question in the list of motions that could be made when a question was before the Senate. Thus the first and only check to the freedom of debate was obliterated.

ATTEMPTS TO CURTAIL DEBATE.

In April, 1826, an attempt was made to give more power to the vice-president as a presiding officer, by permitting him to call a member to order, which involved the latitude and freedom of debate. Vice-President Randolph in the chair, said :

The power of the presiding officer on these great points is an appellate power only ; and consequently the duties of the chair commence when a senator is called to order by a senator. . . . What the opinion of the presiding officer is in relation to the freedom of debate, in this body, it will be time to declare when a question may be presented; but such as it is, it will be finally, and, I trust, I may add fearlessly, maintained. But I rejoice that the rules of the Senate, on a point so important, gave to the chair no original power, and that it can exercise no control till called on by the Senate itself.

The proposition was rejected.

In March, 1826, another attempt to amend the rules so as to require the president to call a member to order was defeated. Mr. Randolph made this motion :

I move that it is inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the

state to vest in the vice-president the power of calling a member of the Senate to order, whether subject to an appeal to the Senate or not.

Thus all attempts to permit or require the presiding officer to interfere with a senator when talking was defeated. In January, 1832, Senator Foote introduced a resolution proposing an amendment to Rule IX., providing that "no debate shall be permitted until the second is put, and that the question of consideration shall be decided without debate." Senator Miller, of South Carolina, regarded the proposed alteration as subversive of the rights of the minority. Senator Benton said :

If the liberty of speech was to fall in this house, it would not fall silently nor without a struggle. If the majority attempts to deprive the minority of leave to speak, the people should know it.

The resolution was laid on the table.

The debate on the sub-treasury bill in June, 1841, during an extra session called by President Tyler, gave rise to an attempt on the part of Mr. Clay to hasten matters by amending the rules so as to permit unfinished business to be taken up "without waiting for the usual hour of one o'clock." This was the signal for opposition. This memorable contest over the rules, I might say determined in a measure whether the principles of the old Federal or the Republican party should prevail ; and the result was perhaps as momentous then, as the result of the recent silver contest is now. Mr. Benton said :

It seems to be an attempt to cut down and shut out inquiry in a way not hitherto known to Congress.

Mr. Clay replied :

Let the talent of both sides of the house be measured and put forth, and then let the vanquished party submit with dignity and not descend to a mere physical struggle.

Mr. Benton said :

This attempt to execute the objects of the dominant party in a summary and compendious way is very odious. . . . I mean to speak if I have to speak until the church bells ring to-morrow. . . . I have rights and will exercise them.

Mr. Buchanan said :

There is a courtesy among the members of this body which renders it always easy for gentlemen to accomplish their wishes as to the order of business.

Mr. King said :

It is the duty of the majority in every public body to allow the minority a full and fair opportunity of discussing every measure proposed. To deny this is a species of legislative tyranny.

Mr. Calhoun said :

Very rarely is such a thing witnessed as the attempt to thwart a measure by the mere consumption of time by a resort to the technicality of rules.

Mr. Clay replied (and the reader will mark the similarity between his observations and those of the repeal leaders in the recent silver contest) :

After the expression of public opinion which has taken place from one end of the land to the other, are we to stand here five or six days on a stretch discussing that which the people have already decided ? To what good end ? Would it change the opinion of a single man ? Would it do anything but consume the public time ?

Mr. Calhoun said :

I deny that the people desire action alone. They demand that we should act wisely. . . . The attempt to cut off debate is a thing unprecedented in the Senate. I shall resist it.

Mr. Allen (Ohio) said :

If you (Clay) press this to a vote, I can tell you that you will have to sit here many a long and sultry night. All of us from the youngest to the oldest can and will say something.

PRECEDENT ADHERED TO.

The discussion was long and sharp, resembling closely at times the discussion which recently took place in the Senate. As far as I know, this was the first time when a minority deliberately sought to delay legislation by talk. But, notwithstanding, a motion to lay Mr. Clay's resolution on the table was defeated. The resolution was materially inspired to suit the wishes of the minority, and the curtailment of the freedom of debate for which the minority contested was effectually stopped. Up to this time it appears that notwithstanding a sentiment had prevailed among many that time was wanted in debate, nevertheless the majority in the Senate when brought to the test refused to reverse the rule made sacred by time-honored precedent, that discussion should be unlimited in the highest legislative body in the land. In every instance, also, when an at-

tempted departure has been recorded, the initiative was taken by the party in the majority. If the same party happened to be in a minority, it was more than likely to be found resisting any interference with the rules looking toward a curtailment of debate.

So long had this theory of senatorial courtesy and absolute freedom of discussion been in vogue in the Senate that Mr. Douglas' resolution "admitting the previous question when demanded by the majority" was laid on the table. This was August 28, 1850. Thus the previous question operating as a "gag" met its fate in the Senate the first and only time it was, I believe, ever proposed.

REASON FOR NOT CHANGING THE RULES IN 1850.

Debates in 1850 and 1851 on adding the words "without debate" to the question of consideration, again developed the fact that a majority of the Senate was jealous of its right of discussion.

In 1851 Mr. Bell on this subject said :

Our rules are sufficient now to stop debate if necessary.

Mr. Davis (Mississippi) said :

I think that we do not require to be controlled by very stringent rules, such as might be essential for the government of a mob. I believe that our rules are sufficient. This is a body too dignified to be held in such close restraint as might be required by one more turbulent. . . . The few rules which the Senate has heretofore had, have been sufficient.

The amendment was rejected. Thus the conservative spirit of the Senate prevailed and a majority decided not to curtail its "freedom of debate." February 18, 1858, another attempt was made to compel the question of consideration to be decided without debate. Mr. Bell made these among the observations :

Most of the rules of this body are formed with a view to protect and allow equal rights and privileges to the minority like the guarantees in the Constitution itself. If you mean to allow a majority to do as they like, you need no rules ; majorities do not need their protection ; rules are for the minority.

Mr. Hale (New Hampshire) later made these observations on amending the rules so as to stop debate :

In my opinion, the attempt to legislate and amend the rules every time there is any excitement growing out of an excited state of affairs will be found to be mischievous. Error will flow from it. The safest rules to govern are the rules as they have been established by the successive wisdom of Congress and the predecessor of Congress, the Parliament of Great Britain.

He spoke passionately of the right of debate.

It will thus be seen that in every instance the majority in the Senate has scrupulously guarded this freedom of debate—a right handed down to that venerable body from the beginning.

WHY CHANGE THE RULES NOW?

The Senate rules, as they stood when the recent silver contest began, did not permit the use of the previous question to stop debate. It is not, however, the fault of the minority that such was the case. The well-guarded "right of debate" was legally and constitutionally taken advantage of, that was all. Delay in senatorial action is not synonymous with revolutionary tactics. Senator Lodge well says in a recent article in the *North American Review*: "There never was a time when they (the Democratic majority) could not have brought about a vote with the assistance of the chair." And if such is the case, why revise the rules simply to fit some alleged emergency?

As a matter of fact, events proved that it was not the rules or lack of rules that was the cause of the long delay; it was the Democratic majority itself, and Senator Gorman practically confessed it, in the debate October 28, 1893, when he said:

Complaints have been made of delay in this matter. I am glad of the opportunity to say that those of us who intended to vote for its final passage believed that we were in the minority, and a delay of weeks became necessary that we might convert enough to pass the bill.

Such being the case, what becomes of the assault on the "impotent Senate" and on the revolutionary minority that was subverting the constitutional right of the majority to legislate? The assault upon the Senate as a body, and the ridicule of the so-called senatorial courtesy seem in the light of theory, precedent, and facts, to have been ill-advised. The Senate has found no difficulty thus far in its history in legislating under the rules by which it was governed during the now famous extra session of 1893.

I have briefly pointed out and reviewed parallels of the recent situation; but in every instance the Senate extricated itself, preserved its dignity, maintained its time-honored precedent of "freedom of debate," resisted all attempts to curtail discussion, and finally legislated as the majority desired. Why then should a gag rule be inserted at the threshold of the second century of senatorial life? If the protection now given the minority—if the freedom of debate accorded every member is now surrendered, the time will come when, after some sudden political revolution, which is likely to take place at any time, the right-thinking and law-abiding citizens will regret the change.

Let the venerable dignity and courtesy of the Senate alone. It rests well on the shoulders of the honorable gentlemen, and aids in preserving the constitutional character of the body of which they are members. Freedom of debate in the Senate never has been and never should be curtailed.

E. N. DINGLEY.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS.

BY CHARLES ROBINSON.

SINCE the publication of Mr. William Dudley Foulke's article in the December number of *The Forum* in answer to the query, "Are presidential appointments for sale?" the aspects of the "Van Alen scandal," which form the basis of his remarks, have changed entirely; but the ethics of the case remains the same. The pretenses on which Mr. Foulke and those who think with him affect to condemn Mr. Van Alen's appointment are transparent. When we remember that these howling dervishes of civil service reform all stood calmly by, and uttered no word of protest when other high offices were bestowed in return for party services similar to those rendered by Mr. Van Alen, and on men in every way less qualified to fill them, the gorge of every fair-minded citizen must rise at their prolonged canting over this gentleman's case. Indeed, to judge from the manner in which some persons have held up their hands in horror over Mr. Van Alen's appointment, one would think that it was the first time they had ever heard of money being used in a political campaign or that an office had been given to a man who had made a campaign contribution. Every one who knows anything about politics knows to the contrary. Such appointments are made every day, and are accepted as a matter of course.

If some of the political Pecksniffs who foresaw in Mr. Van Alen's appointment a "fatal blow to popular government" and a sure sign of the "ultimate extinction of our patriotism and public spirit," had taken the trouble to think—a form of mental recreation in which such superior persons rarely indulge—they might have recalled the fact that of late years several well-

known gentlemen who contributed generously to the campaign funds of the two great political parties have been justly rewarded by appointment to important offices. Thus, it is well known that Mr. Whitney contributed a large sum to the Democratic campaign fund in 1884; yet when he was made secretary of the navy no word of protest was offered. To cite only a few more recent instances: It was pretty generally understood in 1892, when President Harrison made Mr. Jefferson Coolidge minister to France, that the appointment was largely due to that gentleman's liberal contributions to Republican campaign funds. At least one of Mr. Coolidge's Republican predecessors, ex-Vice-President Levi P. Morton, was likewise said to have been given the French mission in recognition of his generous campaign contributions. So, again, there can be no doubt that John Wanamaker was appointed postmaster general as a reward for his having collected a campaign fund of something like \$100,000 in 1888. It was a matter of common gossip during the last presidential campaign that a prominent Philadelphia manufacturer contributed nearly \$100,000 to the Republican fund, on the implied understanding that in the event of General Harrison's re-election he was to receive "recognition" in the shape of a cabinet portfolio. General Harrison probably was not a party to this understood if not declared contract; nevertheless, if he had been re-elected, there is little doubt but that the gentleman in question would have received this reward.

When Mr. Van Alen, who contributed in the neighborhood of half this amount to the campaign fund of the victorious party, was appointed ambassador to Italy, he was assailed with coarse personal abuse by such of Mr. Cleveland's quondam supporters as had failed to receive "recognition" at the hands of the president. There was never any real basis for the somewhat hysterical opposition to this appointment which manifested itself in these quarters. It was perfectly plain to any considerate person that the nomination of Mr. Van Alen was an honest act of the president of the United States. He was selected purely and simply for the reason that he was fitted for the post, and not because he contributed to the regular campaign fund

of the Democratic party. The war against the man has been one of absolute injustice. The public did not at any time believe that President Cleveland appointed Mr. Van Alen ambassador at Rome as a compensation for his campaign contribution. The virulence with which this charge was pressed was largely due to jealousy on the part of the disappointed editors of some unscrupulous newspapers in the Democratic party. It had its origin, I believe, in the *New York World*; but adverse criticism from such a source as this might quite safely have been taken as a strong argument in favor of Mr. Van Alen's appointment. The charge that he was given the Italian mission in payment of an obligation arising from his contribution to the Democratic campaign fund was effectually disposed of in Mr. Whitney's letter to the president, written last June, and published shortly after the appointment was made. If any further evidence were necessary to prove that the money was not contributed with an understanding on the *quid pro quo* principle, it may be found in Mr. Alen's manly and dignified letter to the president, resigning the office.

I have never denied, and do not now deny, that I contributed to the campaign fund—not fifty thousand dollars, but yet a considerable sum of money. Sincerely believing, as I did, that a continuation of Republican supremacy would be not only a hindrance to national progress, but in time a positive menace to the success of popular government, and, having large interests at stake, I was impelled by both patriotic and selfish reasons to aid the Democratic cause.

I did not do so until I made myself familiar with the methods of the campaign as conducted by the National Democratic Committee. I visited the Democratic headquarters, and was astonished at the great work being done. An expenditure, vast in proportions, was being made to bring home to the American people the truths upon which I believed the welfare of the country depended. Hundreds of speakers, too poor to pay their own expenses, were being helped to do a patriotic duty by the national committee, and a vast amount of literature was being distributed free to awaken the public mind on the questions impending in the campaign. The Democratic party had no favored interests to assess and was obliged to rely upon individuals for necessary financial assistance. Hence my contribution.

So far from attaching undue importance to it, I was fully aware that the contribution meant far less to me than the time and effort devoted by thousands of unselfish citizens to the same campaign. Nor did I believe that it should entitle me to any more consideration. On the

contrary, I have not only admitted but have positively insisted at all times that it created no obligation to me whatever, and I feel confident that the president, who in fact was kind enough to say to the Democrats of Rhode Island, that his personal acquaintance with me enabled him to consider my candidacy solely upon its merits, will bear me out in this assertion.

It was by no means the first time I had assisted the party since Mr. Cleveland's aggressive leadership aroused my admiration, and I do not hesitate to say that, if it shall again seem to be my duty as a citizen desirous of the best government, it will not be the last.

As a result of the patriotic, generous, and cordial support of his party, indicated in this letter, Mr. Van Alen was accused of dishonorable bargaining, when it is evident on the face of the transaction that Mr. Van Alen gave what he contributed freely and from an interest in the success of Mr. Cleveland and the cause he represented. Everybody who knows anything about politics appreciates the fact that every political party needs the good services of such men. Indeed, there is no telling what would have become of the Democratic party in the last presidential campaign if they had not had sufficient means to keep the political machine thoroughly "greased." The charge of "dishonorable bargaining" also brought against Mr. Whitney for his share in this matter, is even more absurd. Not only was he excusable for accepting Mr. Van Alen's money, but in so doing he was attending strictly to his business. His subsequent efforts in Mr. Van Alen's behalf are evidences of his loyalty and his willingness to reward the man who responded to his call "when friends were few and calls were great."

To discriminate against a man because he has been an enthusiastic "contributor" to his party is quite as unjust as to discriminate against another because he has been an enthusiastic "worker." It is not a whit less creditable or patriotic for one man to help with his purse a cause in which he believes, than for another to aid it with his voice or his pen. To argue, therefore, that Mr. Van Alen should have been excluded from holding a political office merely because of his generous contribution to the Democratic campaign fund is absurd and undemocratic. Such a consideration should have had nothing to do with it. That was the only service he could render to his party.

The only fair test, therefore, in such a case is the Jacksonian one: Is he honest? Is he capable? Mr. Van Alen's fitness for the position of ambassador to Italy was officially vouched for, not only by the leading Democrats of Rhode Island, but also by both the Republican senators from that state in their votes for his confirmation, and by every one with whom he had a personal acquaintance. The fact that President Cleveland knew Mr. Van Alen personally should alone have convinced everyone that his appointment could not be so iniquitous as one newspaper chose to assert. The president's long public and patriotic career certainly entitled him to at least that much confidence. Considered on his personal merits, his character, antecedents, and attainments, Mr. Van Alen's was one of the best appointments made by Mr. Cleveland. It was distinctly above the average of them, from whatever standpoint it was viewed. If any doubts existed regarding his capability to fill the office, they have been dispelled by his action in resigning the ambassadorship. Indeed, any fair-minded man who has read the correspondence that passed between him and the president must regret that Mr. Van Alen will not represent his country as ambassador to Italy during the next four years.

The reasons Mr. Van Alen assigns for refusing to accept the office are entirely honorable to him. They indicate a very high conception of public duty and a proud sense of self-respect utterly unknown to his pharisaical detractors. The tone of his letter marks the difference between him and the hypocritical crowd that assailed him so vulgarly.

Acceptance of the office, he declared, would make me appear willing, for the sake of personal gratification, to discredit in the minds of many the political party to which I am attached, and to bring undeserved rebuke upon the administration which has honored me, and whose success I earnestly desire.

The correspondence serves to accentuate the fact that President Cleveland knows more about the real fitness of the men he selects for office than the critics who animadvert upon his appointments from an entirely superficial standpoint. The president's letter, requesting the withdrawal of his resignation, was a very great compliment to Mr. Van Alen. "I am now better

convinced of your fitness," he says, "than ever." Hethen, with characteristic insistence, urges Mr. Van Alen to reconsider his decision, accept the office, and "vindicate by the discharge of its duties the wisdom and propriety of your selection."

Under the circumstances, Mr. Van Alen might with perfect consistency, dignity, and self-respect, have acceded to the president's request and have withdrawn his resignation. Moreover, the Senate, in confirming his appointment, showed that it did not believe the charges made by Mr. Van Alen's accusers had any foundation to rest on; and as that body is the highest court of appeal in matters of this kind, its decision should have been conclusive with him. And even if the allegations that he had been appointed solely because of his generous campaign contributions were true, the discredit of that fact would belong to the administration, and not to himself; there was certainly no hesitancy on the part of the president in accepting the full responsibility for the appointment, and his letter to Mr. Van Alen was most creditable to himself. It proves once more his splendid independence and steadfastness of purpose. He simply acted in this matter with the same courage and disregard of unfounded clamor which has always characterized his performance of public duties. His decision was the right one, and cannot be considered otherwise by any unprejudiced person. In his letter to Mr. Van Alen, President Cleveland showed a hearty and wholesome contempt for the canting protests and vaporings of the "unco' guid" members of his own party who accused him of making traffic of the high offices of government.

Is it not about time that the political Pharisees who persecuted Mr. Van Alen into resigning the Italian mission by malicious misrepresentations of the steps leading to his appointment were made to understand that, as between Mr. Van Alen and themselves, the great mass of honest people regard the former as by far their superior, not only intellectually but morally? Their conduct in this matter has been justly characterized by Henry Watterson as the sniveling insincerity of Miss Nancysism.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

WOMAN AND THE WAGES QUESTION.

BY SAMUEL M. DAVIS, ESQ.

TO GIVE a full history of woman as a wage-earner would require a summary of the entire history of working humanity, but it is the purpose of this paper to sketch hastily a few of the more prominent facts that confront women to-day when they offer their services in a common market as a means of securing an honest livelihood. The position of working women all over the world is affected largely by the traditions and the inheritances of the race with reference to woman and her position in society. In all the progress that the race has made she has shared in many of the material benefits, but her industrial position has never equalled that of man, and it is our purpose to inquire why it is that a working woman holds to-day a position inferior to that of a working man, and why it is that for practically the same labor she receives less wages than do men.

Discussions of the economic problem of employer and employee have been carried on almost entirely, if not altogether, from the standpoint of man as an employee. Woman in that relation has been largely ignored. It is true that some states, as Massachusetts, through their labor bureaus, have made special investigation in this direction; yet as a rule woman's place in industry has as yet received but scant mention. As a wage-earner she is entitled to a much more liberal and advanced treatment than she has hitherto received, and one which will in some degree be commensurate with the large field she already occupies and the still larger field she is destined to occupy in the practical industrial relations of modern life. As in other discussions in which the employer of labor and the laborer are interested, the main question relates to wages.

It is often urged that the wages of women performing the same kind of work as men should be the same in amount, and if women do not receive the same rate of wages for similar work it is claimed that great injustice is done them. Let us glance for a moment at these statements. Even though women performed the same kind of work as men, receiving therefor wages less than men, it would not follow that their wages were inadequate to their service. The differences existing in reference to the efficiency of labor, both on the side of work and on the side of waste, are often very great as between laborers actually employed in the same operation. Hence it might be true that a man and woman, working at the same table upon the same material, with the same implements, or laboring side by side in the fields, should receive wages in very different amounts and yet their respective services be most exactly recompensed. Far be it from me to underrate the value of woman's toil, yet the plain principles of economy must be applied to it in a discussion like the present one. In addition there are some reasons of a physiological nature, for the services of women as a body being in a degree less desirable to employers than those of men. These are sufficient totally to debar women from many occupations, and greatly to reduce their efficiency in others.

Again, among social reasons we may adduce the generally less practical education which girls receive as compared with that given to boys, and the almost universal expectation of domesticity which is inherent and ineradicable in the constitution of woman, interfering not only with her preparation for active pursuits, but also with her prosecution of them, because it reduces the singleness of purpose and interest with which her duties are discharged, and depreciates in the eyes of her employer, and justly so, the value of services which may be abruptly terminated in marriage. Industrial disabilities such as these cannot be removed or cured except by a cause that would disrupt and destroy society. Just as long as girls grow up in the belief that their mission is not to work in a shop or mill, but to adorn a home, their education will take shape accordingly. Boards of education and parents may lay out courses of study with the

highest of utilitarian intentions, yet the mind of the girl will assimilate sweetness and grace from whatever intellectual nourishment is offered it. And just as long as this cherished illusion lasts woman will serve unwillingly, and probably unhappily, as one who has an inheritance from the enjoyment of which she is debarred,—a city to which she has not come. If a man marries, as a rule he becomes a better and more stable workman on that account. If a woman marries, it is most probable that she will leave her employment; if she remains she will be a less desirable laborer than before. This expectation of domesticity will probably always exist with greater or less force in the female mind, and will inevitably, wherever it exists, reduce the efficiency of female labor.

We find among women who earn their living, either in whole or in part, by their own exertions, quite a number who are not compelled to do so, but who from choice desire to add their earnings to a common fund. Among this class are wives who assist their husbands directly in providing for the necessities of the family by working at various employments. In addition to these are many girls who live at home and who are largely, if not entirely, supported by their parents, and whose earnings are spent upon dress or various amusements or luxuries. It is plain to be seen that both of these classes can compete successfully with other women wage-earners who are compelled to earn their own living and, possibly, support some others who are dependent upon them for the necessities of life. It is evident also that these two classes of women employees can afford to work at a cheaper rate than those who are compelled to earn an entire livelihood and, in most instances, more than this from their services.

Taking everything into account there is, however, still an inadequacy in woman's wages for the labor performed and the service rendered. It is a rather curious fact that in the great majority of occupations the average wages of a boy, a girl, and a woman added together amount to those of a man. The inadequacy is largely, if not entirely, due to the competition of labor. The price of labor, just as the price of any other commodity,

will depend largely upon the facility with which it can be transported to a desired market. In other words, it will depend upon the mobility of labor. The industries that are physiologically suited to women are highly localized, and women cannot readily go about to get the employment offered. A study of the statistics of industry in the United States reveals the fact that of the women employed in gainful occupations, forty-two per cent are found in only seven counties, comprising but seven per cent of the population of the country. While women have more occasion to move about to find a market than men, we find them disabled therefrom in a great measure by physical weakness, by timidity, and by those liabilities to misconstruction and insult which would naturally befall their unprotected state. Having a greater necessity to move from place to place than men, they have far less ability to do so. It is not merely taking a journey from home to a place where a situation has already been engaged, but it is seeking out employment from street to street, and from store to store, by repeated inquiries, and often through much urgency and persistency of application. This is the journey and undertaking men have to undergo "to get a place." For this reason men can fulfill the requirement of mobility of labor much better than women. This method not only secures employment for the individual, but relieves the pressure of over-production, and prevents the "congestion of labor." These are some of the disadvantages under which women are placed in securing employment.

While much of the disability of woman for seeking the labor market cannot be cured by law or opinion, no inconsiderable part has been, and still is, due to a lack of sympathy and respect for her in her capacity as a laborer, if not to a false and unmeaning prejudice. Intensely open to opinion as she is, woman shrinks from the faintest utterances of blame and rebuke, while mere coldness and indifference are often sufficient in themselves to repress the impulse toward activity.

The unfortunate result of a public opinion unfavorable to the extension of female labor is doubtless due in some degree to the comparative newness of the occasion which calls women to enter

the general market of labor, and as a natural result their entrance is not unnaturally looked upon by the body of male laborers interested therein as an intrusion threatening a reduction of their own wages. At the same time the outside community, though disinterested, remains indifferent, not having been educated up to the point of giving woman a warm and strong moral support in her efforts to find employment, and of providing adequate protection to her in the casual and oftentimes rude encounters which the search for work involves.

The introduction of the "factory system" has more than anything else changed the status of woman as a wage-earner. Before the introduction of the factory, the bulk of the work done by women was done in the home, and was known as the domestic system as opposed to the factory system. Ure has defined the factory system as "the combined operation of many orders of work-people in tending with assiduous skill a series of productive machines continuously impelled by a central power."*

Factory legislation with reference to employment of children, hours of service or length of work-day, together with regulations for the protection of life and limb from the machinery used in mills, is not all that could be desired, but is each year being bettered by amendments and new enactments. In factories of all sorts the increase of women workers has been steady. In 1865 there were 32,239 women operatives in the factories of Massachusetts, or nineteen per cent of men operatives. In 1875 there were 83,207, or twenty-six per cent, and the increase from that date has been in like proportion. In Massachusetts mills women and children form from two thirds to five sixths of all employed.

Comparing the factory system with the domestic system, we can see certain objections to the latter which the large factories have made impossible. In weaving, *e. g.*, the looms occupied a large part of the family living space, and over-crowding and its attendant evils were inevitable. It is probable also that drunkenness was more common, and greater opportunity was given

*"Philosophy of Manufacture," by Andrew Ure, page 13.

for dishonest employees to steal materials. Time was lost in going for materials and returning them, and the homes were often uncared for and filthy. It is true that these conditions are not unfrequently reproduced in the factories, but as a rule better light and air and less over-crowding are experienced.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in a chapter on "The Factory System," prepared for the tenth census, takes up in detail the following objections urged against this system: 1. The factory system necessitates the employment of women and children to an injurious extent, and consequently its tendency is to destroy family life and ties and domestic habits, and ultimately the home. 2. Factory employments are injurious to health. 3. The factory system is productive of intemperance, unthrift, and poverty. 4. It feeds prostitution and swells the criminal list. 5. It tends to intellectual degeneracy. Without stopping to consider these objections at length, it may be sufficient to say that the third and fourth objections have not been found to be verified by the facts, while the remaining three objections have great weight and force.

It would seem that woman has suffered more than man from the species of contract labor known as the "sweating system." I take the following illustration from a recent work on Boston working women :

The woman had been sewing for a good while for one of the largest and most respectable dry goods houses of Boston. Her sewing had been confined to two lines, cloaks and aprons. For some time she had been making white aprons—a good long apron requiring perhaps a yard of material; it is hemmed across the bottom and on both sides, the band, or apron string, is hemmed on both sides and then sewed on to the apron, making six long seams. For these she is paid fifteen cents a dozen. In addition to this the firm charged this poor woman fifteen cents expressage on her package of ten dozen aprons, so for making 120 aprons she receives net 135 cents. If she works from seven in the morning until eleven o'clock at night she can make four dozen, but with the care of her child she is unable to average more than three dozen, for which, after the expressage is taken out, she receives forty cents a day for the support of herself and child.

This is not cited as an extreme case, but as a fair sample of what the "sweating system" has done for women wage-earners.

It is doubtless true in many occupations that women are will-

ing to do the same work as that performed by men for less pay, and that they thus displace men industrially, but considerations of supply and demand so largely affect the present wages of women, that although this displacement may occur, it is neither the fault of the woman who, needing employment, accepts the smaller sum, nor of the manufacturer who, under existing industrial conditions, pays it. In the long run the displacements due to the employment of women are adjusted in somewhat the same way that improvements in process or improved machinery are arranged. Such displacements are temporary, and the hardships accompanying them are also local and temporary.

The manifold inventions of the age have all helped to bring about the result of making woman a wage-earner. The extension of water and steam power has made the labor of women useful in a thousand operations for which their strength was formerly inadequate. "Whereas the intelligent workman," says M. Jules Simon, in "*L'Ouvriere*," "was once an intelligent force, he is now only an intelligence directing a force—that of steam—and the immediate consequence of the change has been to replace men by women, because women are cheaper and can direct the steam force with equal efficiency." It is this which has driven women into the labor market. In families where bread comes by great effort the services of the house are foregone, and wife and daughter, no longer working as of old for the head of the house, go out to seek strange employers and to be jostled in public places. It would not require much argument to prove that the home has been a great loser by a new social order of things that has forced the mother and daughter to enter the competitive race for making a living.

It sounds strangely enough that even in the United States, where by general consent women are treated with higher relative consideration than in any other country in the world, respect and sympathy for them are wanting in such a degree as to deprive them of any part of their equitable earnings. Woman has always received homage and service, but as a wage-earner in the labor market she has suffered not a little in the past. This has not been caused from a lack of chivalry, but

from defects of education. The increased necessity that woman is coming to have in modern life to enter the competitions and contentions of industry has not become sufficiently familiar to the public mind, nor has sufficient thought been given to it either in recent legislation or the public press. The economic idea of woman has seemed incongruous, and her image in such garb unwelcome.

Public opinion should open to her avenues of employment which should be a strong support to her in her demand for a fair remuneration, and should at the same time be a defense to her in her close pursuit of employment, in her urgency and persistent application for work, in her necessary exposure to gaze and comment, and in her contact with much that is strange and rude, and should give her a freedom of industrial movement consistent with feminine delicacy and womanly purity.

SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

WHY IS THE JEW HATED?

BY RABBI ADOLPH MOSES

“WHY is the Jew Hated?” This question has in a spirit of fairness been recently propounded by the *Detroit Free Press* to enlightened Jews. The writer is evidently a high-minded man, who is himself free from religious, racial, and social prejudice. He is amazed by the multiplying signs of fierce hatred against the Jews spreading among the masses in Germany and other European countries. He is also aware of the fact that there is even in our country a vast deal of hidden or open prejudice against the Jews, manifesting itself in many ways. He invites Jews of a philosophical turn of mind to dig down to the roots, from which the poison tree of anti-Semitism springs. Were its parent causes once known, remedial means might be applied to them. With the removal of the causes, the effects would in course of time disappear of themselves.

In making an attempt on my part to explain the existence of prejudices against the Jews, of hate open or covert, brutal or perfidiously insinuating, I will endeavor to do so in a spirit of calmness, without anger and bitterness, dealing with the matter as if it were no more nor no less than any other question in sociology.

Like all other phenomena in nature and human life, the prejudices cherished by so many people against the Jews are due to more than one cause. But as the chiefest, the most mischievous, and most abiding of all the causes, we must consider the pernicious influence which the preaching of most Christian ministers regarding Jews and Judaism has had on the mind and heart of young and old. Jew-hating and Jew-baiting are mainly the effect of seventeen hundred years of what is miscalled Christian preaching against the Jews.

The lying and corrupt later Greeks, the cruel and brutal Romans, hated and persecuted the Jews, because they knew that the latter despised their vile conduct and vile gods, and because they alone of all the enslaved nations had the desperate courage to resist the grinding despotism of Rome, and to fight for independence and liberty to the bitter end. The Greeks and Romans fabricated and spread innumerable calumnies and lies against the Jews. One need but recall to mind what a mass of falsehoods against Jews and Judaism, against Christians and Christianity, Tacitus, the foremost Roman historian, gives expression to in his annals.

As long as the religion of holiness, of justice and mercy, as long as the gospel of the prophet of Galilee was preached by the Jews and a few Gentiles of superior moral excellence, Christianity was indeed a religion of universal brotherhood and love. But as soon as large masses of Romans and Greeks were converted, they inoculated the religion of love, of infinite pity for every human being, as taught by the lowly and holy Rabbi of Nazareth, with their own cruel pagan spirit, with the virus of their inhuman Jew-hatred. From the time Christianity was made the state religion of the Roman Empire by the murderer Constantine, there was no peace for the Jew in the Roman world. Since that year there began a carnival of hate, calumny, and persecution against the Jews which has not ceased to this day. The ministers of the religion of love and broad humanity prevailed upon the emperors to rob the Jews first of all their political rights and soon also of all civil, of all human rights. They seemed to consider the persecution and degradation of the Jews the main task imposed upon them by the religion of Christ. Worship of Jesus Christ and hatred of the Jews came to be interchangeable ideas with the priests of the church. The saving of souls through the Savior of the world and the extermination of the Jews for having crucified the Son of God had blended in their mind into the one supreme duty of a good Christian. On all occasions, in the confessional, in the pulpit, in their prayers, in their public harangues, and in their innumerable writings, they held up the Jews to popu-

lar execration, described them as monsters of iniquity, as the irreconcilable enemies of God and mankind.

They inflamed the popular imagination with lurid descriptions of the tortures inflicted by the Jews upon the Lamb of God. On feast days, and especially on Easter day and during Lent, they excited the hearts of the masses into a frenzy by telling them with what devilish zeal the enemies of God hounded His only begotten Son to his death, how they mocked him as he was tottering under the weight of the cross, how they shouted with delight when they saw him nailed to the cross, with what fiendish glee they watched the Redeemer's death agonies.

The priests invented, and through persistent assertions and repetitions made the people believe in, the dreadful calumny, that the Jews killed every year a number of Christians and used their blood for their passover cakes. The poisonous seed, sown with a diligent hand during so many centuries by their spiritual guides, grew up luxuriantly in the minds and hearts of the Christian nations. The priests calumniated the Jews so long with such an air of sincerity, with such wild fanaticism, that the laity could not resist believing what the servants of Christ, invested with the power to bind and loose, to condemn to everlasting perdition or to deliver from the torments of hell, continued to proclaim with fierce emphasis. The fanaticism of the priesthood fanaticized the masses. The Jews came to be looked upon by the Christian nations as fiends incarnate, to be dreaded as the embodiment of all that is evil in nature and humanity, to be shunned as moral lepers, to be hated as sleepless schemers against the spiritual and physical well-being of society.

The direful influence of the clergy succeeded in making the ignorant people believe that to oppress the Jew was the first duty of a good Christian, to heap insults on him was as meritorious as alms-giving and church-going, to make him wretched in body and miserable in soul was the dearest service one could render to the holy Trinity. The teachers of sweet mercy declared with frantic eloquence, that God had cursed the Jews to be, like Cain, wanderers over the face of the earth; that He suffered them to survive as a small and degraded remnant, in

order to be to all pious Christians a sign and token of the vengeance which his wrath executes upon those whose forefathers had put His son to death, and whose bad hearts persevered in denying Him.

The sight of Jews marked by a yellow spot on their garment, the sight of Jews moving in fear and trembling, like shadows through the street, the sight of Jews caged up in narrow and filthy *Ghettos*, the sight of Jews hooted and pelted by the rabble, the sight of Jewish women, with their innocent babes in their arms, hunted like wild beasts, the sight of whole Jewish congregations driven into their synagogues and burned like rats, was to believing Christians an irrefutable demonstration that God abominates the fallen race, that He blesses those who carry out His divine decrees concerning them, that He loves those who hate the people of His wrath.

Wherever the message of priestly love and universal brotherhood had not reached the masses, and created in them a new heart and a new spirit, the people entertained no prejudice, no ill-will against the Jews. On the contrary, both nobles and commons felt drawn toward them. They readily associated with them on a footing of equality, visited their houses of worship, listened to their sermons, took part in their feasts and banquets, invited them to their houses and held friendly converse with them on matters religious and worldly. Proofs of this are the numerous episcopal decrees and pastoral letters, forbidding such intercourse, and warning the faithful against associating with the accursed enemies of Christ because such social mingling involved great danger to the salvation of their souls.

Such was and such still is everywhere the behavior of the natural man toward the Jews. But the teachings of the theologian asserting their influence on him through many centuries, regenerated him into the spiritual man, and generated in him those feelings of unreasoning prejudice, of blind aversion against the Jews which have made and still make our life bitter as death. And the noble work of alienating the heart of the Christian from his brother, the Israelite, of making the Gentile look upon the Jew as a social Pariah, so successfully carried on

by the priests of past ages, is being valiantly continued by our modern preachers in the name of religion for the greater glory of Jesus Christ! I do not hesitate to declare, that but for the uncharitable and perverted views regarding Jews and Judaism, expressed Sunday after Sunday, year in and year out, by the great majority of Christian divines, there would not exist to-day in the world, and least of all in America, one tenth of the inherited prejudice against and of the traditional dislike of the Jews.

It is a well-known fact that the rankest prejudices and the most intense antipathies against the Jews are to be met with in villages and small country towns, where no Jew is to be found. In the minds of these unsophisticated people the Jew seems to be sort of a devil with horns. He is to them the antichrist. They hold the Jew to be the sworn enemy of Jesus and of his saving teachings. They regard Judaism as but little better than paganism or atheism. They are convinced as of their own life that the Jews are Pharisees, hypocrites in religion, and conscienceless rascals in practice. They believe them capable of every possible wickedness.

How do the rural minds come by such ideas? Surely not from personal experience, but from hearsay. They have formed their conceptions of the Jew's character and of the nature of his religion from what they have, from the days of their childhood, heard the parson preach to them. The average country preacher, and for the matter of that the average preacher in the cities, has two sets of topics, which form the arsenal of his spiritual warfare. One set is: The utter corruption and sinfulness of the natural man, salvation possible only through the gospel of Jesus, and Him the Crucified, redemption from original sin and everlasting torments through the blood of the Savior, the love of Christ as the beginning and end of all religion. The love of Jesus alone gives power to escape sin and enables one to lead a life pure, holy, and righteous. He leads those who cling to Him in all their being to love all men, to despise the things of the world and the flesh, and sacrifice perishable goods to goods imperishable in the world to come. So

far so good. This is good Christianity, though it is not the whole of it, nor do all those that preach these doctrines understand the deeper meaning and general truths at the roots of these specialized dogmas. Would to God they stuck to this text! They would indeed thereby save many souls from moral sloth and narrow selfishness. They would elevate many men by constantly putting before them the example of a great and holy man. But they also have another set of topics on which they are exceedingly fond of expatiating with much unction. To show up the depravity of the Jews at the time of Jesus and thenceforth down to our own days, to demonstrate the low character of Judaism, to contrast the degrading bondage of the ancient law with the blessed freedom of the gospel, is their most favorite theme.

Rarely is a sermon delivered in which the Pharisees, their shameless hypocrisy, their hardness of heart, their debasing letter worship, their cruel fanaticism, their godless pride, are not hauled over the coals. In season and out of season the Jews and their fossilized faith are used as a foil to set the sweet life of Christians and the beauty of Christianity in the proper light.

Though it has been a thousand times proven that the Jewish people, at least the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people, had absolutely nothing to do with the crucifixion of Jesus, it is with tireless repetition exclusively ascribed to the wickedness of the Jews, and gloated over as an inexcusable crime, which has descended as an inextinguishable curse from generation to generation, from the time of Pilate to the days of Stoecker. The Jews are painted by thousands and tens of thousands of Christian preachers as a fallen race abhorred of God, abominated by men. They are held up to scorn as a people that willfully turns away from the light, that hates Jesus in its heart, and daily curses the Savior of the world. The impressionable minds of the children, even of the most tender age, are filled in the Sunday schools with bitterness against the killers of Christ, with the most contemptuous notions of their religion and character. The poison seed, planted in the virgin soil, grows there luxuriantly, and can never be eradicated by later

and better experience. Do you wonder that most Christian children regard their Jewish schoolmates with contempt, and will call them such names as Christ-killer or Sheeny?

The children imbibe their antipathies and prejudices against us not only from their ministers but also from their pious mothers. It is an indubitable fact that we Jews are socially disfranchised chiefly by and through the influence of the women. Men rarely object to associating on friendly and even intimate terms with Jewish people. But with rare exceptions the Christian women keep scrupulously aloof from Jewish association. The reason is not far to seek. The women form the most devout part of the community. They are, indeed, the very pillars of the churches. As a rule they are as three to one in prayer meetings and at regular divine worship. They are far, far more under the influence of the pulpit than the men. They suck in not only the honey of Christian love but also the poison of anti-Jewish prejudices. God bless the Christian divines for the infinite good their ministrations are accomplishing. May God forgive them the grievous wrong which their preachings are causing us.

There are, to be sure, numerous exceptions among the Christian clergy. I have among the clergymen most devoted friends. I have in my mind's eye a great Christian scholar and orator, upon whom there rests the spirit of justice and righteousness, the spirit of truth and loving kindness. Whenever I hear him pray or preach, I seem to hear my venerable father fervently addressing himself to Jehovah. I think at this moment of a certain Christian preacher, to whose church I resort as often as possible, where I am charmed by his glorious oratory, edified by his broad religious ideas, and made better by his moral teachings. I know a goodly number of other clergymen, whose sermons breathe the spirit of true religion and therefore of true Christianity, who try to glorify Jesus without vilifying Judaism and the Jews. But the great majority of Christian preachers here and abroad render themselves guilty of the wrong we complain of and suffer under so grievously. They sow, probably without being aware of it, the dragons' teeth of anti-Jewish

prejudices, and we reap the fatal crop of social contempt, of mistrust, of ill-will and in many cases and places of envenomed hatred.

What have we Jews done to you, our spiritual brethren, to deserve such treatment at your hands? We love you as our brothers, but you treat us as strangers. We regard you as our co-religionists, we call you fellow-Israelites, but you speak of us contemptuously as aliens in faith, between whom and you there is no spiritual bond! We say Judaism and Christianity are aspects, historical expressions of the same great religion, of the faith of the prophets, psalmists, teachers, and apostles of Israel. But you persist in declaring that our religion has no longer any meaning and value for the human race, that our faith is a rotten corpse, which should no longer incumber the face of the earth.

You, ministers of religion, sit in the seat of the prophets; you call yourselves the disciples of Jesus, the teacher of universal love. It is your office to spread peace and good-will among men, to teach the brotherhood of all mortals, the divine sonship of all human beings. The social honor, the well-being of the children of Israel, ought to be as precious to you as the apple of your eye.

In the name of the prophets and holy singers of Israel, on whose spiritual manna Christians and Jews alike are feeding; in the name of the heroic Maccabee who lived and died for you as well as for us; in the name of the great master of Nazareth, I implore you to teach with fiery tongues, that the Jew is a brother to the Christian, that he is a servant to the true God like the Christian, that he is crowned with the attributes of god-like humanity like the Christian. Teach your flock that it is a crime against the holy spirit of history to despise the Jew, to make of him a social outcast, to shut him out from intimate communion and spiritual converse with his Christian fellow-Israelite. Under the sway of such teachings the prejudice and aversion against the Jews would within the lifetime of a generation or two vanish like an evil dream, and no lover of his kind will have occasion to ask the painful question: Why is the Jew hated?

ADOLPH MOSES.

TARIFF REFORM BLUNDERS.

BY W. T. GALBRAITH, M. D.

A CLOSE reader of tariff reform literature, during the last three years, not to mention the literature previous to that period, must have noticed many very amusing contradictions and many surprising blunders. It must be expected that many of the writers on such a subject are neither well informed nor logical. And many undertake to teach the principles of governmental taxation, when they themselves do not understand the rudiments of the subject. This is especially true of campaign writers and speakers. For the purpose of catching votes there seems to be no sophism to which they will not resort to conceal a difficulty or to make a false argument appear plausible; but there are some writers for the higher class of journals, and writers who are in the higher places of office, and who occupy positions which should command respect and confidence, who cannot be accused of descending to the tricks of the ordinary sophist. These are the men to whom the people have a right to look for guidance in forming their opinions as to the best method of taxation, and what effect it may have on the different industries. Yet when we come to examine the supposed facts on which even this class of writers base their theories, from which they draw very important conclusions, we often find their assumed facts are not true, and as a consequence their conclusions are false. If we may not accuse them of intentionally concealing the truth, we are compelled to accuse them of a lack of information, and of blunders wholly inexcusable, considering the positions they occupy. There are many who could be cited as examples of this, but we shall select three names as fair representatives of the many.

President Cleveland, in his message to Congress, on tariff re-

form, makes use of this argument: The tariff on raw materials confines our trade "within our own borders," because we cannot buy our materials as cheaply as our competitors abroad, and cannot therefore compete with them in foreign markets.

As a parallel to this, Speaker Crisp, in an article published in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS, August, 1892, says: "Our manufacturers cannot pay duty on raw materials, and sell their goods in foreign countries, in competition with those foreign manufacturers who get free raw materials."

Mr. William J. Coombs, a New York exporting merchant, says in the December number of *The Forum*: "If they [our manufacturers] have been able to attain their present position [that of competitors in foreign countries] while paying a duty on raw materials, how much more easily they can accomplish this result with that tax removed."

Here are three names sufficiently prominent to represent the authoritative literature of the tariff reform school. Though differently expressed, the arguments of the three are identical; and at first sight they seem to be unanswerable; and yet there is one little item in the McKinley bill that makes the answer easy, and places the advocates of this theory in a very absurd position. The answer can be expressed in one sentence. There is in the McKinley bill *no tariff on imported raw materials used by our manufacturers in making goods which are to be sold in foreign countries*. In other words, the duties assessed on such materials are refunded to the exporter, when sold abroad, thus actually making them free of duty.

Since the McKinley bill authorizes an exporter to demand back the tariff duties he may have paid on imported materials used, when he exports the same, he is as free as the Wilson bill, or any bill can make him, as far as the tariff is concerned, to sell in competition in any foreign country; for in effect raw materials are now free for the purpose of exportation, without any change in the tariff law.

Here we have a president of the United States, a speaker of the House of Representatives, and an exporting merchant of New York, all using an argument based on a statement which

has no truth for its foundation ; and writing as if they were entirely innocent of any knowledge of the existence of a clause in the existing tariff law, making raw materials virtually free for export purposes.* If this mistake carried with it no serious results other than a natural interest in accuracy from a literary standpoint, it would not, perhaps, be worth while to lay so much stress upon it ; but when this idea is used as a leading argument in the war against protection given to raw materials produced at home ; when the attempt is made to weaken the cause of home protection by trying to convince the voters and legislators of our country that they exclude themselves from foreign fields of trade by protection of industries at home, it becomes very necessary to expose the fallacy, and point to the fact that we cannot expect consistent teaching even from the highest sources, so long as prejudice and partisanship hold their sway over truth and honesty. Founded on this mistake, the president in his message proceeds to draw some very important conclusions, which would be very serious if true, but it is an axiom in logic that a conclusion drawn from a false premise must itself be false, so that all the consequences of the supposed fact can only exist in the imagination, and fortunately have no real existence, either in logic or fact. Thus his argument runs : Being confined to our own narrow market, our factories soon supply the limited demand, and are compelled to close down, throwing the laboring man out of employment. You see what a serious thing this would be if true. Factories closed, men out of work, with all the consequences of such a condition, nothing certainly could be more serious. And yet as these consequences are the imaginary results of an imaginary fact, we need not feel seriously alarmed.

Since under the existing tariff law we have free materials for export, and have therefore free access to all foreign countries on equal terms with any competitor, and Mr. Cleveland admits we have our own trade under protection, what further can any modified tariff bill do for us in keeping our mills and factories running, and our working men employed ? He further says in his message : "Even if the often disproved assertion could be

*See Section XXV. of the McKinley bill.

made good, that a lower rate of wages would result from free raw materials and low tariff duties, the intelligence of our workmen leads them quickly to discover that their steady employment, permitted by free raw material, is the most important factor in relation to tariff legislation." Now since we have in effect free raw materials for our foreign trade, and protected raw materials for our home trade, we are sure of our home market, and have an equal chance in foreign markets, so that there cannot be anything in the tariff on raw materials, as it now exists to cause a man to lose a single day from work, or to cause a factory or mill to close. The world is ours; we have an equal chance abroad and a more than equal chance at home.

It will be observed that all the arguments from the message so far quoted are fallacies, because based on a false premise, but since the president seems anxious to keep in mind the working man, let us see what effect some of the proposed changes will have on this class of our people. How would free raw material affect our trade at home, and as a consequence what effect would it have on the production of such materials, if put upon the free list? Making raw materials free for our home market, according to Mr. Cleveland, would reduce the cost price of such material when imported. It would follow that there would be a reduction in the price of our own raw materials. The price of many of these is made up largely of labor cost, and any reduction from this price must be taken in large part from the labor cost. This is so self-evident it seems strange that anyone could refer to it as an "often disproved assertion." When you reduce the price of an article, that element which composes the greater part of the cost must, as a rule, bear the greater part of the reduction.

We are given to understand by the message that the rate of duties, as proposed by the Wilson bill, will shortly produce sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of the government. Now if this be true, the articles on which the duty is reduced must be imported in much larger quantities, in order that a larger revenue, at a lower rate, may be accumulated. Then follows from this, every class of articles imported in increased

quantities must necessarily diminish the demand for the same class of articles made at home. This is true whether the tariff duty is reduced or entirely removed; in both cases it means inevitably less employment for our laborers at home and more employment for laborers abroad. This is the natural result of low rates of duty and free imports.

Now, perhaps "the intelligence of our workingmen leads them quickly to discover that their steady employment" depends more on the production of our own materials than the importation of them; and that our home market for many products is far more important than any foreign market. In addition to this, if his intelligence will lead him to read Section XXV. of the McKinley bill, he may discover the danger of losing the foreign markets exists only in the imagination of those who are not so well informed. There is some indication that they have already learned too much for their teachers and leaders, and have to the best of their ability tried to rectify their mistake made in the vote of 1892. Their intelligence was obscured for a time by the tariff reform and free trade arguments, but they have once more emerged from the darkness of a beclouded judgment, and have called a halt in the "emphatic verdict" of 1893.

W. T. GALBRAITH.

A NEW SYSTEM OF PAPER MONEY.

BY S. B. GORDON.

THE system of paper money here proposed is new only in the selection of the features that characterize it, and in the rejection of other features that are a part of the existing system.

I shall endeavor to show the true theory and actual process of the creation of all money, both coin and paper, and then on the same theory shall attempt to outline a paper currency that shall always be of equal value with coin, and that in quantity shall supply at all times the legitimate needs of business for money beyond that which is afforded by coin. The reasons for excluding from the new system of paper money some features that have heretofore been deemed essential are also stated.

THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF VALUE IN MONEY.

Money is valuable solely because it supplies a business need, and its value consists of its uses in supplying this need. The value of these uses constitutes its value as money. Mankind's need for money is the outgrowth of business. Primitive man had no business, and for that reason had no need or use for money. When business began it necessitated money for its convenient transaction, and with the increase of business age after age, the need of money likewise increased, and the increasing volume of business called for and obtained a gradual increase in the volume of money. The increased supply was caused by the increased necessity. This need for money is like society's other wants, in the fact that the need imparts value to that which supplies it. Clothing, food, ornaments, or amusements are valuable only because they supply a want. Money is likewise valuable only for the uses that can be made of it as money in supplying this need for the transaction of business. In all these cases alike, the value of the uses that can be made of these things meas-

ures and determines, or rather is the value of the goods and the money. Shoes that could not be worn or sold or put to some other use, and money that could not be used or that was not needed for the transaction of business would be of no value. What would be the value of all the clothing in the country if none were needed for comfort or desired for modesty or display? It would, of course, be valueless. The need of it and the uses of it consequent thereon give to clothing all its value. A similar need and use give to money all its value.

Suppose that society were organized on the basis of community of labor and property, each member contributing his quota of labor and having his share of property. No one would buy or sell or borrow or lend. Society would do no business except to exchange goods for labor and for nothing else. Money would be of no worth in such a community, simply because there would be no use for it. The people, and not their government, create value in money. The need of money as a medium of exchange is an artificial creation of man when organized into society, arising from his effective purpose to trade and do business.

Money is an artificial creation of society to meet this new need. But the need of money for the more ready transaction of business (which need alone gives value to money) arises from the existence of business which the people themselves create. The uses and value of money consequent thereon are created solely by business and not by law. The law merely designates what shall supply these uses, and thus creates the designated substances money. It is only in this sense that money is the creation of law. Value in money cannot be created by act of Congress. But when the people by their business thus create the need for money to transact it, the law is capable of giving the value of its use to whatever supplies it.

An act of Congress or other law may then determine whether it shall be gold, silver, paper, or other substance, and that determination makes the substance so designated money. But it is the business need that the people by their activity create that alone gives value to the substances thus designated by law to supply that need. For Congress to issue money beyond the

business needs of the people with the expectation of giving it value by law is sheer folly. Such an attempt arises from a total misconception of the origin of the value in money. A nation's uses for money not only constitute the value of its money, but they are the measure of its quantity. The business needs of a nation for a medium of exchange, that is, the uses that a nation has for money in the proper conduct of its business, are substantially a constant quantity from year to year, and are, as a whole, the measure of the value of its money as a whole. The reason is as already stated, they constitute its value, and their value is the value of its total money circulation. When the value of all the uses is divided among a proper amount of money, each dollar of it has an amount of value called par; that is, a value equal to the dollar of the civilized world, as a whole. But if the same value of uses in a nation should by the further issues of money, whether paper or coin, or both, be divided among a larger number of dollars, the value of each dollar would be brought below par. This result would be shown by a rise in prices of property in the nation having this excess of money above prices of like property in nations having only their proper amount of money. If any considerable portion of the money in circulation should be withdrawn, the diminished quantity remaining in circulation would in consequence be in greater demand and would appreciate in value, and prices of property would depreciate. Fewer dollars would be required in that country to purchase a given quantity of goods, grain, or other property. Business need for money and value of money go hand in hand, each varying with the other, and if the issue of paper is not in such quantity as to bring the total amount of money in circulation (both coin and paper) above the value of this business need, paper will never be below par. This law of uses giving value to money, and for that reason being the measure of its value, is general, and applicable alike to the creation of all currencies, gold, silver, paper, and minor coins. If the world's present large stock of gold had been put in circulation among the gold-using people of the first century, it would have destroyed its value as money.

The little use divided up among so large an amount would have given it, probably, not over five per cent of its previous value.

ALL MONEY FIAT MONEY.

The substances of which money is made do not have their uses and values as money as original qualities given by nature, but as qualities wholly new and arbitrarily given to them by man. Law alone bestows these qualities. In the sense already stated, all money is, therefore, fiat money. It is wholly the creature of law. It was spoken into existence as money by the fiat of law which changed it from a mere material or commodity whose value rested entirely in baser uses of economy into a medium of exchange, now one of the most artificial and delicate uses of highest civilization.

Gold and silver derive their value as money from the unwritten law of the commercial world. They were selected to supply this new need of men at first by common consent and custom of a few, which in time grew more general and fixed, and finally culminated in the law of universal usage firmly establishing them as money. This law like the English common law exists by informal unwritten agreement of men, and like the common law is in many nations modified and its operation regulated by statute. But these statutes, modifying the world's law as to gold and silver, recognize the law, as already in existence, and gold and silver as money by virtue of it prior to the existence of the statutes. The statutes may declare them to be legal tender, yet their real purpose is, not to make gold and silver money, but merely to regulate within their own jurisdiction the operation of the law that made them money ages before. Gold and silver are money in every civilized country, independent of any statute therein. If in any one of these nations actually using them as money every law touching their use as money were repealed, they would still be money in that country by virtue of the unwritten law of usage which prevails throughout the world. What is true of any one nation is true of every nation. If all nations should continue to coin gold and silver and issue them as money, but should repeal

every statute regulating their use as money, it would not seriously affect their value as money the civilized world over. They would remain the world's money by virtue of the world's unwritten law, which is practically irrepealable, because the necessities of mankind require a medium of exchange, and there is at present nothing else to supply their place. That this law exists and is irrepealable, are what not only gave gold and silver uses as money originally, but have kept their values almost unchanged through the ages. Their uses as money rest on the approving suffrages of all mankind, amounting to a universal law of the civilized world creating them money.

Money does not represent value. Instead of that it is value. It represents nothing other than itself, and only so far as it has value is it something. That something is the sum total of its uses. A bushel of corn or a watch, in a figurative sense, represents an amount of material, labor, and skill, but it is only a figure of speech. Accurately speaking, neither represents anything, but each is something of value, which value is the sum total of its uses. So with money. Its value is thus in itself inseparable, and goes with it wherever it goes within the jurisdiction of the law that created it. Its value is intrinsic, therefore, in the sense here stated, and that is the only sense in which the value of coin is intrinsic.

Nor does the value of the material of money arising from its use for other purposes than money affect the value of the money made from it.

The reason has already been stated. It is because the value of money consists of the value of its uses *as money*. These uses alone give it money value. The value of the material of money for other purposes, entirely separate from and independent of its value as money, grows out of a different use, a use in supplying a want wholly different from the want which the same substance supplies as money. The idea that money of any kind is valuable because of the material of which it is made is a mistaken one. On the contrary, gold and silver are valuable mainly, and are called the precious metals, because a law designates them as money. It is reversing the facts and placing the effect for the

cause and the cause for the effect, to say that coin money is valuable because it is made of gold and silver. The truth is the reverse of this; gold and silver are chiefly valuable because they are money. If they were not money they would have no value, except in competition and comparison with other like materials used in the arts and otherwise. Gold, when brought into competition with copper, zinc, and tin, strictly as a material like them, would probably be less valuable than some of those metals, pound for pound. If the use of gold as money were taken from it, its use as an ornament would largely go with it. Its natural beauty secures its use for that purpose to some extent, but the idea of its great value, much more. For the arts alone the world's stock of gold is so ample that if demonetized its price would drop to almost a nominal figure. The same is true of silver. The value of nickel and copper, and of a greenback during the latter years of the Civil War, as material would, of course, bear little relation to their value as money. In each of these cases the great loss of value by demonetization would be because their uses as money, which were by far the more considerable, would have been taken away.

If the origin and nature of value in money have been correctly stated, it is also clear that the cost of the material of money has nothing to do with its money value. Nor has the government stamp on coin or paper any effect on its actual value. It amounts merely to a certificate that the coin is of a certain weight and fineness, and that the paper is a genuine issue. Their values lie back of that in their uses, and exist by virtue of the law which underlies both the material and the stamp, and which makes the material, whether stamped or unstamped, available for these uses as money. The stamp is unimportant, except to facilitate circulation, by thus making it unnecessary to weigh or examine before acceptance.

It is thus seen that as soon as we begin to consider this other value of the material of money in any light, or for any purpose, we lose sight of the consideration of money itself, that artificial creation of law.

Use, as money, and value, as money, are convertible terms,

and mean the same thing. Indulgence is asked for the repeated presentation above given of the idea that the uses of money are alone its value, because a thorough realization of its truth is the starting point and basis of the proposed new system of paper money. For if the uses that business creates can be imparted to paper by law, such paper differs in nothing from coin as money. Each is value itself consisting of the uses to which it can be applied, and paper is as real money as coin, and so long as the volume of issues does not exceed this value of uses the whole will be at par. Acting upon this, (assuming it to be the true principle of the creation of all money) each nation may create for itself a national paper currency that shall supplement its supply of the world's currency, gold and silver, according to its needs, and that shall rest on the same secure foundation of intrinsic value that gold and silver coins do, that is, upon the value of the uses to which it can be applied, independent of its relation to any other money.

Gold and silver are made money of the world by the usage of civilized nations so universal and so long continued as to amount to a law of the world. Paper should be made money itself, of the same character as coin, in a nation by its statutes. These two kinds of money would have currency and circulation co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the power that created them money, coin throughout the world and the paper of each nation in the nation whose law created it. Coin and paper would be alike real money. In theory, paper money is now, as it always has been, merely representative of the coin in which it is redeemable. But in point of fact this is not wholly true. The character of paper money has been gradually changing from being *merely* representative of coin, to being money itself to some extent. The first use of paper was to save the labor and risk of handling coin, and the wastage by abrasion ; and, in amount, it just equalled the coin. But the need of more money to do the increasing business of mankind led to the issue in emergencies of paper in excess of the coin supply, and now it has become an established feature of the money system. Paper being no longer the mere representative of money, but having become in

some measure money itself, this change in its character calls for a readjustment of its legal status in the financial system of nations and of the relations of coin and paper to each other. And especially should investigation be directed to determine whether, following along in the same direction that this natural trend of usage leads, which has gradually, and, out of business necessity, partially changed the character of paper money, the change should not now be made complete and paper be placed on the same basis as coin.

Gold and silver being the world's money, the currency of all nations combined is for that reason the standard by which is measured the value of the currency which each nation separately creates for itself.

Although the uses of coin and paper arise out of different laws, yet if the value of their uses is kept equal they will be at par with each other. The value of gold and silver throughout the civilized world is fixed by a law beyond the power of any one nation alone to repeal. Each nation, therefore, in creating a paper currency for itself, since it must keep it at par with coin, and cannot bring the value of coin down, even if it would, should seek by its laws to raise such paper up in value, to be equal to coin. This it should do *by making, by its own laws, the uses that may be made of it, so numerous and so valuable, and, if need be, so necessary to its people in their business transactions, that these uses will fully equal in value the uses that may be made of gold and silver coins.* The problem of a nation's establishing a paper currency for itself, which shall have within its own territorial limits the requisite virtue of equality in value with coin, thus becomes an exceedingly simple one.

Since uses give value to all currencies, equality in the value of uses will give equality of value to different currencies; or rather, they will constitute the equality of different currencies in value, to each other. The sovereign power, which alone creates money, can, with its absolute power to determine what uses it shall have, and its control of the quantity of paper, create any desired relation of values between paper and coin. It could so legislate that a government paper dollar would

be, in open market, worth three dollars in gold or silver coin.

The immensity of the use of money among millions of active people can hardly be grasped by the mind even by much reflection. By actual use or indirectly by checks it not only enters into but is an important part of every one of the countless business transactions that are going on every instant. The use of a medium of exchange is as all pervading in business as air in breathing, and as indispensable and valuable. This vast use of money is the great bank from which issues all money value. It is so great that if rightly used it will give all needed value to all needed quantities of paper money. Make paper money available by the people for this immensity of use and it will have in itself the intrinsic value of a perfect currency. Coin will absorb a part of this use, thus contributing the nation's share toward giving value to the universal money of the world, but a large amount of this use or value will remain to be appropriated by statute to the national paper currency. It may thus be made to give par value to some certain amount of it, which amount must be ascertained by trial. Let the need limit the quantity, and paper cannot go below par. The national power is the important element in sustaining a national paper currency; but only so far as it shall be practically a draft on this great national fund of valuable uses. If the draft does not exceed the fund drawn on, it will always be honored by a par value in the markets of the country.

An enactment simply declaring a paper currency to be good money and legal tender without its having adequate specific uses, and without proper limitation in quantity, is the green-back plan, and is wholly insufficient for a national paper currency. It arose, however, out of a dim preception of this truth that has been growing true gradually for a long time, that usage has changed the character of paper from a representative of money to actual money.

The national power must appropriate and secure to the nation's paper valuable practical uses before it can be issued in quantity equal to the needs of the people and be in quality never inferior to coin.

By mere chance and without understanding what it was doing or intending it, the United States once actually adopted the principle of the proposed new system of paper money, and in part the means here proposed for keeping paper at par. Driven to it by the necessities of the Civil War, this government issued the greenback currency. It was at first exchangeable for government bonds, but this redemption feature was soon taken away and then the greenbacks stood on their uses alone. They did not represent coin, nor was the slightest provision made for their payment or redemption in coin. They stood as gold and silver did, simply on their then present usefulness in the transaction of business. There was need for them. Business could not be done without them, and the law designated them to supply this need as money.

These two facts were enough,—the need and the law. The credit and stability of the government that had pledged a continuance of their uses and consequently their value as money was, of course, one of the two important factors in the case. Just in proportion as the prospects, and consequently the credit of the nation, improved, thus assuring permanency to the uses given to its paper, that irredeemable paper money approached in value to gold and silver coin.

In 1863, while the clouds of Civil War were most threatening and cast great doubts on the stability of the government that created it, \$285 in paper money was worth only \$100 in gold money. But as the causes that imperilled the nation gradually passed away, its paper money, although still not convertible by law into coin, gradually increased in value as the national embarrassments diminished, until by the operation of this cause, without the aid of coin redemption, paper became of equal value with coin. In 1869 Congress pledged the public faith to make this paper as good as coin "*at the earliest practical period.*" This was only a vague promise, but the faith and credit of the nation being pledged for its keeping, it was effectual. In 1875 the nation promised to pay its paper in coin January 1, 1879, but before this latter date was reached the resumption of specie payments had been attained by means of the national power,

and credit now made securely permanent, and of the practical uses they secured to this paper as money. Those uses had become as valuable to business as the uses of coin; and at the banks and in the market generally paper and coin were interchangeable at the will of the holder, although there was no law by which coin could be had for paper from the government or from any source. Coin redemption under that statute was but the legal recognition of resumption already accomplished by other and natural causes. That is, paper money was convertible into coin money "by exchange" under this new system of paper money, instead of "by redemption" as under the old and present system. If the other means here suggested for keeping paper at par had been adopted, greenbacks would never, even during the terrible strain of the Civil War, have been below par; to the saving of millions to the government, lost by inflation of prices, and billions to the people, lost by subsequent contraction.

A nation in proceeding to build up a paper currency on this principle will of necessity be obliged to do away with two features of currency as at present established, both of which are founded in error and are, therefore, pernicious in their effects. One of them is this coin convertibility of paper. While paper should, by the operation of wisely devised laws, be ever equal in value to gold and silver, and in consequence of this equality in value *thus induced* should at all times be at par with each other in the market, yet paper should never, by direct enactment of law, be convertible into coin, as one of the legal rights of its holder. The true rule is convertibility *by exchange* and not *by redemption*. Convertibility by redemption grows out of the idea that originated paper money ages ago; that paper in circulation just equals the coin in the treasury and merely represents it; an obsolete idea. It was once true but it is not at the present day. Convertibility by redemption also assumes that paper is not real money; that coin is the only real money; another error, as we have seen. The direct and necessary effect of such a provision in favor of coin, is to discredit paper by holding it inferior in character to coin.

The government thus pulls down by its own enactment the fabric of its paper currency, which it should by all the means in its power build up. Such an enactment is without reason to sustain it. There is, as we have already seen, no necessary connection between coin and paper. True, both are currencies, but each derives its value from an entirely different source: coin from the universal law of the world, and paper from the local law of the nation authorizing it. That the local law should make its paper currency as valuable as coin is indispensable and in the direct line of creating it money and thus adding to the volume of the currency. But that the local law should, by arbitrary enactment and as a condition of value, require that the issuer of its paper shall be obliged on demand to furnish its equivalent in coin, the creation of another law, is wholly without reason in the nature of the two currencies and of their relation to each other. A similar burden imposed on the issuer of coin, whereby as a condition of value he would be compelled on demand to render its equivalent in paper, would be equally, but no more, unsupported by any good reason than the legal right to convert paper into coin. In either case, the right of convertibility as a right of the holder and as a quality of the money, would be wholly irrelevant to the nature of currency. *Each currency should stand or fall by itself, resting solely for value on its own uses, and for favor on its qualities of convenience.*

The law of coin convertibility is of little use, and in this respect is greatly overestimated. Much of the credit for keeping paper at par with coin that is attributed to this law, belongs, in fact, to the changed character of paper from a representative of money to actual money. The uses that might have been made in business transactions of these two currencies, coin and paper, have to a large extent determined their relative value to each other. Although supported by severe penalties for its infraction, this law has ever been utterly powerless, except when outside influences concurred, while the law of uses determining values inheres in the very nature of money, as the law of gravitation in matter, and, like the law of gravitation, is self-enforcing at all times and under all circumstances.

During the last one hundred years the United States and Great Britain, each working on this plan, were repeatedly subjected to the shock of a suspension of specie payments, and during one quarter of that time did business with a depreciated paper currency. And while paper perhaps was at par, it is a question whether this was not due quite as much to the law of uses giving value to it as to the law requiring its redemption in coin. Other objections to coin convertibility are :

First—Both government and banks in most countries issue paper largely beyond their actual or possible supply of coin. Complete redemption of paper in coin, dollar for dollar, in those countries is therefore a physical impossibility. And yet their laws require it, and a failure to do so constitutes at least technical bankruptcy. The fear of this is a more serious evil than the suspensions that actually occur, because it is ever present and aggravates every momentary disturbance.

Second—Coin redemption of paper defeats to a considerable extent the expansion of the currency, the very purpose for which paper is issued, by locking up for the redemption of paper, coin that might otherwise be in circulation.

Financial panics are the accompaniment, and, we may reasonably infer, largely the result of a great increase in the quantity of paper money and of its increased importance as money itself, simply because the value of paper is based on a false and impracticable theory. If this change were correctly understood and laws were suitably changed to meet its new requirements, whole communities of solvent individuals would not, as now, be thrown into the greatest financial distress, many of their most enterprising members without any fault of their own, except their enterprise, becoming insolvent through the workings of an unsound monetary system imposed upon them by their government.

The true remedy for these acknowledged evils is not in a complex system which shall attempt to meet these subtle dangers with some suitable counter-check, but in a system so simple in its operation that it will be unaffected by these occult influences, and which imposes on the issuer of paper money only those

duties which it is clear may always be performed in any possible case.

The other feature of the present monetary system which should be abolished as a preliminary to the establishment of one on correct principles, is the legal tender quality of gold and silver. As they are made valuable by the uses given to them by the law of the world, it is certainly not necessary, nor is it wise, to add to their uses by statutory enactments. They do not need the legislation of any nation, either to give or maintain their value; and such legislation should not be used to give them a new use within its own boundaries, and thus, to bring them into competition with its own national paper currency. They are already the perfection of value in money. Their value is assured beyond any question or contingency, the world over, by the world's irrevocable law. Is it worth while for any nation by its statutes to add to their value the quality of legal tender, thus literally attempting to gild refined gold? There is no reason why the nation's law should add to the value of the world's money which, from the world's law alone, has all needed value throughout the world, whether coined by this powerful nation or by that small one, or even if uncoined by any; for by the world's law it is gold and silver that are money, not gold and silver coins.

Foreign coins are good for their actual weight and fineness without the local law to help them. Each nation's own coins will certainly be no less so at home without such a law. Legal tender is an important quality or use when given to paper, and greatly strengthens its value. As it is the first object in establishing a national paper currency to make it equal in value with coin, why not bestow this legal tender quality on paper alone? Gold and silver should not be made a legal tender either to the government or between individuals; on principle, because they are not made money by statute; from expediency, because it will needlessly increase the difficulty of keeping paper equal to them in value. Leave gold and silver wholly to the operation of the law that gives their value throughout the world and *reserve the uses that may be given to currency by statute*, for the benefit of such

currencies as shall be created by statute ; that is, for paper money and subsidiary coins.

Practical suggestions for creating a paper currency by giving it uses by direct legislation :

First—Issue paper money, make it full legal tender and pledge the credit and faith of the nation to keep it all times as nearly as practicable at par with coin, but make no provision for its redemption in coin. Pay it out as money. Prohibit all other paper money.

Second—Coin gold and silver as money, but leave them without their present legal tender quality.

Third—Require that in all the fiscal transactions of the government, including customs, duties, and purchases of government bonds, no other money than its paper (and subsidiary coins for change only) shall be received or paid out ; let all future obligations of the government be made payable in paper money only.

These provisions in favor of paper money would be sufficient to keep some amount of it at par at all times, and that amount would be sufficient for healthy business, because it should always be simply that amount which a healthy business will keep at par. If unfortunately, however, the excess of paper should bring it below par, the government has its great means to correct the evil in its power, to regulate the quantity, and therefore the value of paper in circulation. It may at any time offer to the public its bonds *for paper only*, on terms so favorable to the purchaser as to withdraw any desired portion of outstanding paper currency, thereby bringing what is left outstanding to par, by giving it increased business use. By making paper convertible into government bonds bearing a high rate of interest, paper currency could be readily absorbed until what should remain in circulation could be made to even bear almost any desired premium over coin. Or the government might instead of issuing bonds increase taxation by tariff or otherwise so as to produce an income beyond its disbursements, and thus slowly withdraw the redundant paper currency. A government bond bearing a low rate of interest and paper money might be held by

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the government at all times when paper is at par for exchange, either for the other, as demanded by the owner, thus providing that expansion and contraction of the currency shall be regulated by the demands of business itself.

The government has thus an absolute and irresistible control of the value of its paper money, and can at all times hold its value close to that of coin with an iron grip that nothing can shake off. It will be able to maintain the pledge written on its paper money, *to keep it at all times as nearly as practicable at par with coin*. A vague promise, it is true, but being made by the nation in good faith, and with a pre-established feasible plan for doing it, it will be effective.

But the foregoing examples of the power of uses directly bestowed by statute upon paper money to give it value, or indirectly by contraction for the purpose of increasing its value, are given partly as illustrations of what can be done by those means, and in part as suggestions of what perhaps should be done. These suggestions, however, are not intended to be exclusive; others within the province of legislation may be found. All the details of applying this principle to the equalization of the values of paper and coin fall, of course, within the province of practical legislation, whose measures would necessarily be tentative at first and largely determined finally by actual experience. But the relative value of paper and coin being found to be within the power of the government to determine, the problem of securing an equality of value between them which shall be substantially continuous, will surely not be difficult when distinctly placed in view as an end to be reached by the exercise of all the powers of government. An excess of paper currency, however, that would make contraction necessary would itself be an evil by reason of such excess; and the remedy of contraction would be a harsh one and also an evil; but only a lack of foresight or of administrative skill by the government could ever allow such an excess of paper money as would become a serious evil.

In order that there may be stability in the financial policy and fixedness in the value of its paper currency, this principle

of the maintained value of paper should be imbedded in the Constitution itself, as the most solemn and unchangeable pledge of the nation's credit, and to place it beyond being an element in party politics.

The executive department of the government should be invested with powers discretionary to some extent, but mainly regulated by the Constitution and statutes, whereby it could deal with varying emergencies requiring speedy action, and whereby in case paper should at any time go below par, the quantity of it in circulation would be slowly but steadily diminished until paper should be restored to its equality in value with coin. Trivial and temporary depreciations of paper might even be allowed to pass unnoticed ; but if at any time it should become considerable, or, if slight, it should yet be continuous, resort should then be had to the appropriate remedy. The present system places the duty of keeping paper at par largely on the banks, and with no means of accomplishing it except coin redemption which their note-holders may defeat any day by all demanding specie. Under the proposed system, upon the government as the sole issuer of paper money would devolve this entire obligation, but with ample means to discharge it. But a failure to keep paper at par (which need never occur at all) would be if it did happen, both slight and temporary, and would be followed by only trivial inconvenience, which would be borne by the whole people.

But even in such a case the government's promise to keep its paper as nearly as practicable at par with coin would in its strictest interpretation have been kept.

DIRECT ADVANTAGES OF THE SYSTEM HERE PROPOSED.

The bank circulation is about \$200,000,000, which the paper currency here proposed would displace. This immense sum would be an absolute gain to the people to its full amount.

The destruction of paper in circulation, by fire and other casualties would amount to over \$2,000,000 annually, which by new issues to supply its place would inure to the benefit of the people, to that amount each year, a never-ending yearly con-

tribution to the support of the government and a relief from taxation to that extent.

Great as these direct advantages would be, they would be trivial in comparison with the indirect advantage to general business and property interests. Under the proposed system, the gigantic credit of the government, being the credit of all the people and of all the banks and all other corporate credits combined, is placed as a barrier between business and the harm arising from sudden fluctuations in values, from a shock of a suspension of specie payments and from depreciated paper money. The knowledge on the part of the public that the plan is feasible, and that in no possible contingency can the uses of paper money be taken away or its value be seriously lessened, would give an abiding faith in financial stability, as firm as the government itself, of which this system of paper currency would be an integral part. This well-founded confidence in the government as the responsible issuer of the paper, and in the practical working of the system, would be a tower of strength whenever financial disturbances should threaten.

While a similar knowledge that the present system rests on the impossibility of dollar for dollar redemption of paper in coin, and that the fiction of such a redemption is kept up in theory even, only on public sufferance, invites panic and prevents any real confidence in the result when the strain of financial peril actually comes. The steadying effect of the system here proposed at all times in making the supply of currency uniform and in thereby tending to fixedness in property values, as well as its power to protect in time of danger, would be valuable beyond computation to business interests.

The immense power of the government to sustain paper at par and to preserve the financial equilibrium by its colossal credit and power, instead of leaving first the banks and then the business community individually to struggle with a financial trouble, presents the same advantages that accrue to an army in resisting an attack successfully in one solid column over being attacked in separate detachments in succession.

All the existing coin obligations of the government should,

of course, like all its other obligations, be kept in strictest good faith. But coin and paper being always at par in market, the means of doing so would ever be at hand. A little prudence, however, in securing in advance specie for meeting its coin obligations, would protect the government from attempts to depreciate its paper for speculative purposes, just before coin payments were to become due from the government on its bonds. In a few years these coin obligations will have been paid off. The amount of coin in the world is limited by nature's limiting the supply of gold and silver and imposing burdensome conditions on mining and reducing them. The system here proposed, with its requirement that there shall be no more paper than the business needs of the people will keep at par with coin, limits the amount of paper by the same general law of nature that limits the world's volume of coin. It at the same time admits of the issue in each nation of any amount, however large, that actual business needs shall call for, paper remaining at par being the test as to whether the demand for it is actual or stimulated.

SUMMARY.

The system of paper currency here presented proposes :

First—That the government, as the agent of the sovereign people provide a paper currency in the directest manner possible, without intermediary agents, and on a plan that requires in issuing it only obedience to the law of supply and demand in order to keep it at all times at par with coin.

Second—That to give value to this paper money there be an intelligent adaptation of natural and obvious means to the desired end in the national power appropriating to paper money exclusively all the uses of money that the government can control ; and utilizing to the credit of such paper money not only the power of the government, but also its credit, being the organized aggregated credit of the whole nation.

Third—That the government by this simple use of the people's power and credit give to its people not only the general advantage resulting from such a paper currency, but that it also secure all its special profits for the benefit of the whole people alike.

Fourth—That business be stimulated and values of property be enhanced by a paper currency expanded to the utmost limit consistent with other interests, and not violative of the rule that coin and paper must be of equal value.

Fifth—That most important of all, and the one great purpose to be aimed at in every financial system, a stable paper currency shall be provided, subject to the least possible fluctuations in quantity and in value, so that property values and business interests, so far as they are affected by the nation's currency supply, may be depended on to be uniform from year to year; that a financial panic arising out of those conditions which are controlled wholly by the government shall be an impossibility, so that banks and business men, if they fail, shall fail for causes originating in their own affairs, and not because a faulty system of currency has brought widespread financial distress alike on the prudent and the imprudent.

S. B. GORDON.

CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO UNIVERSAL PEACE.

BY ALFRED H. LOVE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

THE discovery of a continent is an achievement, the discovery of a principle is a victory. The government of a continent is a benefaction, the adaptation of a principle to a government that will insure prosperity and happiness to the governed, is a benediction.

If man "be created in the image of God," he must have attributes like unto God. War, the military system, and deadly force are not a part thereof; but peace, the attributes of peace, and all that go to make such a condition as possible as it is desirable, are a part thereof. There are undeveloped forces in the nature of man that need to be discovered, applied and recognized as fundamental and saving. These are the forces of peace. They are more potent than armies and more invincible than forts or ironclads. How to popularize and utilize them is the question before an anxious world. If there be the marvelous wisdom and power that the Chicago Exposition makes manifest, as the handiwork and genius of mankind, who will dare deny that there is a mental and a spiritual power commensurate with it all that can preserve what it produces, and crown with the glory of fraternal relationship and enduring peace, that which it creates. It cannot be that with the productive wonders that we see around us, that man must continue to blunder with the very cap-stone. It cannot be that we are given to see a higher and better civilization, new countries, as it were, to discover, and yet have our hands tied that we cannot realize our ideals.

We know the horrors, the bankruptcy, the cruelty, the wickedness, the inexpediency of war and the military system, and we know the blessings of peace. We are called, or wish to be called, a courageous people. Why not prove this by our being

willing to accept the peace platform, and leave results to the inexorable result that "as ye sow likewise shall ye reap." Peace is a manufactured article. It comes from the conditions of peace being so in harmony with itself, that it naturally produces peace. The angel of peace will not come into hearts and homes and nations where there is no preparation to receive and no deserving of such a guest. We may, nevertheless, profitably assemble and consider great questions of disarmament and arbitration, of international fraternity and reciprocal commercial relations, of treaties of peace and universal congresses. All these things are evidences of the progress of the age, of the yearning of the people and of the possibilities of man. Better than revolution, better than evolution, it is *provolution*. And yet they are but a patchwork-covering of the demands of the hour, good as far as they go, but not going as far as goodness. It neither satisfies the revelations of time and perfect peace nor secures universal establishment thereof. "We cannot serve two masters." As individuals we cannot have enmity in our hearts, and pretend to love one another, and be at peace. As nations we cannot have fear and jealousy of other nations, and arm and prepare for war, and have peaceful relations that are satisfactory and enduring.

As well might we attempt to reverse the laws of gravitation, or counteract the inimitable order of the universe, as to expect perfect and enduring peace while man permits and nations continue to put their trust in carnal weapons and deadly force; preaching in their churches and professing one thing and practicing another; upholding military academies; organizing their men (remember—not their women) into armies; spending their substance in fortifications and battle ships; coveting their neighbor's territory; sailing over the seas and laying claim to lands far beyond their homes, and coercing with military power the weaker, defenseless, and less favored.

Hence there are conditions that are essential to peace. We must remove the causes and abolish the customs of war. True, we would not be without this present manifestation and effort for peace. If it does nothing else, it is at least educational, but

we do not wish it to be regarded as an ultimatum. We will co-operate with everything that looks toward the goal of our desires. We will favor a general system of disarmament; the creation of courts of arbitration; the establishment of peace bureaus and the substitution of peace departments in governments, in lieu of war departments. We will hold in high reverence the peace agencies we believe we already have in the church, the home and the schoolhouse; in the postal and telegraph systems whereby the word of peace may be communicated, errors corrected and rights upheld; in the locomotive facility, whereby we can visit and clasp in fraternal comity the hands of each other, and understand the healing and pacific power of touch; in the commercial intercourse between nations, whereby the wants of each other may be supplied; in the minister plenipotentiary and consular system, whereby each government is represented at home and abroad, and ready at any time to explain misunderstandings and uphold the amenities of nations; in the inter-marriage relations, whereby the attachments of loving souls of different countries, make in household joys and homes, though widely separated, one country and one interest, as children and children's children weaving the network of a patriotism that comprehends the whole planet on which we live, and is not satisfied with merely a limited territory of boundaries or of government; we will increase the heart-beats of that common sympathy of mankind that courses in every vein throughout the world, that will aid the fallen, sustain the weak and relieve the suffering, as we all suffer the same pains and rejoice in the same joys; and last and greatest we will aid the recognition, in some form or other, of a reverence for the Creator and gratitude for the beauty and bounty vouchsafed to every nation, tongue, and people.

We repeat, we will hold to these as peacemakers. Unwittingly in the history of the world we have a ground-work for our peace. It is our hope ahead! Let us use and not abuse the heritage. Let us never be satisfied with the mere veneering of peace upon our body politic or our humanity, but demand practice equal to profession. If there be found those who because

of religious proclivities subscribe to the declaration, "Thou shalt not kill," let us hold them to it, and say it means what it says without mental reservation or partial observance. If there be found those who sanctify the declaration, "Love your enemies," and pray, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," let us note how they love their enemies, and in what manner they forgive those who trespass against them, and require obedience thereto. And if there be found those who, neither Jew nor Gentile, feel in their own consciences that it is wrong to injure, destroy, maim, or kill, let us hold them to obedience to this inner light. Peace hates duplicity, and admits of no hypocrisy.

Hence, among the essential conditions of peace, we hold self-control, that each individual shall begin at home and have peace within himself; less of selfishness, of jealousy, of anger, but "do unto others as we would that others do unto us"; that in homes and communities there be more of love and the practice of the peace principles in the correction of faults; no whipping of children, no warlike playthings, no exciting war stories, no military drills, or soldier companies, no boys' brigades, but a most determined protest against the churches and schools that recently have introduced and encouraged these monstrous perversions of their professions, and are surely implanting the martial spirit in the young, and counteracting the earnest efforts of peace reformers. If we have not a conviction deeper than any human sophistry; a hope that cannot be blighted by temporary disappointments; a record equal to any criticism; a faith that will remove mountains; a love superior to any man's hate; a charity broad enough to extend to the ends of the earth, recognizing that there is some good in every one; and a dependence upon the Divine Power, even unto martyrdom, we have no right to expect universal peace.

We hold that laws must recognize the sacredness of human life upon the scaffold and upon the battlefield; that deadly force shall be abolished, and as a substitute that all differences that cannot be settled by ordinary diplomacy, shall be submitted to wise and impartial arbitration, the contracting parties agreeing

to abide by the decision ; that the study and practice of arbitration be introduced into schools and colleges, that we may educate and qualify the people to be arbitrators ; that appropriations for the army and navy, the building of battleships and fortifications, cease, except to convert them into hospitals and merchantmen, and form an international relief fund for the aid of mankind, irrespective of nationality, wherever there may be loss, distress, and suffering beyond their local power to relieve. Such a fund can be easily created when there are no war vessels to build, no standing armies to support, no war pensions to provide. Here would be the grandest pension-fund the world has ever known, cementing the nations into a common brotherhood, because of a common humanity.

Let the spirit of republicanism grow deeper and broader, such a spirit that comprehends freedom, justice, equal rights, charity, a world-wide philanthropy, temperance, and a friendly rivalry as to who can do the most good for his fellow-men, or show the highest gratitude to the Creator. As a means to this coveted end, let such congresses as those recently held at Chicago multiply ; let these world's exhibitions of the genius of man be repeated, not, however, beyond the claims of economy, fair play, propriety, and safety, but with the object of bringing all mankind into closer and more friendly relationship. Then will emperors and kings, and those in power everywhere, realize in time that all these things make for the prosperity and happiness of the people, for the people will be employed in "following after those things which make for peace," and by "doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly."

ALFRED H. LOVE.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

The Farmer's Tariff Manual. By Daniel Strange, M.Sc. 12mo, cloth, 378 pages. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price \$1.25.

This volume is No. 72 of Putnam's Popular Questions of the Day series, and is well worthy a place in this or any other series of works relating to economic subjects. Though called a farmer's manual, it is a book deserving a place in the library of every one who desires to be thoroughly informed on the much-discussed question of the tariff. Mr. Strange is a farmer, but evidently a close thinker and careful student as well. He is an avowed free trader, without any apologies for tariff, for revenue or any other purpose, and thus he has the advantage, in discussion, over the man who puts himself in the position of affirming that a forty per cent tariff is entirely wrong, but admitting that he is satisfied with one of thirty per cent. He declares that all tariff is wrong both in principle and practice, and that it can result only detrimentally to all concerned.

While the book is an arsenal of theories, facts, statistics, and arguments for the free trader, it cannot fail to interest, as well as instruct, the intelligent, fair-minded protectionist who will give it a perusal. It gives a history of every tariff law since the organization of our government, and briefly the history of protection in Australia, England, and Germany, giving separate chapters to each of the important protected industries, to farm products, to farmers, to laborers in protected and unprotected industries. There is no important phase of the subject that he does not discuss in a clear and able manner. His information is exhaustive, his sarcasm keen, and his logic unanswerable. The author's style may be inferred by reading the first article in this number of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*.

A Japanese Interior. By Alice Mabel Bacon, 16mo, cloth, 272 pages. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This book is a sort of diary or daily chronicle of events, sights, and impressions in the experience of the authoress during the year 1888-89 which she spent as a teacher in the Peeresses' School at Tokio.

She gives an interesting account of her preparations for housekeeping after arriving, and then describes her introduction into school work. One of the first peculiarities of her pupils that forced itself upon her attention was the absolute absence of any cause for discipline either in schoolroom, halls, or school grounds. Politeness restrains the pupils from doing anything that their teachers or superiors do not wish them to do. They are so governed by a high sense of honor that shamming or cheating in order to improve their grades is never resorted to. The centuries of honor in which the families from which her pupils came have been held seem to have had so much hereditary influence that the daughters are ladies in the true sense, even when dressed in such style that an American beggar would laugh at them.

Later on the author discovered that Japanese babies are dressed sensibly, with regard for their comfort rather than for appearance's sake. Furthermore, in Japan no one ever makes a noise at a baby or jiggles it to make it stop crying. If it cries and cannot be quieted by gentle means, it is allowed to cry until it stops of its own accord, which it usually does soon. When their children are older they seem as bright and active as American children, and far less nervous and irritable.

Miss Bacon gives an amusing description of her first jinrikisha ride. The man who furnished the motive power was so strong and active, and ran so fast as to cause serious apprehension in the mind of the rider as well as that of pedestrians in the way as to their safety. She says : "The worst of this kind of thing is while you have no control whatever over your man, you cannot help feeling responsible for his carelessness."

Among the descriptions, given more or less in detail, but all in an interesting style, are Japanese funerals, theatres, holidays,

weddings and scandals. The book is a very readable one, and perhaps all the more entertaining because the author's sight-seeing was only an incident, and not the primary object of her visit to Japan.

The Disease of Inebriety. By T. D. Crothers, M.D. 8vo, cloth, 400 pages. New York: E. B. Treat & Co.

The American Association for the Study and Cure of Inebriety was organized in New York City in 1870, and this book contains the substance of the papers and discussions of the members, ably edited by Dr. T. D. Crothers, secretary of the association. The members of the association were all physicians connected with the asylums for inebriates or interested in the scientific study of the great problem. The following statements were adopted as representing the principles and purposes of the association: 1. Inebriety is a disease. 2. It is as curable as other diseases are. 3. The constitutional tendency to this disease may be either inherited or acquired; but it is often induced by the habitual use of alcohol or other narcotic substances. 4. Alcohol has its place in the arts and sciences, but as a medicine it is classed among the poisons, and its internal use is always more or less dangerous and should be prescribed with great caution. 5. All methods hitherto employed for the treatment of inebriety that have not recognized the disordered physical condition caused by alcohol, opium, or other narcotics, have proved inadequate in its cure; hence the establishment of hospitals for the special treatment of inebriety in which such conditions are recognized becomes a positive need of the age. 6. In view of these facts, and the increased success of the treatment in inebriate asylums, this association urges that every large city should have its local and temporary hospital for the care and treatment of inebriates; and that every state should have hospitals for their more permanent detention and treatment. 7. Facts and experience indicate clearly that it is the duty of the civil authorities to recognize inebriety as a disease and to provide means in hospitals and asylums for its scientific treatment, in place of the penal methods by fines and imprisonment hitherto in use with all their attendant evils. 8. Finally, the officers of

such hospitals and asylums should have ample legal power of control over their patients and authority to retain them a sufficient length of time for their permanent cure.

Authorities back to the days of Herodotus are quoted to show that inebriety is a disease but that, like insanity, the public is slow to understand the truth. This volume contains a most excellent history of drunkenness, of its causes, of its methods of treatment as a disease, and of the efforts made to deal with it as a sin or moral weakness. The arguments presented seem unanswerable, both as to inebriety being a disease and as to the duty of the state to so recognize it in dealing with it. While the treatment of the subject is scientific, the style is simple and interesting, and the book can be read by any person of ordinary education and intelligence.

The appendix by Clark Bell, Esq., on "Drunkenness as a Defense," is of special interest to the legal profession, since a large number of cases are cited in which the law has been laid down on the subject.

One thing that strikes the reader as remarkably strange is that in all these four hundred pages not a single reference is made to Dr. Keeley or his gold cure. It cannot be an oversight, for no method of dealing with inebriety has ever excited the interest that has been aroused by Dr. Keeley's treatment. The oversight cannot be explained on the ground of "treating with silent contempt," because the Keeley cure, with its one hundred hospitals in active operation, is too strong to be thus ignored. It is based, too, on the ground that inebriety is a disease that cannot, except in rare cases, be preached or prayed out of the victim, and thus far Dr. Crothers and Dr. Keeley seem to agree. If Dr. Keeley's method is based on false principles and his treatment ineffectual or harmful, it would seem that this book in some way should have demonstrated its weakness; or, on the other hand, if his method is the blessing that thousands believe it to be, it surely deserves favorable mention in a book intended to be a complete treatise on the subject, and which is assumed to have the good of humanity at heart.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

FEBRUARY, 1894.

A STUDY IN SOCIOLOGY.

BY G. M. W. BILLS.

“**H**OPE springs eternal in the human breast”; let him, therefore, who would invite popular favor, proclaim a philosophy of hope.

But the curse was pronounced upon Adam. We were not there to prevent it, and fail to see how we could have done so if we had been; and at the risk of incurring the charge of pessimism we are bound to recognize its existence. The simple lesson of human history is truly expressed by the poet: “Man ever into ruin runs.” Let him aspire as he will and should, contrive as he may, the fact still remains that his powers are narrowly limited, his tendencies downward, his nature generally out of harmony with its environment.

In no department of human activity is this lack of harmony and easy adjustment more vividly, painfully apparent than in the social and economic. The rich, the poor; the high, the low; luxury, want—whence these antagonistic symbols, expressive of conditions alike inimical to the highest human welfare?

Judged by finite standards, *equality* is the great desideratum of society. But equality is nowhere found. The broad face of earth exhibits no spot which is free from the bane of inequality. Wealth and poverty jostle each other. The rags of the beggar brush against purple and fine linen. Happiness and misery, prosperity and adversity, hope and despair, are heaped together into the seething caldron of human life. This has ever been the situation, and—must we say it?—shall ever continue to be.

And why? Why must society remain thus burdened and out

of joint? What is the seat of the disease? and is it true that it is incurable?

To the solution of this question twenty centuries of human thought and experiment have been given; and a long line of social doctrinaires, representing every generation of men from Phales of Chalcedon to Henry George and Jacob Spies (for they are at one on this point) of America, answer, *the defect is with the systems and is curable*; permit us to answer, as we have already done, *the defect is with the man*, and though to some indefinite extent improvable, yet never to be wholly cured.

It is unnecessary to trace minutely the history of the different movements of socialistic and communistic reform which have been organized, in order to show the fallacy which underlies them all.

Certain of the ancient Hindoos and Egyptians sought relief for society in *community of goods* while cursed with a *polytheism* and *religious caste* which precluded all true development.

The Jewish sect of the Essenes adopted the same idea and held their property in common, while they discarded the very cornerstone of real social strength and purity—the institution of marriage.

Then followed, in the fourteenth century, Gerard Groot and the “brethren and clerks of the common life,” and the Adamites of the Netherlands, whose unbridled license in the name of community turned the very stomach of Germany and resulted in their complete extirpation.

Afterward appeared in France, St. Simon, a noble soul, gathering about him the men of learning, and in travels and abundant hospitality, sought to extend his knowledge of mankind and to teach his so-called *New Christianity*, a beautiful scheme for the reconstruction of the religion, politics, industry, and social relations of men; but, after the dissipation of his fortune, the old man found himself abandoned to the most painful privations; and the grand formulas of St. Simon, after stirring the young blood of France for a brief period, lost their cohesive power and the new sect rapidly dispersed.

A few years later the vigorous thought of Charles Fourier pro-

cured him many followers in France, England, and the United States ; but nowhere have his magnificent *a priori* speculations been successfully reduced to operation.

Louis Blanc saw in a *patriarchal government* the amelioration of the evils of which we speak ; and following him, Proudhon determined to carry out his reforms without the aid of the state. Under the direction of the former, the provisional government erected public workshops and paid wages to hundreds of thousands of laborers ; but all this effort only ended in the socialistic insurrection of 1848 in hopeless defeat ; while the "Bank of the People," an association of twenty thousand laborers organized by the latter, came quickly under the ban of the government laws of trade, and Proudhon's followers, perhaps rightly, maintain that his scheme has never had a fair trial.

These efforts may be said to have had their culmination in Europe in the work of Robert Owen, of England, whose fundamental proposition was that man is entirely the result of his environments ; so that to reform his character and to produce his entire happiness nothing is necessary but the change of his external relations. This bold doctrinaire is probably justly credited with the origination of the modern system of co-operation. He used his great wealth freely in the establishment at New Lanark of a manufacturing colony where his ideas were applied to the government of the laboring classes ; fairness in the compensation of labor, vast domestic economies and a thorough system of infant and adult training gave it for a time great and increasing prosperity and popularity. Statesmen and churchmen alike admitted the great success of the experiment. Other establishments quickly followed at New Harmony, Indiana, and Orbiston, Scotland, but they soon failed. Owen's popularity rapidly waned and he accomplished nothing beyond his earliest effort. He had traveled over the world to indoctrinate it with his principles, but the world remained to the end of his life stubbornly incredulous.

Thus has this idea, that by means of the physical reconstruction of the social organization and economic methods the millennial condition is to be ushered in, clung to the minds of men

throughout all the actual social changes which have marked the progress of the race ; and under each new form of society the same seeming panacea has been sought to be applied. Even our own free soil, with its sturdy growth of nineteenth century civilization, the land of liberal government, of free education, of active capital and opulent labor, has not escaped the blight of this fatal heresy of human thought. It overwhelmed poor Greeley with debt and disappointment at Brook Farm ; it inspired the riot, suffering, and bloodshed of 1886 ; it spoke from the platform and in the resolutions of the great Richmond convention ; its fruit was seen in the crime, humiliation, and ruin of the wretched culprits marching to execution in an Illinois prison ; it is rallying the laboring classes all over the Union to hostile organization. It is error ; its essential aim the destruction rather than the conservation of the social weal. It finds the source of the evils which afflict society in the social system itself, while it overlooks the free agency and the intellectual limitation and moral unsoundness of the individuals who comprise the social organism. *The system is only the effect, man the cause.* Shall the stream rise above its source ? Men differ in their capacity ; they differ in their attainments ; they are characterized by varying degrees of industry ; they are all supremely selfish. Health blesses some ; disease preys upon others ; numberless and irreconcilable inconsistencies constitute the very warp and woof of human character.

The products of mind and body vary, both in kind and quantity, with the varying capacities and constantly changing states of the producer ; yet these myriads of incongruous forces must have free intercourse with and act upon, though independently of, one another, for this is the normal law of all production ; and competition alone furnishes the motive for human exertion. Here there is a problem as complex as the universe of God. Who shall construct a system by which these varied and conflicting elements may be reduced to harmony and kept in equilibrium ? Shall it be communism ? Communism, as a general social principle, begins in the *tyranny* of the *few* and ends in the *tyranny* of the *many*. Shall it be coöperation ? Coöperation as

an economic system begins in the *poverty* of the *many* and ends in the *wealth* of the *few*. Say you that the more capable and industrious should be stripped of their earnings to maintain the stupid and thriftless! You travesty your Mother Nature and ignore her fundamental law. *Distribute the world's capital equally to-day, and to-morrow will witness as great diversity of fortune as yesterday.*

The various forms of social and economic organization which have been promulgated, tried and discarded are as numerous as the generations of men. That under which we live, based upon the free interchange of human ideas and the products of human effort and the free competition of human labor under the operation of the law of supply and demand and in accordance with the natural diversified conditions of human capacity, is the survivor of them all—"the flower of the ages;" and from its very simplicity and naturalness commends itself to the genius and experience of men as that best adapted to promote the public weal. Yet the thorn still springs and the brier spreads, the curse still blights creation, and the wilderness has not yet budded or blossomed. We repeat it, therefore, reader, the defect is not in the *system* but in the *man*. It is a disease of the man. Its nature is moral and intellectual, but chiefly moral. Man is imperfect. Selfishness is the mainspring of his action. Indolence, prodigality, passion, and prejudice lie about and sap the very roots of his social and commercial life.

We have no controversy with the apostles of the various social and economic systems. If there is any power in man's surroundings to make him better, by all means let it be applied; but it is *man* that is sick; and the nature of the malady seems to us to suggest clearly the proper method of treatment. Labor complains that capital does not divide; let labor develop industry and thrift and conscientiousness, and let capital put on benevolence.

Poverty complains that wealth does not sympathize and help; let poverty cultivate patience and let wealth *grow in grace*. That which is needed to bring about peace and prosperity is the moral regeneration and the intellectual elevation of mankind.

Indeed, the progress of the race has been chiefly ethical. Nations which twenty centuries ago were our equals in intellectual strength, and our superiors in the realm of mechanic arts, we are to-day teaching morals. The growth has been chiefly ethical; and in its continuance lies the hope of the future. The speculations of the so-called social reformers in the realm of economic science must ever prove illusive. Man can no more invent a social system which will neutralize and eradicate his own mental and moral faultiness than he can overcome the physical law of gravitation and lift himself by the straps of his boot legs.

It is the spirit of universal brotherhood—the loving thy neighbor as thyself—that alone can revolutionize the face of society. When, if ever, this shall prevail among men, wealth will no longer be hoarded to satisfy the greed of gain or pamper the luxurious desire; but capital will cheerfully yield to labor the fair proportion of the profits of their joint production, and poverty and suffering will scarce exist in the presence of plenty.

Finally, reader, if you are weary of the sight of human misery; if you seek the mysterious balm which shall heal the wounded spirit of poverty, alleviate suffering, and check the progress of the fatal social disease, by which the rich are growing richer and the poor more miserable; which shall equalize human effort and level the ranks of men, set about the work of moral and intellectual cultivation, put an enlarged benevolence and high sense of justice in the place of selfishness and blind unconscientiousness; educate every man's intellect until he is able to discern in history, science, and philosophy, and to gather from experience by his own processes of induction, the highest, noblest lessons of life, and to comprehend its real verities; and, though you may never reach your ideal in the present world, yet every step you take in this direction will bring you nearer to the goal of your ambition.

G. M. W. BILLS.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AS A FACTOR IN POLITICS.

BY REV. E. D. M'CREARY, PH.D.

THE Roman Catholic Church is the mightiest organization on the face of the earth. This statement is true for a threefold reason.

1. It is possessed of a might of endurance such as has been manifested by no other institution. For more than twelve centuries it has serenely held on its way, undisturbed by the mutations of time and unharmed amidst the wreck of nations, and the destruction of empires. It is the sole survivor of all the institutions born under, and fostered by, the Roman Empire. That mighty empire itself—in many respects the greatest and mightiest political organization with which history makes us acquainted—perished long centuries ago; but the Roman Church remains, having successfully withstood the hostile agencies that destroyed that vast imperial power, the ravages of time, and the persistent and impetuous attacks of numerous and powerful foes. Though hoary with age, it shows no symptoms of desuetude or decay, but is even now contending sturdily, valiantly, and vigorously with all comers for the leadership of the world. It is also everywhere putting forth Herculean efforts for its own advancement and aggrandizement; and in carrying out its plans and purposes it displays a persistency, energy, astuteness, and wisdom unequaled by any of its rivals.

2. It has the might of multitudinous millions of ardent adherents. Not less than one sixth of the world's population is sheltered in its fold. Its votaries are found in every land and on every sea; they speak all languages, embrace all classes, colors, and conditions of mankind, from the humblest peasant to the proudest prince. This diversified host of adherents is

molded into a homogeneous mass by their common love of loyalty to the church in which they have been reared and nurtured, and by their unquestioning obedience to the hierarchy—whose will is their law. The faithful Catholic everywhere displays a degree of zeal and devotion to the interests of his church, and of obedience to its authority, unparalleled by the members of any other ecclesiastical organization.

3. It is mighty in its methods of administering and conducting the vast and varied concerns under its care and control. So perfect and complete is it in all its appointments, and so thoroughly adapted are its methods of procedure to attaining the desired end, that England's great historian, Macaulay, felt impelled to pronounce the following eulogy upon it: "The polity of the church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom. The experience of twelve hundred eventful years, the ingenuity and patient care of forty generations of statesmen, have brought that polity to such perfection, that among the contrivances which have been devised for deceiving and controlling mankind, it occupies the highest place." The power that operates and makes effective this astute polity is the pope and the College of Cardinals, who, from their headquarters at Rome, direct and control the affairs of the church in every land, and thus give homogeneity to the vast and varied hosts that compose the Roman Catholic Church; all of whom are pledged to faithful and unfaltering obedience to the mandates of their spiritual rulers. The administration of the pope and his advisers is characterized by shrewdness, persistency, and vigor, and, inasmuch as they are able to direct the influence and activities of the mighty forces under their control in any channel they may choose, the Church of Rome under their direction has always proved itself to be a dangerous foe when its resentment has been aroused, or a powerful friend and ally to any cause which it may have espoused.

This mighty organization has been increasing with great rapidity in this country during the current century. At the beginning of this century there were, in round numbers, 100,000 Roman Catholics in the United States. To-day this

church lays claim to one sixth of our population. This great increase of one hundredfold in the Catholic population of this country during the last nine decades is almost wholly due to the fact that during that time many millions of immigrants have flocked to our hospitable shores, most of whom have come from Catholic countries and were of the Catholic faith. These immigrants and their descendants constitute, in the main, the membership of the Catholic Church in America to-day.

This great increase in the numerical strength of the Catholic Church in this country would be a matter of little moment if that church, like other Christian bodies, were simply an ecclesiastical organization engaged in spreading the Gospel and devoted to the spiritual and moral elevation of mankind. But the facts of history show conclusively that wherever the Roman Catholic Church has gone on its ecclesiastical mission, it has, as soon as it has obtained place and power, boldly entered the civil and political arena, and has everywhere sought to dominate in civil and political matters as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. Its history has been such as to justify fully the assertion of John Milton concerning it, when he said, "Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims twofold power—ecclesiastical and political." That Milton by no means misrepresented or exaggerated the claims of the papacy, which dominates and represents the Catholic element in all lands and time, is made evident from the following excerpts gleaned from the "Canon Law," which is the undisputed and fundamental code of the Roman Catholic Church :

"All human power is from evil and must therefore be under the pope."

"The church is empowered to grant, or to take away, any temporal possession."

"The pope has the right to annul state laws, treaties, constitutions, etc., and to absolve from obedience thereto as soon as they seem detrimental to the rights of the church, or those of the clergy."

"The pope possesses the right of admonishing, and, if needs be, of punishing temporal rulers, emperors and kings, as well as

of drawing before the spiritual forum any case in which a mortal sin occurs."

"The pope can annul all legal relations of those in ban and can release from every obligation, oath and vow, either before or after being made."

The purport of the Canon Law is summarized in a famous encyclical of one of the popes, which says: "The Roman Catholic Church has a right to exercise its authority without any limits set to it by the civil power; the pope and the priests ought to have dominion over temporal affairs; in case of conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, the ecclesiastical powers ought to prevail."

The records of the past show beyond possibility of contradiction that the pope, and through him, the Roman Catholic Church, of which he is the head and ruler, has not been slow to utilize to the utmost the powers and prerogatives which the "Canon Law" and papal encyclicals declare him to be possessed of, whenever and wherever he has been in a position to enforce his claims. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Roman Church attained to the pinnacle of power and dominated the religious, social, civil and political life of all Europe. Civil rulers bowed at the footstool of the papal power, trembled at its threats, accepted its dictations, and implicitly obeyed its injunctions. It dispensed crowns, dethroned kings, absolved subjects from allegiance to their rightful sovereigns, or sanctioned their bondage under tyrants, according to its own pleasure or caprice, and ruled everywhere—in the political realm as well as in ecclesiastical affairs—with a rod of iron. The church, through the pope, its acknowledged head, embroiled cabinets, concocted conspiracies, kindled wars and made peace. The papal power was superior to all political, temporal and human government, and its slightest whisper on political affairs caused every throne in Europe to nod assent.

It is well to note in this connection that the motto chosen by the Catholic Church as best representing its character, nature, and principles is, *Semper idem*—"always the same." This motto is significant of the fact that whatever claim the church

puts forth, she always holds to tenaciously ; whatever power she has once obtained and exercised, she claims forever after ; whatever policy she once inaugurates, she inflexibly pursues. If compelled by the force of circumstances to relinquish temporal dominion, she never abdicates the throne, nor ceases to assert her right to rule ; if driven from the political arena, she waits with patient watchfulness her opportunity to re-enter whenever a favorable opportunity may present itself.

In this country universal suffrage affords the Catholic Church the opportunity of becoming a factor in politics such as is open to it nowhere else, and which it has not been slow to take advantage of. Within the Catholic communion in the United States there are between two and three million voters. All that is needed to make the Catholic hierarchy a most potent factor in American politics is to cause these millions of Catholic voters to interest themselves in political matters, and to cast their ballots so as to promote the welfare and further the interests of their church. This they are now being trained, urged, and commanded to do. This is being done largely through the agency of the Catholic press. In a leading article in *The Catholic World* entitled "The Catholic of the Nineteenth Century," we find the following significant statement : "The most obvious, interesting, and important view of the Catholic in his relations to the century is that of voting. We do not hesitate to affirm that in performing our duties as citizens, electors, and public officers, we should always and under all circumstances, act simply as Catholics." In a recent number of the *Catholic Review* the following explicit directions are given to Catholic voters : "When a Catholic candidate is on a ticket and his opponent is a non-Catholic, let the Catholic candidate have the vote, no matter what he represents." Referring to a petition got up by himself and other prominent Catholics for presentation to the New York legislature at its ensuing session asking for the division of the public school funds, Dr. Michael Walsh, editor of the New York *Sunday Democrat*, said : "We propose to get the members of the legislature on record on this question. The politicians are all afraid of it, and it will have a lot of opposition to meet, of course, but we

expect that and are prepared for it. The politicians know that any position they may take will hurt them with one party or the other; but we do not care for either party. *The Catholics hold the balance of power and they will not permit the politicians to forget that fact.* The politicians now have hold of a poker that is hot at both ends, but it is hotter for them in the middle, and they will have to take hold at one end or the other."

The pope, a greater power than the press in Catholic circles, has been making earnest appeals to his followers to make their influence strongly felt in the political arena. In an encyclical issued by Leo XIII, a few years ago, the following significant sentences occur: "We exhort all Catholics to take an active part in municipal affairs and elections, and to favor the principles of the church in all public services, meetings, and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in the countries where they live. They must penetrate wherever possible into the administration of civil affairs, and should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of states and legislation to be modeled in the principles of the true church." In another encyclical, Pope Leo gives still more explicit directions to his subservient subjects in reference to using their political power and influence to promote the interests of the church. He says: "Furthermore, in politics, men ought always and in the first place to serve, as far as possible, the interests of Catholicism. The church cannot grant its patronage or favor to men whom it knows to be hostile to it, or who openly refuse to respect its rights. On the contrary, its duty is to favor those, who, having sound ideas as to the relations between church and state, wish to make them both harmonize. These principles contain the rule according to which every Catholic ought to model his public life." How the utterances of the pope on all subjects are to be regarded and treated by true Catholics may be learned from the following extract from a sermon preached by Vicar-General Preston in New York, Jan. 1, 1888: "Every word Leo speaks from his high chair is the voice of the Holy Ghost, and must be obeyed. To every Catholic heart comes no thought but obedience. It is said

that politics is not within the province of the church, and that the church has only jurisdiction in matters of faith. You say 'I will receive my faith from the Pontiff but I will not receive my politics from him.' This assertion is disloyal and untruthful. You must not think as you choose ; you must think as Catholics. The man who says, 'I will take my faith from Peter, but not my politics from Peter,' is not a true Catholic."

Such *ex cathedra* statements as these, coming from the highest authorities in the Catholic hierarchy are sufficient to convince any fair-minded person that it is the purpose and intention of the parties who dominate the Catholic Church to use its members as their agents in the political arena for the aggrandizement of the church ; and that the influence and votes of its adherents must be cast at their dictation for that party and for such candidates as will pledge themselves to best subserve the interests of Catholicism. How shrewdly, even when comparatively few in number, the Catholic vote, under the direction and astute leadership of Catholic prelates, is made most effective may be learned from a statement made by Cardinal Wiseman concerning their method of operation in England a number of years ago. He says that at that time "only one Catholic member was to be found in Parliament ; yet we did not despair. Catholics observed that the electors were divided between two parties, and they found that by combining their strength and then bringing it to bear in favor of one side or the other, they could cause that side to succeed which appeared the most disposed to do them justice. Thus we have taught the two parties in the state to count the Catholics as something."

Where they have a larger following they take a bolder course as the following fact will show. In 1875 the seven bishops of the Catholic Church in Canada, when an important election was pending, issued a pastoral letter to their people. They instructed the priests in their pastoral letter to direct their parishioners how to vote ; what candidate to support and whom to oppose ; and the sole basis of their favor or hostility was to be the friendliness or the hostility of these various candidates to the papal church. The electors in Canada were threatened

with excommunication if they should vote differently from what the priests directed. It was sworn by many electors, when the matters were brought before the courts after election, that they voted under the threat of excommunication, and believed that they would be damned in hell if they voted differently from what the priests commanded them. Such occurrences substantiate the truth of the statement made by the eminent English historian, James Anthony Froude, that "every true Catholic is bound to think and act as his priest tells him, and a republic of true Catholics becomes a theocracy administered by the clergy." It was because the archbishop of Toronto knew that he could control every Catholic vote in Canada that he recently audaciously wrote to a British peer that his church held the balance of power in Canada and that it would direct that power according to its preference, and that the home government might take notice and govern itself accordingly. In July, 1856, Bishop Charbonnel, of Toronto, excommunicated four members of the Canadian government for not voting in the provincial Parliament according to his requirements.

Similar efforts have been put forth by Catholic prelates and priests in this country to influence and control elections in the interests of persons and parties favorable to the plans and purposes of their church. In October, 1841, Archbishop Hughes publicly appeared before a large audience of Catholics and gave his episcopal approval to a political ticket for senators and assemblymen from New York City, advocated their election, and required from his auditors a pledge of adherence to his nominations, which was at once heartily and enthusiastically given. Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, in his Lenten pastoral of 1873, instructed his parishioners that no candidate for office should receive their votes without first pledging himself to support the division of the school fund. In September, 1889, a convention met in Santa Fe, N. M., and framed a constitution to be submitted to the people under which it was hoped that New Mexico would be admitted into the Union. The Roman Catholic Archbishop warned the convention that if provisions should be made for the creation of an unsectarian system of public schools, the

Roman Catholic Church would oppose the adoption of the constitution. Undeterred by this threat the convention inserted a provision for a system of unsectarian public schools. On the Sunday before the date for voting on the adoption of the constitution the pulpits of forty-two Roman Catholic churches in New Mexico fulminated decrees against the proposed constitution, telling their parishioners "they would be permitted to go to hell-fire if they voted for the constitution." In the Cathedral in Santa Fe the Vicar-General commanded his hearers to vote against "that wicked constitution." Priests went from house to house commanding the women to see that the male members of the family should vote as instructed by the church. When the election took place it was found that the American cities and towns gave the constitution good majorities, while the Mexican population voted almost solidly against it in accordance with the instructions given them by their priests.

The Bennet and Edwards school laws adopted by the states of Wisconsin and Illinois were repugnant to the Catholic hierarchy because they provided that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen must attend, for at least twelve weeks in the year, some school where reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history were taught in the *English Language*, and giving the school authorities power to decide whether given schools, other than public schools, were fulfilling the conditions of the law. The Catholic bishops of Wisconsin issued a manifesto against the law; a similar manifesto was read in the Catholic churches of Illinois, calling upon the Catholics of that state to vote only for candidates who would disfavor this law. The result of this Catholic campaign is still fresh in the public mind.

Not content, however, with coercing their own people in matters of politics, the Catholic leaders seek by threats of "political damnation" to intimidate legislators who manifest unwillingness to yield to their behests, or who oppose any of their measures. Such an unseemly menace was made a few years ago in the *Catholic Review*, a periodical in high favor with the hierarchy, and commended by the Bishop of Brooklyn, Cardinal McClosky, the Bishop of New York, Cardinal Cullen, and many other prel-

ates. Commenting on the refusal of the legislature of New York to grant certain favors to the Roman Church the editors boasted that those legislators, through the political influence wielded by the Catholic Church, had been retired to private life, and they affirmed that they had a list who would follow them into political retirement unless they yielded to do the bidding of their Catholic constituency. Father McGlynn, in his speech on "The Pope in Politics," delivered in New York before an immense audience, accused the Catholic prelates and priests of that diocese of seeking to control their parishioners in political matters. He declared that political tracts were sent through ecclesiastical channels at the direction of "the vicar-general and the boss of Tammany hall," which is a political Catholic institution, to be distributed in the pews of the churches, directing the members how and for whom to cast their votes. He urged his hearers to refuse to take their politics from Rome. "For," said he, "the more you take your politics from Rome the less religion you will have; and the more you refuse to take your politics from Rome the more likely you are to preserve your religion in its purity, and to win for your religion the respect, the friendship, and perhaps the fellowship, of your fellow-countrymen."

Neither the hierarchy nor the church is disposed to hear and heed Father McGlynn's sensible and timely advice; but with their constantly increasing numbers they are endeavoring to secure for themselves a commanding position in national as well as in sectional political affairs, and, as in Canada, by holding the balance of power, become a controlling factor in national elections and thus, in some degree at least, be able to determine the policy of the government.

Shortly before the late presidential election, Bishop Spaulding; in an address before the Catholics of Peoria, Illinois, directed them, "either to vote the Democratic ticket or not vote at all." The priest in charge of St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church in Detroit preached a sermon the Sunday before the above mentioned election, which was published in the *Cleveland Leader*, and in which the following sentences occur: "Vote for the Democratic party. It is the party that supports us, and it

is our duty to support the Democratic party. The church is the voice of God, and the church through its priests tells you whom to vote for and whom not to vote for." And all true Catholics are bound to obey the dictates of the priests and church. But neither church nor priests care anything for the party with which they act, save as that party can be made a tool to further their designs and carry out their plans and promote their interests. The Roman Catholic Church itself is a compact, wily, and unscrupulous political party; when unable alone to carry out its designs it uses other organizations to further its purposes, if possible; but when it is strong enough alone, it employs its own methods and men.

For many years it has been the policy of the Catholic Church to concentrate its forces in our great and growing cities. In 1853, D'Arcy Magee, editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, a Catholic organ, started a movement for taking poor Irish Roman Catholics out of the cities and inducing them to settle on the broad and fertile prairies of the West. This movement was a failure, being everywhere opposed by Catholics, prelates, and priests, who insisted that their followers should remain in the cities, which are the great centers of political power and action. Already, under this policy, our great cities have become Catholic strongholds—and in many of them the Catholics not only hold the balance of power, but are the dominant power in city politics. In New York the Roman Catholic authorities estimate their communicants at 800,000; in San Francisco they lay claim to more than one half the city's population; while in Chicago, New Orleans, Boston, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, they nearly equal, if, indeed, they do not surpass, the Protestant element of the population. Wherever they predominate they take the lion's share, and sometimes *all*, of the public offices. *The Churchman*, of New York, commenting on the election that made Hugh J. Grant mayor of New York, called attention to the fact that "the municipal officers just now elected are, without exception, Romanists." After the above election the *Mail and Express* gave the following summary of New York officials who were Catholics: "They have the mayor, the sheriff, the comp-

troller, the counsel to the corporation, the whole board of tax assessors, the commissioner of public works, the superintendent of the street cleaning department, the clerk of the board of aldermen, and a majority of that board, every member of the board of tax commissioners, several of the justices of the supreme, superior, and common pleas courts, the control of the board of estimate and apportionment, the majority in many of the ward boards of trustees, a large portion of the board of education, the control of the department of charities and corrections, the majority of the police force, the control of the fire department, of the board of street openings, the whole of the armory board, the register of deeds, the commissioner of jurors, one half the commissioners of accounts, supervisor of the city records, the collector of the port, the sub-treasury, a majority of the commissioners of the sinking fund, the majority of the delegation in Congress and in the State Senate and Assembly."

Commenting on a recent election in San Francisco, *The Western Witness* said: "Nearly one half of the city government of San Francisco will be in the hands of Catholics for the coming two years." A gentleman widely acquainted in Marin County, California, a very strong Catholic county, said to the writer of this article, "I am personally acquainted with every county official in this county, and every one of them is a Catholic." The statement has been recently made that while twenty-five years ago there were but six Roman Catholics among the city officials of Boston, now there are over fifty, and that more than 4,000 of the employees of that city are Roman Catholics. Such facts as these, and they might be indefinitely multiplied, did space permit, conclusively show that wherever the Roman Catholics are in the majority, they elect Romanists to every office and run the office as far as they can in the interests of their church.

Thus it comes that their political power has a money value to the church. This explains how it has come to pass that the Catholic Church has received such large grants from the public treasury of cities, and sometimes from even the general government, so that it supports many of the institutions of the church

out of the public funds. The Tweed ring in one year made an appropriation of \$800,000 of the public funds of the city of New York for the use of the Catholic Church, in return for its political influence. Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, in 1880, gave a detailed account of how the Roman Catholics of New York were given by the city authorities five and one half blocks of city property, valued at three and one half million of dollars, in consideration of political services rendered. Out of an appropriation of \$600,000 made by the legislature of New York for denominational purposes, \$510,000 was bestowed on the Roman Catholics. The partiality exhibited toward the Catholics in this distribution had its origin in the fact that it alone of all the denominations uses its influence for partisan purposes and by means of influencing the votes of its adherents in the interest of those who favor it, seeks to make the church a controlling factor in politics and thereby reap large benefits for itself and its constituency.

The ultimate purpose of all this intermeddling in political affairs on the part of the Catholic hierarchy is to secure the supremacy of the church in this country. Dr. Brownson, a prominent Catholic authority, in his *Review* for July, 1864, said: "Undoubtedly it is the intention of the pope to possess this country. In this intention he is aided by the Jesuits and all the Catholic prelates and priests." Under the direction of their wily leaders they are advancing to complete control in the nation as fast as they can. They are subjugating our cities; they are debauching our politicians; they are throttling our newspapers; they are robbing our treasuries; they are planning the destruction of our public schools; they are seeking to subvert our Constitution and destroy our liberties. The past history of this mighty and merciless organization, that is "always the same," ought to convince our American people that its presence in the political arena is a menace to the public welfare and presages grave danger to the state.

REV. E. D. McCREARY.

OUGHT THE UNITED STATES TO ANNEX CANADA?

BY VERNON R. ANDREW.

NATIONS, like individuals, are constantly called upon to solve problems of grave importance to themselves and the future generations of the human race. As soon as one question has been settled and relegated to the dominion of the past, others of equal and even greater importance arise and demand immediate attention. Each of these questions, as it appears in our midst, brings with it a multitude of disputants, who protest loudly, and usually quite sincerely, that its final settlement will deluge the world with blessings or with ills. However, these questions seldom possess the importance with which men, enthused with the spirit of argumentation, are pleased to clothe them. Each has a bearing upon the future destiny of the world. Some are more important than others, but none are of vital importance.

One of the questions which confronts us at the present time demanding solution, is that of the political reunion of the United States and Canada. It does not seem to me that it possesses, at the present day, so high a degree of importance as do some other questions. I do not believe any solution this great problem could receive would start the machinery to running in our idle factories; cause the joyous sound of pick and shovel to be heard in our closed mines, or keep the agriculturist of our great land from growing poorer and poorer as one year follows another in rapid succession. Therefore, I do not feel that this is one of the vital questions of the hour. However, it is a question of importance, and as time rolls on it may possibly become the question of all questions.

No doubt those persons in the United States who favor the political union of these sister communities are on the popular side of this question. We feel that we are blest with the

grandest government the world has ever known. We love our country, even to its faults and weaknesses, and desire to see it grow and prosper. People generally are moved more frequently by sentiment than by logic and, consequently, the enthusiastic patriot, without reasoning to any great extent about the matter, but with love for his country in his heart, naturally feels that the acquisition of any new territory must add just so much more to his country's greatness. However, we must always bear in mind the fact that the nation and the family are essentially the same. They differ in degree, but not in kind, and the same principles must be kept in mind in an attempt to build up the one or the other. No sane man would claim for a moment that the importance and standing of a family are dependent upon the number of persons it contains. All will admit that the family is best off which is sufficiently small, so that each of its members can be well fed, well clothed, and well educated, rather than the one which is so large that it has a half-fed, poorly clothed, and uneducated representative in each of the various callings of life. That nation, likewise, which has the ability to develop and protect the interests of all its citizens is the ideal nation. It may not extend over a great expanse of territory, nor rule over an infinite number of subjects, but if the territory which it does possess is fully developed, and its citizens, as a whole, are well educated, if its laws insure equal rights to all, and do not enrich the few at the expense of the multitude, it is a great nation in the best and truest sense.

It is our duty to consider this question from the United States standpoint. It is practically immaterial to us whether the union of these two great communities would be beneficial or otherwise to Canada. It is sufficient for us to guard the interests of our own citizens and leave the rest to our Canadian neighbors.

What, then, has the *United States* to gain or lose by this union? Will her gain be greater than her loss? The correct answer to these two questions ought to determine our position on this great question. We are certainly not in need of any more territory. We now find it necessary to import the scum of the Old World

in order to people our unoccupied lands. Let the United States government pass the proper immigration laws and she will be able to furnish her own children with homes for untold years to come. She already possesses sufficient territory to enable her to become the greatest nation the world has ever known. The bountiful hand of Nature has supplied her with all she could desire. It only remains for her to make the most of her opportunities. Located, as she is, at a great distance from the other leading nations of the world, she has nothing to fear from any foreign foe. Her dangers are internal not external. She neither maintains a large army and navy herself nor makes it necessary for other nations to do so. Warlike nations retain these relics of barbarism as a means of protection against each other and not for the purpose of defending themselves from the attacks of a nation such as the United States, with neither army nor navy. How then could the political reunion of the United States and Canada "powerfully influence the settlement of all internal disputes by peaceful arbitration rather than by the sword, and tend to cause the disbandment of the great armies of Europe," as the Hon. Francis Wayland Glen so confidently asserts in his able article on this subject in the December number of this publication? Such an influence if it existed at all would certainly be so feeble and remote as to be of but slight importance to the people of the United States in their desire to arrive at a correct solution of this problem.

Mr. Glen also quotes from a letter of Mr. Wiman published in *Truth* in March, 1891, in which he says; "The two nationalities set out side by side one hundred and twenty years ago on the race for continental supremacy. The United States had an untried form of government, had no capital, no backing, and no previous experience, working out on a vast scale a plan of self-government, and an experiment in finance and development. Canada had behind her, Great Britain, stable institutions, enormous supplies of money, and everything to make her great. Yet to-day the two countries are widely different in the results achieved. One has a population of sixty-four million, the other a population of barely five million. Measured by every stand-

ard of comparison, the experiment in Canada of self-reliance and self-development is a failure. If the Declaration of Independence had taken in the whole continent, the same relative progress would have taken place north of the forty-fifth parallel—the lakes and the St. Lawrence—that has taken place to the south of them, and the world would have been enriched to double the extent of the contributions from the United States.” I can not understand how men of the ability of Messrs. Glen and Wiman can draw such a conclusion from such premises. We must conclude from this statement that the United States has left her neighbor in the distance simply because she possesses a more desirable form of government than that of the Canadians. It means that or it means nothing. Yet, in his next paragraph Mr. Glen goes on to say, “Nearly one million native-born Canadians (one-fourth in number of all living Canadians in the world) have left their native land and become residents of the United States. It is an astonishing fact that Canada, settled by Anglo-Saxons, with an area of more than three million square miles in a most healthful and invigorating climate, with a population of less than five million, with boundless undeveloped wealth in her unoccupied agricultural and mineral lands, forests, and fisheries, an educational system unsurpassed in any country, a free press, a free church, enjoying all but in name republican institutions and local self-government, should fail in every effort made to attract or retain immigration, and that so great a percentage of her native-born sons and daughters should desert her.”

We are asked to believe that a people who started out under much more auspicious circumstances than ourselves, who possess advantages equal to our own, and who enjoy, *all but in name* republican institutions and local self-government, have been distanced in the race after success merely for the want of that *name*. We are asked to accept into our family, as brothers, a people who have been balked in the great struggle of life by an insurmountable obstacle, a *name*. If Messrs. Glen and Wiman have stated the facts as they exist we could gain nothing but would lose much by a union with our northern neighbors. The

fewer citizens any nation possesses who can be balked by a name, the greater is the strength of that nation.

However I am willing to take a more generous view of our neighbor's failure than do Messrs. Glen and Wiman. I do not believe her government, either in fact or in name, has caused her to be less successful than ourselves. The Canadian people have had a harder foe to contend against than a *name*. They have annually been forced to meet that grim reality, a long, cold, desolate northern winter. Nature, whose kindly face has smiled upon us, has ground them beneath her heel. With a genial climate Canada might stand second to no country on the face of the earth. With the climate which she possesses she can never hope to be successful in her struggle for supremacy with other nations.

Canada is not a manufacturing country. She has few cities. Her chief industries are agriculture and mining. She desires a home-market for her products. The farmers and miners of the United States are now partially protected from Canadian competition and yet we have a surplus of their products. We want a greater demand for, not a more bountiful supply of them. It is easy to understand how the farmers and miners of Canada would gain by a union, which would give them free access to our markets, but in what respect would the farmers and miners of our own country be the gainers? Their lot is by no means desirable at the present time. Let us think twice before taking a step which may work an irreparable injury to these two great classes.

However, there is a positive danger to the United States, in any acquisition of more territory. The greater the territorial extent of our nation; the greater the variety of climate which we possess; the more diversified the nature and interests of our citizens, the harder it will be to legislate impartially and for the highest good of all. Laws, beneficial to one section, will be injurious to others. Men are necessarily selfish. Each feels it his duty to protect the interests of his own family and is consequently opposed to any legislation which tends to build up another at his expense. The result is sectional differences and

prejudices. We have already seen this young nation rent and torn by the greatest civil war the world has ever known. The feelings of bitterness and hatred which that war engendered still exist throughout a large portion of our land. Another generation will have to pass away before these wounds will be entirely healed. Nevertheless, questions, equally as important as those which led to that conflict, still remain unsettled and the nation is kept in a perpetual turmoil by reason of their existence. Moreover our greatest statesmen are forced to admit that no solution, which these problems are liable to receive, will be satisfactory to the entire nation. Consequently new prejudices and feelings of jealousy will arise between the various sections of our country, and no man can predict their results. Yet all true patriots tremble and grow sick at heart as they behold the tendencies of the times. What excuse, then, can we give for annexing more territory to a nation, whose greatest danger lies in the fact that it is already so large that human wisdom can not frame laws which will do equal justice to all of its parts? Is it not wiser for us to exert all our energy in attempting to solve the problems of vital importance to our land as it now exists; in healing the wounds which it has received in past conflicts; in fostering a spirit of fraternity from Canada to Mexico and from sea to sea; in constituting ourselves one nation, in fact as well as in name, and in attempting to bequeath to our posterity the same privileges and blessings for which our forefathers fought and died, rather than in attempting to acquire more and more territory until our landed possessions become so extensive that we cannot control them?

Let us consider this great question carefully and candidly, and view it from each and every side before determining upon our course of action.

VERNON R. ANDREW.

FREE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

BY VICTOR YARROS.

A *PRIORI* reasoning is regarded with suspicion by the average man, whose mind, in the language of Walter Bagehot, is essentially "fact-ish." Those who are guided by general principles, and who decline to "judge each thing on its own merits" are contemptuously referred to as theorizers and doctrinaires. The average man wants facts, immediate, obvious, and direct results; beyond such results he has neither the ability nor the willingness to look. His attention is monopolized by "the things that are seen" on the surface, and he is utterly heedless of "the things that are not seen," however certain and significant they may be. Failing to distinguish between dogma and scientific principle, between superstition or fixed idea, and conclusions based on wide induction, the "practical" man proudly proclaims his independence of doctrines and high generalizations and abstract conceptions. Voters and legislators alike take keen delight in traversing abstract notions of justice or liberty. Instead of trying to comprehend and follow justice, in the belief that whatever is just necessarily conduces to social stability and well-being, voters and their representatives act upon the tacit or acknowledged assumption that whatever is "expedient" or "beneficial" must necessarily be right. Of course, at bottom, there is no antagonism between expediency and justice, advantage and right; the point is that not everything that glitters is gold—not everything that appears to be expedient and advantageous from their standpoint of immediate results is really, and in the long run, beneficial. The "theorists" do not yield to the "practical men" in their desire to realize social happiness; they differ on the question of method. The theorists say: Disregard surface appearances and temporary

interests; be just, guide yourself by the ideal of ethical law, and the result will be the happiness you seek. The practical man says: Do not trust to abstract notions; do whatever you happen to think useful, however repugnant the measure may be to your ideal of right; seek happiness directly. Now, if we turn to individual life and conduct for analogies, we perceive at once the fallaciousness of the practical man's position. The individual who makes personal happiness his *proximate* end, never achieves happiness. Happiness in individual life can only come as the *result* of certain lines of conduct, such as the pursuit of scientific or artistic ideals, or the active love of one's fellows. Those who never deny themselves anything, who do not subordinate themselves in the service of humanity in one form or another, never realize that happiness which is worthy of being called human. All this holds true of social life. If social happiness is our ultimate end, justice must be our conscious, proximate end. When we obey the principle of justice, we *know* we are on the road to happiness; but when we act upon our notions of expediency, the chances are overwhelmingly against us.

The unpopularity of individualist schools of social reform is largely attributable to these "practical" tendencies of the average man. Individualists offer "negative" programmes, and demand little positive action or intervention from the government. The individualist is convinced that from liberty all blessings flow, but to the average man liberty is a glittering generality. When protectionists ask for tariff duties, professing to have the interests of labor at heart, they command support and gratitude, for they offer something positive—namely, higher wages. But the free trader, who knows and proves that the tariff is ethically wrong and economically injurious, is either ignored or reviled: *he* does not offer any immediate and positive results; *he* trusts to a general principle. When General Booth promulgated his plan for the redemption of the submerged, he received enthusiastic endorsement: he proposed to do something. His critics, who attempted to demonstrate that his scheme was based upon a fallacy, that he proposed to help Peter

by injuring Paul, met with a very different reception. They were denounced as cold, hard-hearted, doctrinaire skeptics, who could not be counted on to coöperate in any reformatory enterprise. Yet it is now seen that General Booth was wrong, and that his critics were right. From a report of an impartial committee, it appears that the social wing of the Salvation Army, whose object is the reclamation of the submerged by supplying them with remunerative work, has been the direct cause of the submergence of a number of independent and industrious laborers. In certain specified cases, it clearly appears that the reclamation of one set of men directly involved the degradation of another set. The committee is led to make this cautious suggestion: "It is evident that if, when assisting the submerged, a course is taken which causes a number of persons previously independent to be submerged, an evil comes into existence which must greatly detract from the good done, and might, if a balance could be struck, be found to exceed the benefit conferred."

Manifestly, if it is true that individualist schools of reform are unpopular because of the negative character of their proposals, then the implication is that the popularity of the paternalist, restrictionist, and prohibitionist schools is due to the positive and immediate results promised by them. Criticism of paternalistic proposals from the standpoint of abstract principles of justice and freedom has, unfortunately, little weight with the people; still, this line of attack cannot be abandoned. However irrational the "practical" people may show themselves to be, those who appreciate the fact that society is governed by natural laws and that ethical principles cannot be violated with impunity, must continue to expose the hollowness of the "expediency" philosophy, and to trace social evil to its source—the reckless and ignorant disregard of the fundamental conditions of harmonious social life. They must not stoop to conquer by any compromise. The solution of the whole social question lies in one word, liberty—as Bastiat asserted; liberty, that is, equal freedom and equal opportunities, is all that we need and have the right to demand. This truth should be

enforced and driven home. But such concessions to the popular prejudice in favor of "positive programmes" as are involved in emphasizing the positive elements of their system, may be made without raising the suspicion of demagogism. Land reform is a positive demand which should be given due prominence; and any other positive proposal which is consonant with the basic principle of equal freedom should not be allowed to suffer from lack of emphasis and elaboration.

My object here and now is to draw the attention of all lovers of liberty and justice to a reform, a social need, which is absolutely free from any objections, whether on the score of ethical propriety or "expediency." I allude to the necessity of a free administration of justice. The accepted distinction between "civil" and "criminal" cases is arbitrary, groundless, unwarranted. Mr. Herbert Spencer writes as follows on the subject in his "Justice": "The defense of citizens, one against another, not at first a business of the government, has been undertaken by it but gradually; and even in the most civilized societies its discharge of this business is still but partial, and the propriety of full discharge of it is denied. I do not, of course, mean that the responsibility of the state for guarding citizens classed as criminal is not admitted and fulfilled; but I mean that the state neither admits, nor is supposed by citizens to have, any responsibility for guarding them against offenders classed as civil. Though, if one who receives a rude push invokes the agents of the state, they will take up his case and punish the assailant, yet if he is defrauded of an estate, they turn deaf ears to his complaint, and leave him either to bear the loss or run the risk of further and perhaps greater loss in carrying on a suit and possibly appeals."

Mr. Spencer speaks of persons defrauded of an estate; but the flagrant injustice of the prevailing practice is revealed still more unmistakably in the case of a poor working girl defrauded of her scanty earnings by an unscrupulous "sweater." Why, in some of our cities so-called *private* bureaus of justice have been established and maintained in the interest of the poor. Such a bureau has been in successful operation at Chicago for four

years, and has accomplished a great amount of good. In its first year the bureau conducted 1,164 cases; in the second, 2,497; and in the third, 3,783. It has collected \$20,000 in wages, which has been turned over to the rightful claimants. The bureau employs competent attorneys who give personal attention to cases where working girls and boys are subjected to impositions by employers; the bureau also tries to discover defects in the laws and court methods and to suggest improvements to the legislature. Denver and other cities have similar institutions. Now the fact that private bureaus of justice are needed,—that the poor are dependent on charity for the obtainment of justice and the enforcement of their rights,—ought to excite general indignation and generate profound discontent.

An eminent English jurist, Sir Roland Wilson, has recently made a plea for free justice in an English paper. "It might have been expected", he says, "that every advance in civilization would be marked by an extension of civil at the expense of criminal jurisdiction, and that pains would be taken to keep out of the brutalizing atmosphere of a criminal court every dispute which could by possibility be adjusted civilly". Instead of this, we find that criminal tends more and more to overreach on civil justice. "Even the really criminal business will often be found, on looking below the surface, to have been artificially diverted from the civil side". Complaints which among well-to-do people would find their natural issue in a lawsuit, are among the poor allowed to fester unredressed until at last they discharge themselves in prosecutions for theft, assault, or homicide. The reason, of course, is that civil courts do not dispense gratuitous justice.

"The notion underlying the present practice," continues Sir Roland Wilson, "appears to be that the state is morally at liberty to grant or refuse its assistance to litigants, and consequently, to grant it subject to any pecuniary conditions. This is quite a mistake. In so far as the state restrains private warfare, which it must do in order to justify its existence, it makes itself morally responsible for every wrong that it fails to ascertain and redress. Though the form of a civil action seems to imply that the initia-

tive is with the plaintiff, the real initiative was taken long ago by the state, when it cut off his natural liberty of self-redress, and left him only the alternative of pocketing every injury or coming into court. Where, then, is the justification for putting him to a farthing of expense, unless and until it is proved that he has wilfully made a groundless complaint?"

Of course this argument would lead us to demand the abolition of costs of all kinds, to the obliteration of the distinction between criminal cases and civil cases. But the objection is made that such an arrangement would result in many groundless and malicious prosecutions. Mr. Spencer meets this objection in the passage subjoined :

"It is argued that, did the state arbitrate between men gratis, the courts would be so chocked with cases as to defeat the end by delay ; to say nothing of the immense expense entailed on the country. But this objection proceeds upon the vicious assumption that, while one thing is changed, other things remain the same. It is supposed that, if justice were certain and could be had without cost, the number of trespasses would be as great as now, when it is uncertain and expensive ! The truth is that the immense majority of civil offenses are consequent on the inefficient administration of justice,—would never have been committed had the penalties been certain. But when we come to contemplate it, it is a marvelous proposition, this which the objection implies, that multitudinous citizens should be left to bear the civil wrongs in silence or risk ruin in trying to get them rectified ; and all because the state, to which they have paid great sums in taxes, cannot be at the trouble and expense of defending them !"

The free administration of justice was a principle of the common law. That is, parties were subjected to no costs for jurors, witnesses, writs or other necessities for the trial, preliminary to the trial itself. Under such arrangements no one could lose the benefit of a trial for the want of means to defray expenses. After the trial, the plaintiff or defendant was liable to be amerced by the jury for having troubled the court with the prosecution or defense of an unjust suit.

More than fifty years ago an American author, lawyer, and reformer, Lysander Spooner, the "father of cheap postage in this country," advocated the free administration of justice in a remarkable book, now almost forgotten, on "Trial by Jury," of which the present writer has lately published an abridged version. Mr. Spooner handled the subject with great skill and vigor, and his argument is conclusive, unanswerable. Here I have space only for a few brief excerpts.

Free justice, according to Mr. Spooner, "must necessarily be a part of every system of government which is not designed to be an engine in the hands of the rich for the oppression of the poor. Under the prevailing system, probably one half of the community are virtually deprived of all protection for their rights except what the criminal law affords them. For all civil suits, courts of justice are as effectually shut against them as though it were done by bolts and bars." Under the prevailing system, a large portion of the lawsuits determined in courts are contests of purses rather than of rights. There would be the same reason, says Mr. Spooner, in compelling a party to pay the judge and jury for their services that there is in compelling him to pay the witnesses or any other necessary charges. "This compelling parties to pay the expenses of civil suits is one of the many cases in which government is false to the fundamental principles on which free government is based. What is the object of government but to protect men's rights? On what principle does a man pay his taxes to the government except on that of contributing his proportion towards the necessary cost of protecting the rights of all? Yet, when his own rights are actually invaded, the government which he contributes to support, instead of fulfilling its implied contract, becomes his enemy, and not only refuses to protect his rights (except at his own cost), but even forbids him to do it himself."

What we need is a complete provision for free justice. As Sir Roland Wilson points out, even in criminal prosecutions the government throws too heavy a burden on the individual complainant, and does much too little for the defendant. Those criminal trials in which the prisoner is undefended or poorly

defended because of his poverty and inability to command able legal services, or those cases in which a successful defense involves impoverishment, ought to be rendered impossible.

Perhaps legislators cannot be expected to concern themselves with this new "issue" until it acquires importance enough to make and mar the fortunes of political parties; but sober and intelligent reformers of all and any schools ought not neglect it or confine themselves to half-hearted admission of its value and significance. Reformers may be grouped as follows: Extreme individualists, who would abolish all compulsion of non-aggressive individuals and make the government a voluntary protective association supported by voluntary taxation; moderate individualists, who would restrict the functions of government to the protection of such equal liberty and equal opportunity as remains after the deduction implied by a system of compulsory taxation has been made; extreme socialists, who seek to abolish all private enterprise and industry and to appoint the government sole producer and merchant and carrier as well as sole policeman; and moderate socialists, who would nationalize only what they call "natural monopolies" and allow the individual a certain measure of industrial liberty. Lysander Spooner belonged to the extreme and radical individualists; Sir Roland Wilson is a moderate individualist. Between these two schools there is no divergence of opinion on the question of the free administration of justice. Both those who hold that only voluntary taxation is consonant with true liberty, and those who believe that compulsory taxation has an ethical warrant, regard gratuitous justice as a desideratum and vital need. As for the socialists, extreme and moderate, surely they cannot deny that free justice is equally desirable, to say the least, with free libraries, free schools, and the rest of the planks of their "free" platform. It is rather strange that socialist reformers should have completely passed over this important element, and that such individualist reformers as Spooner, Spencer, and Sir Roland Wilson should have independently arrived at a right appreciation of it and enlisted in its service.

The free administration of justice deserves the support of every enlightened individual and every progressive publication.

VICTOR YARROS.

THE LATEST MEDICAL FAD.

BY LESLIE E. KEELEY, M.D., LL.D.

A FEW years ago, Mr. Brown-Sequard, an eminent physiologist, discovered, or at least conceived the idea, that the elixir of animal germ cells had phenomenal power, and might have unknown powers. Sequard seemed to have reasoned that if the germ cells had the power of originating individual life, and transmitting the heredity of species, genera, and orders, that, perhaps, they could renew the life energy of old people. The heritage of life is death. All men recognize that death is an inevitable result of the laws of heredity. Physiology records that the forces which renew life reside in the germ cells. These cells contain the mystery of life—its type, its soul, its secrets. These cells bear the written record of the kingdoms and types of life that are dead. Every past and forgotten type of anatomical formation of brain, and thought, and instinct, is recorded on the walls of the germ cells. The conception and birth of a new individual brings all these forces into play. A new person or living individual is seemingly created—but not so. Nature in the apparent creation of a new individual, takes an old book, or rather an old library, and resetting the type with the addition of some fresh editorial comments, a preface, and a few more perfect illustrations, perhaps, issues a new volume on an old subject. Every new individual is a compilation, more or less, as is every new book. Every new book embraces what has gone before in science, or literature and history, along special or general lines—and every new individual does the same. The little variations and additions and improvements in new books and new individuals indicate the progress of development which underlies the evolution of all things—men as well as books.

Brown-Sequard is a biological bibliomaniac. He knew that the method of reproduction in producing new books, is to rewrite them and reprint them in printing shops. When old books are dead their heredity must be preserved, so far as their usefulness is concerned, in the ideas and type of new books. The old book cannot be inoculated with modern things and made to serve duty once more. In time their type, paper, age, ideas, are preserved by bibliomaniacs as curiosities. All that was worth preserving in the elements is now found in new books, as well as a few elements among the immediate ancestry that the authors and bookmakers are trying to eliminate.

Sequard wanted to save the old books at the expense of new ones. He thought he could employ the forces of the printing shops, or the publishing house, in some manner, to reprint the old book ; but he failed—the printers knew not the old book, they did not know how to set up new type and run the old book through the cylinder press and the bindery, and add a new preface, and declare that the old print was a new issue and up to the times. Sequard's elixir failed. His hypodermic of germ cells went wandering through the blood current in old and diseased vessels, looking upon the ancient blood corpuscles as the modern youth study the ruins of old cities—with curiosity—but no intention of making a permanent residence.

The old book gives up its ideas to a writer, its old paper to a paper mill, its old methods and history, form and individuality, to the forces of reproduction, and all that is useful is preserved in the new book. The old man must do the same. His body must go down to the elemental mill of nature, and be ground over ; but his progeny will inherit, and the world will know his type, his thought, his individuality, by a new individual. Nature cannot make him young. Joshua may have delayed the sun in its course, and jarred the universe, but Sequard's elixir probably never added a day to the existence of an octogenarian. Neither nature nor man puts new wine into old bottles.

Brown-Sequard is an experimental physiologist. He is a scientist. As we all know, all science is the result of experiment. Edison is an experimental scientist. Sequard was honest

in his experiment, but mistaken in the results. He may have conceived the experiment through a desire to find a remedy for old age—but reproduction, as a force of biology, cannot be used in that manner. Sequard's persistent belief in the virtue of his experiment simply shows delusion. His elixir is dead. It failed to tune up the old harp strings of humanity to accompany the angelic song and symphony of perpetual youth. Nature had already invented second childhood. Sequard's elixir failed to put a new soul, new life, new ambitions, hopes, loves, disappointments into the shrunken brains of the aged, where they would have been as lost to the world as school children in a desert.

All inventions similar to Sequard's elixir have failed. The earliest faith sought eternal and incarnate life on earth, but, witnessing inevitable relentless death, learned to transfer immortality to another world with golden streets and fields in perpetual bloom. The alchemists spent their day and energy in the search for an elixir vitae that might at least procrastinate death if not perpetuate life. The earliest man feared death, and his children hoped to avoid it. But the work of heredity is over all living things. The inevitable law of heredity is that all living things must perish, that individual forms, even if never diseased, must approach the portal of senility with feeble energy, and, comforted by a benumbing euthanasia, give their bodies to the forces of nature and lose their individuality among the chemical elements. "It is appointed unto man once to die". If he is not killed by disease he dies from old age from the consequences of disease upon his ancestry. I do not doubt that this heredity could be changed. I believe that the banishment of all poisons would prolong life, and that a prolonged average duration of life could be transmitted by heredity, and that this heredity could increase the duration of life to many hundred years. But no alchemist's or Sequard's elixir can do this work. The work can be done only by natural selection when the factor of poisoning is omitted from the problem of life.

But it appears that Sequard's idea in his life-giving elixir did not die childless. The germ cell of the guinea pig was prolific with the potency and power of great inventions.

Dr. Hammond illustrates the remarkable power of "cerebrine" on the muscular strength by exhibiting an athlete, putting up a dumb-bell weighing forty-five pounds. He put up the bell fourteen times with his right hand and eleven times with his left, which was declared to be the limit of his strength and ability. After an injection of the cerebrine he put up the bell forty-two times with his right and thirty-five with his left arm.

Dr. Hammond knew very well when making this exhibition that the evidence of the athlete's ability, before and after taking cerebrine, is subjective evidence, and is not, therefore, scientific. There is no reason to believe, however, that Dr. Hammond intended to give a scientific exhibition. The exhibition reminds us of those given a few years ago, by scientific and other gentlemen in illustration of the phenomena of hypnotism. These gentlemen employed professional subjects for their experiments. Dr. Hammond's athlete appears to be of this character.

Dr. Hammond claims that cerebrine can strengthen the energy of the prize fighter, and the college crews, as well as cure disease, restore lost vigor, stimulate decaying intellect, renew the departing life. Humanity, in relation to the world and the great future, when cerebrine becomes generally used, will occupy the position of the heroes of the great fiction—"Called Back". We may imagine the popularity and usefulness of a remedy to people who desire to overcome old age, who find themselves failing mentally, who desire to make some strenuous effort of mind or body—"the one great effort of their lives", for fortune, for fame or for life.

People will no longer be contented with the humble prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread", but the prayer will be, Give us our cerebrine that we may have intellects like Newton, strength like Hercules and speed like the winged Mercury. We all desire these things, we all want clear, unfading minds, we want strength, capability, and beauty. These things underlie success. We all want success. Dr. Hammond has learned the desires of the human heart. He knows what all people want, and would like to have forever. He knows why these things are sometimes failures, and why they fade away.

But has Dr. Hammond found a remedy, or is he at all sincere in saying that cerebrine will do what he claims for it? If he is sincere he should be able to furnish some evidence of the truth of his claim.

Dr. Hammond is a scientist second to no physician in the United States. He offers us no clinical evidence. He shows us no cures. He points out no cases of old men made young again. He shows us only this farce of an athlete putting up a dumb-bell, and a patent for his remedy. It appears that the firm of Park, Davis & Co., manufacturing chemists of Detroit, attempted to manufacture Dr. Hammond's cerebrine, cardine, etc., for the drug market and use of the profession and the world. Messrs. Park, Davis & Co., doubtless thought if the virtue of the drug reached no further than increasing the power of the athlete, that the supply should equal the demand. This is an age of club swinging, dumb-bells, racing, rowing, high jumping, sparring, and foot ball. Messrs. Park, Davis & Co. are among our most enterprising pharmaceutical manufacturers. They entered the list with Dr. Hammond, they took ox brains and subjected them to his formula, and, shortening the term of filtration, from six months to a few days, they soon had cerebrine enough on hand to supply the athletic and Greek department of a dozen academies and old line colleges. But Dr. Hammond interfered and stopped their manufacturing operations. It appears that by some due operation of law Dr. Hammond had patented or secured proprietary rights in his preparations. Messrs. Park, Davis & Co. retired from the contest with an apology to the medical profession, in which they state that after being prevented from making the drugs they gave them physiological tests, and found them failures. They therefore leave Dr. Hammond's society, and, falling back to the rear with common people, they raise an old-fashioned alarm, something like "stop thief," asserting that Dr. Hammond's reputation and standing should have prevented them from imitating his works, and that his object in making these inert drugs is mercenary."

It is to be fondly hoped that Messrs. Park, Davis & Co. would have learned all these facts just as readily and speedily if they

had not been prevented from making the articles by Dr. Hammond.

But the saddest feature of this whole deplorable business is the attitude of the medical profession toward Dr. Hammond. The doctor published his formula—but violates the code by fixing a patent upon it. The code of medical ethics knows the formula but is not allowed to make the remedy. This appears to be so much more satisfactory to the code than a failure to know the remedy as in the case of the gold cure. The medical code, and the profession, and the medical journals have no censure for Dr. Hammond—though they cannot help knowing that his remedy is a thereapeutical fake. In the case of the gold cure there are many thousand testifying and living and acting proofs of the efficacy of the remedy. In Dr. Hammond's cerebrine there is no evidence of its value except the athlete. Dr. Hammond is making no mistakes in this matter. He knows all about the conception, trial and failure of Sequard's elixir. He knows very well that Sequard was led to make these experiments from accurate physiological data. Sequard relied on a possible unknown power for results which the germ cells might possess, based upon his knowledge of the reproductive power he knew them to possess. Sequard was mistaken. But there are no germ cells in cerebrine, or cardine, or nervine, or muscaline—Dr. Hammond's new productions. There is not even beef essence in his cookery, nor genius in his method. It is a pitiful—most pitiful exhibition of designing thereapeutical insincerity. Dr. Hammond is a great man in the profession. He is a tower of professional grandeur and example. He is no man's intellectual inferior in the medical profession. In his specialty he has stood for years as the most imposing Colossus of them all. His cerebrine marks his fall. It is like the decay of the monolith, and indicates that the beautiful stone is simply turning to powder, and will soon be dust.

CEREBRINE, CARDINE, ETC.

In the manufacture of these animal remedies Dr. Hammond takes a quantity of brain tissue or other tissue, as may be re-

quired, and adding a sufficient quantity of boric acid and glycérine subjects the whole mass to filtration and maceration under pressure for several months.

But, seriously, what is "cerebrine," and what is "cardine," "muscaline," and the remainder of these extracts?

It is clear that the process of preparation, as detailed by Dr. Hammond, of ox brain and the other articles, will contain but very little in addition to the boric acid, the alcohol, and whatever chemical compounds the tissue so subjected may be transformed into and may contain at the beginning of the manipulation. These chemical compounds will be the leucomaines—the waste products of the decomposition of the tissues. Let us see what these leucomaines are, and what effect they will have if hypodermically injected into the blood current.

The leucomaines are the basic products of the retrograde metamorphosis of the tissues, including protoplasm. These basic products are being manufactured continuously during the exercise of the animal body. They are the chemical residue of the changes of a chemical nature which results from exercise, work, or development of energy in any tissue. They result from any chemical decomposition of any nitrogenous tissue, if the decomposition is free from putrefaction. Dr. Hammond's process of the preparation of ox brains is free from putrefaction, or is supposed to be; and, therefore, his product must be leucomaines. His cerebrine is a basic chemical compound, added to boric acid and alcohol.

But if his process is not kept aseptic, and putrefaction is the result, he will also get, in his cerebrine, an assortment of ptomaines or bacterial products. These will likely be putrescine and cadaverine. These ptomaines are of course, deadly poisons, and would scarcely answer for medicine.

But the leucomaines are also poisonous, though of course, they are tolerated in the animal body, as they are created and occupy the body until they are eliminated. An excessive quantity, however, in the blood current always causes poisoning, and in fact in many diseases of fatal nature, the immediate cause of death is the retention in the body of these poisons, owing to the

disease of some eliminating organ. This is the usual mode of death in Bright's disease.

These leucomaines are divided into two groups called the uric acid group and the creatinine group. In the first group, the two principal and characteristic compounds are adenine and hypoxanthine. Now, as these are the typical leucomaines, which result from the decomposition of tissue cells and nuclei, we can, by understanding them, obtain what I would consider a correct idea and estimate of Dr. Hammond's cerebrine, and its action as a remedy.

Adenine was first prepared from the pancreatic gland by a chemist, who gave the basic substance the name Adenine,—the Greek derivative meaning a gland. It is a white crystalline powder. Experiments show that it is derived from the nuclei of animal and vegetable cells, also. It is found in nearly all organs of the animal body, so, whether Dr. Hammond uses heart, liver, glands, brain, nerve or muscle for his preparation, he cannot avoid the Adenine of the cell nuclei of these tissues in his remedy. The substance is also found in tea leaves. Adenine stimulates muscular activity, when inoculated, and it may be, therefore, that the great volubility, which is reported to attend tea parties, may be due, in part, to Adenine. However this may be, it is no doubt a fact that the drug is a poison, and as a medicine or a food has no value. If it were of any possible use in the animal economy, Nature would not have provided a method of carrying it out of the body as soon as manufactured. Our leading chemists, however, submit a supposition that Adenine has something to do with the reproduction of the non-nucleated cells. These cells have no power of self-reproduction, though they are quite numerous. The nucleus of the cell is, therefore, supposed to be the seat of the reproductive power, and the Adenine in the nuclei is supposed to be the chemical compound and force which does the reproductive work. It is therefore inferred that the free Adenine, during its elimination, or at least its formation, is the reproductive agent of the non-nucleated cells.

The chemists have isolated this basic substance, and have

made many chemical combinations with it; the principal of which are the oxalate, the sulphate, nitrate, picrate, and the chloride of Adenine.

The general description of hypoxanthine is so nearly like that of Adenine, that no one but a technical chemist can appreciate the difference.

All of these basic chemicals are waste products. They are the results of labor done. They are the ashes of the fires of life. It requires great energy to maintain the functions of an animal or human body. All this energy is manufactured by the burning of the body, or its oxidation. The tissue cells are the furnaces of this energy, and the ashes of their oxidation are the leucomaines. These ashes are carefully carried out of the body as they are manufactured. They are emphatically "no good;" but if retained in the body, they are productive of harm.

But these products must be the basis of Dr. Hammond's remedies. The giving of such medicines would be like feeding the fires of a furnace with its own ashes. How long would it be, if this were done, until the fires were extinguished? I fail to see the rationale of Dr. Hammond's medication.

I do not, then, for the reasons given, regard cerebrine, cardine, etc., as in any sense cures for any disease, or any condition. They are extraordinary products. Their safety depends on the fact that the animal body has excretory organs for their elimination, all trained and practiced. The drugs are untested and unknown as medicines. If there is any virtue in "muscaline" it is obtained from beef steak, and the same rule will apply to all the other products or extracts. But ashes are not food or medicine; they supply no energy; they are chemically dead. They belong to the realm of the elements. They are simply a measure of work that has been done. They can do nothing.

LESLIE E. KEELEY.

BLUNDERS OF TARIFF REFORM CRITICS.

A REPLY TO THE CRITICISM OF DR. W. T. GALBRAITH,
IN THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS FOR JAN-
UARY, 1894.

BY ROBERT BAKER, SECRETARY BROOKLYN REVENUE REFORM CLUB.

THE inability of the protectionist mind to grasp even elementary propositions of political economy, *unless elucidated in detail*, is strikingly shown in the paper by Mr. W. T. Galbraith in the January number of this magazine.

His attempt to prove that in essence, if not in fact, there is "no tariff on imported raw materials used by our manufacturers in making goods which are to be sold in foreign countries", is so superficial that one is led to wonder whether he understands the working of the provisions of the tariff law dealing with rebates on duties paid on materials which have entered in whole or in part into manufactured articles which it is desired to export, or whether he imagines that the advocates of free trade are ignorant of them.

It is unquestionably true that the manufacturer who desires to export goods in the making of which has entered raw materials which have been imported and upon which duties have been collected, can on the production of sworn proof of the amount and value of such "raw materials" which have been used in the production of the manufactured article, obtain a rebate of the tax amounting to about ninety per cent paid to the government.

But Mr. Galbraith has studiously neglected to state that it is only in the case of those who are large exporters of such manufactured articles that it pays to attempt to collect the rebates. He omits to state that before the rebate can be obtained from the treasury officials, two very important requirements have to

be met, viz. : The article upon which the rebate is sought must be the principal item entering into the manufactured article which it is proposed to export ; while it is necessary to identify the raw material all the way through the various stages of manufacture. In other words, so complex is the system through which the rebates are obtained that the small manufacturer finds that almost the entire amount of such rebate is eaten up by the fees of custom house brokers and the lawyers ; and that it is only in the case of large exporters such as the Standard Oil Company, (which I am told collected in one year nearly three-quarters of a million dollars in rebates on taxes paid upon the tin plate of which their oil cans were made), that it pays to attempt to secure the rebates allowed.

Even if this were not so, the charge of free traders that "the tax on raw materials confines the trade within our own borders" is proven in another way.

We hear much of the parrot cry that the tariff is only levied so as to equalize the difference in the price paid to labor for a given number of hours, or a day's work. The supporters of this demand for equalization, carefully refraining from making comparisons between the price paid in America for a given number of yards or tons (as may be) and the price paid in Europe for an equal amount of product.

To prove that the tax on raw materials does confine us to our own market, it is only necessary to cite such a case as that of the Colby Iron Mine of Bessemer, Michigan, a description of which appeared in the *Chicago Inter Ocean* of October 11, 1885. No one will question the devotion of this paper to the cause of protection, yet what does it say on this subject ? Why, that of the \$2.80 a ton paid for the iron ore from this mine, over a dollar of this is paid in royalties, the owners receiving 40 cents a ton ; Colby & Co. receiving 12½ cents ; Morse & Co. receiving 35 cents ; Capt. Sellwood receiving 12½ cents. That no considerable portion of the the \$2.80 goes to capital is proven by his further statement that the sub-contractors who do the work, and who have their capital invested in equipping the mine receive only 30 cents a ton.

The effect of the tariff of 75 cents a ton on iron ore is here clearly apparent. It enables the owners of this portion of the earth, where the Creator has placed these almost inexhaustible mountains of ore for the use of his creatures, to stand as "dogs in the manger", holding a club over the productive enterprise of American manufacturers. They prohibit the production of this ore unless a bonus of \$1.00 a ton is paid them for the privilege of permitting some one else to invest his labor and capital in this form of production.

Were it not for the tariff on iron ore—which the Wilson bill will abolish—so large a bonus could not be successfully demanded, for just as soon as such a demand was made the manufacturer who wanted iron ore as a raw material would have the alternative of securing it from abroad.

But there is another phase of this subject that is usually avoided by advocates of "special privilege" such as Dr. Galbraith. By keeping down the price of raw materials in this country to a little less than the cost of production—with the duty added—it effectually shuts out the foreign raw materials and enables the owners of iron, coal, copper, borax, and other mines to retain the market exclusively for themselves. Should the hated importer find that the greed of the owners of domestic raw materials has forced up the price to a point beyond the cost of the foreign article with the tariff added, and should dare to import any raw materials, he would find that they had temporarily, but summarily, cut the price of the home article to a point where in order to compete with them he must dispose of his imported article at a loss. One or two experiences of this kind would probably be enough to deter the most hardy of that hated class—from the protectionist standpoint—from ever again indulging in the hope that he could successfully import in competition with American raw materials.

The tender solicitation always asserted for the interest of labor by the protectionist would be touching if sincere, but when we remember that the more highly protected the article the lower the rate of wages paid to labor, by reason of the fact that the protected manufacturer, through his agents, ransacks

Europe for the poorest paid Bohemians, Hungarians or Italians, which he imports under contract and puts to work in his mill in competition with American labor, we know this cry is but a cloak to conceal the demand for another dose of governmental pap.

The assertion of the protected manufacturer that the reduction—or even obliteration—of the tariff would compel them to reduce the wages of their employees is the sheerest humbug. They do not to-day, nor have they ever paid one cent more wages than they are compelled to pay. The price they pay labor is regulated entirely by the number of men out of employment, and as the effect of protection is to limit production and to restrict exchange, they are able by reason of its very existence to secure their labor at a less rate than they could were it abolished and production and exchange relieved from its incubus.

The beneficial effect of the tariff on American labor was clearly shown at the time of the existence of the copper trust. For a considerable period it was possible to buy American copper abroad, pay the freight charges from Paris or Liverpool, pay the duty on same at the port of New York at a less total cost to the manufacturer than the price demanded here for copper by the trust. To say that labor benefited by this tax is not merely untrue, but it has the reverse effect. It is notorious by reason of the high price demanded by the trust, the consumption of copper fell off materially. Manufacturers of brass goods, of articles for plumbing, and of other things of which copper formed a large part, found their sales seriously restricted by reason of the added price they were compelled to ask for their goods.

The effect which followed was that which always follows, and which inevitably follows any attempt to secure a high price for an article of general consumption, the source of the supply of whose raw materials is limited: thousands of men who theretofore had been employed in the manufacture of copper goods were thrown out of employment, and by coming in competition with those still retaining employment, they forced down the standard of wages.

That the American workman has nothing to fear from the freest competition of foreign labor—so long as that labor is at a distance, separated by the Atlantic Ocean—is shown in the case of those articles wherein the labor cost is high in comparison with the cost of the raw material.

The Hon. James B. Sargent, ex-mayor of New Haven, who is one of the largest—if not the largest—manufacturer of small hardware in the world, has proven, despite the tariff, that he is enabled to sell abroad at a profit those articles wherein the proportion of labor cost is great, while in the cost of those articles of a bulky nature, wherein the cost of the raw material is high and the labor cost low, he cannot sell abroad in competition with foreign manufacturers. The reverse of this would be true, if the contention of the protectionists that the tariff maintains wages had any basis in fact. If the American manufacturer was paying more for his labor for a given result—for a yard of cloth, a ton of steel rails, or a pair of shoes—than his foreign competitor, it would follow that the greater the relative cost of labor in any given article, in comparison with the cost of the raw material, the less possibility there would be for his selling the article abroad in competition with the foreign manufactured article.

The increasing exportation of this class of manufacture : watches, sewing machines, locks, keys, and small hardware generally, is itself a refutation of the claim of the protectionists. Dr. Galbraith's fear that the Wilson bill will induce increased importations and this will restrict the employment of the American workman, indicates the limited perceptions with which protectionists are endowed, and probably explains why nearly every advocate of complete free trade I have met admits that he was a protectionist before he seriously studied the question.

One would suppose from these statements of protectionists that the foreign manufacturer—say of woolen goods—upon the tax being reduced, would at once pile his goods on board ship, send them across the Atlantic, and—after having paid the freight and marine insurance—hire a store on Broadway, New

York, and commence the work of deluging every passer-by with an overcoat, a suit of clothes, or a dress.

How sad this would be; and yet perhaps when we think of the lamentable condition of the industries of the country to which protection has brought us, it would not after all be so sad for the thousands of homeless, half-clad, and half-starved American workingmen, whom this fraudulent system has reduced to beggary.

But I can assure them that no such *dire* result would follow the abolition of the protection fetich. What would result would be that factories that are now shut down because the high cost of the raw materials does not permit the manufacturer to export in competition with the foreign manufacturer who secures his raw material free of duty, would find a much larger market for his goods, which would be paid for by the importation of such goods as the American people need, but which owing to peculiarity of soil or climate could be produced to better advantage in some other country.

Its effect on labor is easily foreseen; every additional million dollars worth of articles imported, would mean the employment of additional American workmen to produce the million dollars worth of things with which to pay for them. This would mean an inevitable raising of the standard of wages, as the withdrawing of these men from the ranks of the unemployed would reduce the competition for the places of those still employed.

ROBERT BAKER.

THE UNITED STATES AND HAWAII.

BY J. A. DONALDSON.

THE people of this country naturally, and very properly, sympathize with people of other countries in their efforts to throw off monarchical rule, and are always pleased to welcome them to the sisterhood of republics. But while indulging in manifestations of joy over the triumph of republican principles in other countries, we should be careful that this feeling does not carry us too far and lead us to depart from that time-honored policy of our government—to take no part in the internal commotions of other countries, no matter how just the cause of the revolutionary party may appear to us, or how corrupt and despotic the rule of the government they are striving to overturn.

That the action of our minister in Hawaii during the revolution there was a wide departure from the principles which had always governed us before that event, and that he, under pretense of only protecting life and property of American citizens, also meant that the United States forces should be used, if necessary, to resist any attempt of the royalists to re-establish the monarchy, is very evident from his orders which he admits giving, the dispatches sent by him to our government, and the circumstances which followed as related by him.

His first request for the landing of troops, he says, was made about two days after the provisional government was established, and that in his request to Captain Wiltse he stated that he wished him "to land his men as a precautionary safeguard to American life and property." If Mr. Stevens really desired that the United States should remain neutral in any conflict that might take place between the royalists and the provisional government, and that the troops should only be used to protect

American life and property, he would have plainly said so in his order. And he would also have advised and insisted that they be placed where they would be most efficient in protecting American citizens.

The comfort of the soldier is always regarded as secondary to the best interests of the cause he is expected to fight for. Mr. Stevens does not deny that the marines were not well stationed to protect American life and property, nor that they were better placed to protect the provisional government than American citizens, but excuses their disposition by stating that a hall could not be found elsewhere. If Mr. Stevens thought that the lives and property of American citizens were in peril, he and they would have readily found a way to have made the soldiers comfortable—in a climate of perpetual summer—for the sake of having them where they could be of the greatest service to the people they were there to protect.

On February 1, two weeks after its establishment, the provisional government sent a request to Mr. Stevens for the establishment of a protectorate in the following words: "Believing that we are unable to satisfactorily protect life and property and to prevent civil disorders in Honolulu, and throughout the Hawaiian Islands, we hereby, in obedience to the instructions of the Advisory Council, pray that you will raise the flag of the United States for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the time being, and to that end we hereby confer on the government of the United States, through you, freedom of occupation of the public buildings of this government, and of the soil of this country, so far as may be necessary for the exercise of such protection, but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by this government."

Minister Stevens promptly forwarded this request to Captain Wiltse, saying: "I hereby ask you to comply with terms and spirit of Hawaiian provisional government, and to that end use all the force at your command in the exercise of your best judgment and discretion, you and myself awaiting instructions from the United States government at Washington."

About this time Mr. Stevens sent a dispatch to Washington

which concluded as follows: "As a necessary precaution against all contingencies I hereby advise that Admiral Skerret be promptly sent here with one or two ships in addition to the *Boston*."

It cannot be believed that Mr. Stevens thought he needed three war ships to protect American life and interests in Hawaii. The conclusion must be that he wanted them for the very purpose that the provisional government had asked the protection of the United States—to overawe, and if necessary resist any attempt of the royalists to overturn the provisional government.

When the armed marines with cannon were landed, and the American flag was hoisted over the government building, it was saying in very plain language to the royalists that their contest for the restoration of the monarchy must be with the United States, and without doubt it was so intended by our minister.

A government set up by revolutionists and requiring the United States forces to keep it in existence, is hardly entitled to be recognized as the *de facto* government.

In the same dispatch in which Mr. Stevens called for more war ships—two weeks after the downfall of the monarchy—he takes it on himself to advise the administration about the form of government that should be established for the islands, how much should be paid to the royal family, what the bounty on sugar should be, and whom it would be best to appoint for the first governor. It would hardly be expected that a minister of so much officiousness and assurance could keep himself within the bounds of neutrality during a revolution.

It is to be regretted that the administration of President Harrison, which was worthy to be characterized as one of wisdom and integrity, should have its luster dimmed by his un-American, unprecedented, and unfair course toward the aborigines of Hawaii. It was only four weeks after the provisional government was set up, and just fifteen days after that government had declared to our minister its belief of its inability to govern, and asking, and promptly getting, the protection of the United States, that Mr. Harrison signed a treaty for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands.

To carry out the American idea—that citizens of a civilized country should have a voice in all matters that interest them—there should have been ample time given for all people of Hawaii, who had been represented in its government, to decide by vote whether they were in favor of annexation or not; instead of treating with a government made by proclamation and so weak that it required the support of the military power of the United States while waiting to be annexed. But it is very evident that the representatives of the provisional government did not mean that the native colored citizens of Hawaii should have a voice in the government of the islands.

Mr. Marsden, one of the commissioners sent by the provisional government, said to a reporter in Washington: "We don't want to be governed by the native vote; we prefer no suffrage at all rather than universal suffrage." And it is significant that the treaty sent to the Senate did not require that the native citizens should not be disfranchised, although Mr. Marsden's remark was published a week before the date of the annexation treaty. Had the natives, who were voters under the monarchy, been allowed a voice, they undoubtedly would have required that the treaty of annexation should have protected their right to vote under the government.

It may be that much of the hostility to the new government by the natives was owing to their knowledge that the revolutionary party was intent on setting up a white man's government. It was said that the queen was not personally popular. It would not be strange if the Kanakas preferred to live under a monarchy that allowed them to vote than under a republic that disfranchised them.

It is not surprising that the white people of those islands are dissatisfied with being politically connected with the aborigines, but they must consider that they sought their country, and that the superiority of the white people or their greater wealth is no justification for taking from the natives their right to continue to have a voice in the government under which they are living.

President Harrison's reasons in his message for the hasty annexation of Hawaii do no credit to one who had been the

author of so many sensible and noble sentiments. He says: "It has been the policy of the administration not only to respect but encourage the continuance of an independent government in the Hawaiian Islands so long as it afforded suitable guarantees for the protection of life and property, and maintained a stability and strength that gave adequate security against the domination of any other power." Mr. Harrison must have been under the inspiration of the British lion when he wrote these excuses for absorbing Hawaii.

It sounds like mockery to say to one of the smallest and weakest civilized countries on earth, that "so long as you maintain strength sufficient to prevent the domination of any other power, we will encourage the continuance of your independence, but when you cannot, *we* will dominate you whether your people consent or not." A true representative of the old American policy would say: "Whatever form of government your people choose to have we will respect. We will encourage your continuance as an independent government so long as you desire to be such a government, and will stand by you in your efforts to repel the usurpation of your country by any other power."

In regard to the Americans in Hawaii, who have not become citizens of that country, their persons and property should be looked after by the United States precisely the same as they are in any other country. There should not be one rule of action for a weak country and another for a powerful one. American citizens who have sworn allegiance to Hawaii, and the descendants of Americans born there, have no claim on this government.

In regard to the annexation of Hawaii, it cannot be justly brought about without the consent of a majority of all the citizens of that country, without regard to race. But there are some weighty reasons on the part of the United States against the annexation of those islands which our people should carefully consider. One is, that an inferior race, that cannot justly be ignored, largely predominates. A government like ours needs all the advantages of the superior mind of the Caucasian race to make it acceptable to that race. Because we have

thought best to make citizens of another race, born here, rather than have a large population of perpetual aliens, is not a good reason for reaching out to distant climes for more.

The great distance of Hawaii from the United States is another serious objection to its annexation. Her longitude is thirty degrees west of California—one twelfth the circumference of the earth—and her latitude down in the tropics where, it has been said by one who has large interests there, “the white man cannot, and the native will not, do hard labor.” The Mongolians are depended on chiefly for laborers, and constitute about half of the population of the islands. The resources of the country will probably continue to be chiefly from the soil and as the area is small it is doubtful if it will ever have a voting population sufficient to become a state. Our Constitution does not appear to have provided for dependencies.

Just now the question is in regard to the right of the present administration to reverse the revolution and with our hands off let the people there settle the matter. Or in other words, whether the indorsement of the preceding administration of the landing of troops in Honolulu to support the revolutionists would justify the present administration in invading that country to help the monarchy to resume.

Perhaps President Harrison might have properly resorted to force to put things back as they were before our troops were landed, if he had acted before recognizing the provisional government. But as President Cleveland has sent to and received from Hawaii, ambassadors, and treated the provisional government as the only government there for three-quarters of a year, it is difficult to see clearly what good excuse he has to change the relations of the two countries.

It appears to the writer that the reciprocal relations of the two countries for the last nine months should be considered equivalent to an agreement, binding on both, which neither could break unless something new transpires which would justify it.

J. A. DONALDSON.

EFFECT OF THE WILSON BILL ON THE GOLD STANDARD.

BY HENRY B. RUSSELL.

AT THE earnest request of President Cleveland and for the specific purpose of removing the dangers threatening our gold standard, Congress, after much toil and trouble, repealed the Sherman silver purchase act Oct. 30. Just a month later the ways and means committee, thoroughly in touch with the same administration which declared so unmistakably for a secure gold basis, placed before the country, and a little later before Congress, "a bill to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the government and for other purposes." Doubtless it was not intended that one of the "other purposes" should be to promote the speedy departure of the gold basis. The honorable member from West Virginia who framed the House resolution for repeal, and who so earnestly and ably defended a gold standard could not be charged with "malice aforethought" in immediately turning his attention to the framing of a measure, one of the inevitable effects of which must be the quick impairment of the same standard. This is not the first instance, in the history of human endeavor, of earnest men unwittingly proceeding to undo what they have with difficulty just done.

There does not appear to exist in "administrative circles" the suspicion that a revenue measure affecting imports has any but a remote and rather inconsequential relation to the question of the nature of the currency and its reserves. Otherwise we should not find Congress hurried together in August to save something which in December it is asked to legislate out of the way. The inconsistency is not yet apparent because the influence of foreign trade upon a nation's currency is as yet imperfectly observed and studied in all its relations by both the economist and the statesman. The practice has been to consider the

currency question as something quite isolated from anything but banking operations and to consider the tariff question as something pertaining to revenue and industrial protection almost exclusively. If this practice is faulty it is now an important time to know it.

The proposition which I hope to make clear is that the United States, whose people are under heavy obligations to foreign creditors, can not expect, without the continual issue of new federal obligations, to maintain its present standard of currency if an unprotective tariff bill is enacted into a law.

I do not mean by this that the bill if made a law would despoil the country of its currency. No tariff regulations, however free, can do this. But under certain circumstances free trade or a near approach to it may so draw upon a nation's reserves as to change the character of its currency, and those circumstances exist in this country to-day. It is from a rational point of view the misfortune of a nation not to be so circumstanced as to enjoy free trade, but it would be a greater misfortune for any nation so fixed to attempt free trade.

The Wilson measure is put forward as a revenue tariff bill and until it is tested there is no reason to doubt it. Mr. Wilson says in his last statement that the measure would reduce the revenues on the basis of the importations of 1892 about \$75,000,000. If it should, therefore, turn out to be a revenue tariff, as advertised, it must more than overcome this loss of \$75,000,000 by increased importations. As the average rate of duty in the proposed bill is probably not more than 30 per centum, it follows that the total value of importations will need to be increased by something like \$250,000,000 to regain the loss from reduced duties.

The secretary of the treasury has announced that the present revenue is likely to be about \$50,000,000 too small for the current fiscal year; but assuming that this amount is covered by increased and special internal taxes imposed, an increase of about \$250,000,000 in the value of imports may be regarded as all that is necessary to give the Wilson bill as good a standing as a revenue measure as the McKinley law has. After all that

has been alleged against the prohibitory character of the McKinley act and all that has been alleged in behalf of a revenue tariff, the wicked political scoffer might be pardoned for suggesting that more revenue should be expected from the Wilson bill or, in other words, that the total value of increased importation should exceed \$250,000,000.

Whatever the increased importations may be it is doubtless understood that they must be paid for. If commercial bills on foreign ports are not plenty, the payment must be in gold which is the metal of our reserves and the standard of our currency.

Before exhibiting the case furnished by the statistics of our foreign commerce as affecting our currency it will be well to take advantage of the light thrown upon the general question by some pertinent facts in the case of India. One of the first witnesses before Lord Herschell's committee in 1892 was Mr. Robert Hardie, a member of the Council of India, once secretary of the Bank of Bengal and an adviser of the government of India on matters connected with loans and bills. In the report of his testimony appears the following :—

Q.—When you were saying 300,000,000 pounds (hoarded specie), were you speaking of silver or gold? A.—Of silver. But I should like to say that the success of any change in the Indian currency system involving a gold standard depends entirely upon the maintenance of a balance of trade sufficient to pay India's foreign debt.

Q.—Has the balance of exports over imports become less or greater than it was? A.—It is greater, because the Indian Council bills are greater and the amount of silver that is going into India just now is rather greater. *I rather take the view that hardly any country with a large foreign debt is in a position to maintain a gold standard without some special means to insure that her balance of exports will be in excess of her imports to a sufficient extent to pay for the foreign debt, and that special means seems to me to be a protective tariff.*

Q.—But all the colonies have not import duties. New South Wales has no great import duties. A.—Well, I believe she has been carrying on her financial system by loans in England. I think

the Australian colonies would find themselves in a difficult position if from this time they were able to borrow no more in this country (England). Their imports are really now in excess of their exports. Their exports would have to exceed their imports by at least £10,000,000 in order to pay their foreign debt.*

At another point in his testimony, Mr. Hardie said, "I have no doubt that if at present the secretary of state (of India) said he would not sell Council bills at less than 1s. 9d., the Indian balance of trade would soon not suffice to pay India's foreign debt." This prediction, made in October, eight months before the Indian mints were closed to silver and the rate of exchange fixed at 1s. 4d., has already been fulfilled. Mr. Hardie understood the situation much better than Lord Herschell's committee. India has already been obliged to borrow, and the condition of her finances is sure to go from bad to worse. The following, from Bradstreet's journal of September 23, 1893, clearly states the trouble :

The non-success of the closing of the mints to silver is thus far absolute. The total budget requirements of the Indian government for payments to be made in gold in Europe during the current fiscal year are about £18,700,000, against £17,000,000 in 1892. Since March 1, 1893, the total amount secured by the issue of Council drafts on India has been only £5,850,000, against £7,165,000 in the same period a year ago. Since June 26, when the mints were closed and the attempt to create a fixed value of 1s. 4d. per rupee for exchange went into effect, the showing has been very much more disastrous. In that period, Council bills have been disposed of only to the amount of £200,000, against £2,200,000 in the same period a year ago.

The effort was made to force India to a gold standard while left commercially defenseless. Her currency was so fixed that her exports could not be kept up, and her taxes so fixed that she could not restrain imports. The operation has driven her farther from a gold standard than she was before. If she had been allowed to adopt a protective tariff, there would have

* This was verified by the Australian collapse which came later. In the Consular Reports, Vol. XLIII., No. 156, September, 1893, William Kapus, United States Consul at Sidney, mentions the borrowing in the London market as the prime cause of the collapse. The national debt of New South Wales alone, on October 31, 1892, was £54,074,433.

been hopes of securing a gold standard. But England would not allow this. In speaking of the suggestion of import duties in India, Herschell's committee says in its report: "The duties on cotton goods have, however, been only recently abolished. They were the subject of vehement attack in this country (England). Any attempt to reimpose them would meet with great opposition, and it cannot be denied that the reimposition of such duties would provoke a demand for a countervailing excise upon all cotton goods manufactured in India."

The close connection between the tariff and the currency was recognized, but England was dealing with one of her colonies—out of which it is her policy to make money. Even to secure a steadier rate of exchange between the two countries, England could not think of allowing India to develop her industries by a protective tariff which would keep English manufacturers out. England began to see India reaching out after her Chinese trade; she saw the number of cotton mills in India double in ten years, and the production of cotton goods increase tenfold. Of course England asked for the repeal of the import duties on cotton goods; naturally "they were the subject of vehement attack" in England, yet they were for the highest welfare of India—whichever England, acting upon selfish and shortsighted motives, is now driving into bankruptcy and, possibly, revolution.

But the United States is not one of England's colonies. This country can proceed to maintain a gold standard without feeling obliged to endanger it by any considerations for the English competitor. Unlike India, it has the privilege of doing as it likes. But like India, this country has large foreign debts, and, like India, it has for some years been accustomed to a favorable balance of trade. In seeking a gold basis India has been forced into troubles. In trying to maintain a gold basis the United States should not voluntarily seek similar troubles.

The experiences of the United States in the resumption of specie payments after the war, furnish evidence to substantiate the conclusions to be drawn from the course of financial events in India. "The way to resume specie payments is to resume," was a favorite expression twenty years ago, but if resumption

had been undertaken a few years earlier the effort could not have been so signally successful. In his report of the finances for 1869—ten years before resumption—Secretary Boutwell said :

The ability of the country to resume specie payments will not be due to any special legislation upon that subject, but to the condition of its industries and to its financial relations to other countries. These, of course, will be more or less dependent upon the general policy of the government. The war exhausted the country of its material wealth and the states of the South were literally impoverished. A necessary condition for the resumption of specie payments was the development of the industries of the nation, both North and South, and the consequent accumulation of the movable products of industry to such an extent that exports of those products should be equal substantially to our imports. So long as it is necessary to pay for merchandise imported by the transfer of government bonds, or other evidences of indebtedness to other countries, so long will it be impracticable to resume and maintain specie payments. When the products of industry exported shall be equal substantially to the products of other countries imported, there will be no demand for specie for export except what may arise from the circumstance that our bonds held abroad are sent home, sold in our markets, and the proceeds exported in coin.

Secretary Boutwell clearly recognized the close relation between the possible metallic reserves of a nation and the condition of its trade. Resumption was legislated some time later, but not till the necessary industrial condition had been reached. It should be borne in mind that in the twenty years previous to this statement of Secretary Boutwell, this country had produced over \$1,000,000,000 in gold. Ten years of that period constituted the alleged "golden age" of the Walker tariff, many features of which appear in the Wilson bill. Yet for those twenty years, the imports of merchandise exceeded exports, with two slight exceptions—one in 1858 and the other in 1862. As a consequence, the country exported far more specie than it imported every year from 1850 to 1879, with one exception—in 1861. If the Walker tariff had been readopted in Grant's first administration, I believe specie payments could not have been resumed in 1879, except by a large sale of bonds, and then they could not have been maintained. This will be vehemently denied by low tariff advocates, but the evidences of its probability are very strong and the principle enunciated by Secretary Boutwell in 1869 was endorsed by some who have evidently so far for-

gotten it as to now advocate an unprotective tariff and a gold standard at one and the same time.

The total amount of the indebtedness of the people of the United States to foreigners is larger to-day than ever before. In the recent rapid mechanical development we have made ourselves liable to a very large annual payment of interest or dividends in gold or its equivalent in merchandise. It is unfortunate that there are no reliable statistics of the amount of such obligations. There is no way of accurately determining the amount of money that foreigners have invested in our municipal and state bonds and particularly in the securities of the new and large mechanical and mining enterprises. To develop these the English and Germans have furnished large sums of money and now receive large sums in interest and dividends.

Of the present national debt very little is now held abroad. The state and local debts are given by the census as \$1,135,210,442; extensively held by foreigners. The capital stock of the railroads of the United States is given by the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1890 as \$4,409,658,485, and the funded debt as \$4,574,576,131, and of this not one eighth was owned by railway corporations. The amount of bonds issued by the various steamboat, telegraph, telephone and various manufacturing companies can be estimated only, but it is very large.

In the recent debates in Congress the amount of our securities of all classes held abroad has been stated all the way from one to five billion. A conservative estimate would place the amount at not less than \$2,500,000,000, the interest of which at only 4 per cent would call for \$100,000,000 annually which if not reinvested here in other securities to the further increase of interest obligations, would require an exportation of \$100,000,000 in merchandise or specie.

The statistics of our commerce give unmistakable evidence of the demands made upon our resources by foreign holders of our securities. For the period covered by the fiscal years 1889-92 inclusive, the exports of the United States amounted in value to \$3,514,989,017; the imports, to \$3,206,760,719. The excess in the value of exports over that of imports for these four years

was \$308,218,298 or an average of \$77,054,574 annually. The movement of silver must also be considered as virtually the movement of an ordinary commodity. We produce it and like to sell it. The theory is that in a silver producing nation on a gold basis the exportation of silver reduces the stock of specie it does not want and bids in securing that which is wanted. It should be reckoned as merchandise. For the fiscal years mentioned above, the excess of exports of silver over imports was \$57,272,560 from which should be subtracted the excess of imports of silver ore over exports amounting for the same period to about \$30,000,000. The actual excess of exports of silver then is about \$27,000,000 which when added to the excess of exports of merchandise for the period makes a total balance in our favor of \$335,218,298 or an annual balance of \$83,804,574.

If the United States had no foreign debts it might safely expect that this balance would be settled by an importation of gold in excess of exports. But the United States is in debt abroad and this balance of trade in merchandise in our favor does not square our accounts with the foreign money lender. Instead of an excess of imports of gold for this period there is an excess of exports of \$122,522,536. When this is added to the excess of exports of merchandise and silver already found a grand total of \$458,013,394 for the four years is obtained—an annual balance in the favor of the United States of \$114,503,348—for which there is no visible payment to us. As a matter of fact it represents our payment to others—a payment that will decrease only when borrowing on the other side stops and when old obligations begin to be settled.

Up to this time, owing to an excess of exports of merchandise over imports and owing also to the steady production of gold, the United States has been able to maintain a gold standard while making a large use of silver. The same tariff policy which has restricted imports has developed industries and so swelled our exports. The country has thus easily escaped the misfortune which has now fallen upon India.

What will be the effect, then, upon our trade accounts of a law which to possess any logical strength promises an increase of

at least \$250,000,000 in the value of imports? This increase must be paid for either by increased exportations of merchandise or of gold. If paid for entirely or mainly by the former the country may preserve its present standard of value. If paid for largely by gold it must lose it. There is no question about this.

But there is an economic theory that the advantages of international trade should not be measured either by an excess of exports or by an excess of imports. This may be true and still the ability to maintain a desired standard of value may be lost by an excess of imports over exports. There is another theory that importations provoke exportations and *vice versa*—the tendency being to equalize matters. But, however true the theory is the fact remains that a country with a large foreign debt must, if it would keep the highest standard of value, find some way to *compel* its exports to exceed its imports. To do this the United States has used a protective tariff.

If by the passage of the proposed tariff bill the importations should increase in value \$250,000,000 (as they must to meet the expenses of the government) then, to effect it with exportations of merchandise our producers must find at once markets abroad for \$250,000,000 worth of goods. Can they do it? Can Americans compete in foreign ports with foreign goods which successfully compete with American goods in American markets? Is it not plainly absurd to maintain that the American can undersell at London the very competitors who are underselling him at New York?

Whatever the theoretical possibilities are, the practical probabilities are that the American producer's ability to increase the value of exports would be weakened by an increase of importations competing seriously with his own productions. In order to maintain our gold standard we need a guarantee that an excess of exports over imports will prevail. But the Wilson bill can give no such guarantee. On the other hand it makes it extremely probable that the order of things would be reversed, imports generally exceeding exports.

Not only is this logically so, but what experience we have to

draw from sustains its truth. In a work not long ago published by Arthur B. and Henry Farquhar, two zealous advocates of free trade and all the cherished doctrines of the classical school of political economy, we are furnished with tables which if closely examined condemn their conclusions. The rate of duty on total imports under the Walker tariff varied between 23.5 and 15.4 per cent from 1847 to 1860. In that golden age our imports of merchandise exceeded exports every year but one and our exports of specie exceeded imports every year but one. This was at a time, too, when comparatively few of our securities were held abroad.

Take another period beginning at a date when the protection system began to make its influence felt on our industries after the war. From 1876 to 1890 the exports of merchandise exceeded imports every year but two, while exports of specie which includes silver exceeded imports only ten of the years of the period at a time when we were incurring large debts abroad. During this period the rate of duty on all imports ran from 26.7 to 31 per cent. These facts taken from a free trader's tabular arguments ought to satisfy us as to our experience.

One of the arguments of the advocate of tariff reform is that low duties will not create an unfavorable balance of trade and drain us of specie, because England for many years has maintained import balances of both merchandise and specie. Of course she has. Half the nations of the world are in debt to England. Before this country attempts successfully to play the rôle of England it must cease to be a debtor and become a large creditor.

If, as is estimated, it takes \$100,000,000 a year to pay foreigners for the continued use of their money—a sum which is now paid by an average excess of exports of merchandise over imports of \$75,000,000, and the rest mainly in gold, the wiping out of that excess of exports of merchandise would compel us to send abroad more gold by \$75,000,000 a year than we do now, and by that amount also, more than is annually produced in the United States.

Such a turn in affairs would play havoc with our gold reserves

and our gold standard—at the very time when they should be the objects of tender care and careful management. Large exportations of gold have produced uneasiness when there was really no ground for it. An extensive exportation just now would create good grounds for uneasiness. Such an exportation may be expected, to some extent, early in 1894, but especially after the imports now held back are dumped upon the market. If the Wilson bill or one no more protective in character be made a law by July 1, there will be abundant reasons for expecting a premium on gold in this country by next November—if not sooner.

HENRY B. RUSSELL.

AN OUTLINE OF A MONETARY PANACEA.

BY ARTHUR S. BROWNE.

A PROBLEM in calculus can not be successfully solved if the multiplication table be ignored. It is equally impossible to arrive at a correct conclusion upon the monetary question without taking into consideration general principles.

To solve the monetary question satisfactorily, it is necessary to inquire what authority government can rightfully exercise over money, considered both as a medium of exchange and as a standard of value—and to determine this necessitates a proper understanding of the object of social organization or government. It is axiomatic, in this republic at least, that government is organized for the purpose of protecting individual rights. Governments are not organized for the purpose of enforcing the will of the majority. The majority, by virtue of brute force, has the power to enforce its will irrespective of any social organization. The tyranny of a majority is the worst of all tyrannies, since it is unmoved by sympathy, and unawed by the fear of assassination. The natural right of an individual in his social relations is to do as he pleases, provided he does not in so doing infringe upon the equal rights of all other individuals. This is the golden rule of religion and the law of equal freedom of science. The sole legitimate object of government is to secure individual rights by preventing encroachments thereupon and by controlling such enterprises as require for their establishment and conduct a governmental franchise; that is to say, a parting by the individual with a portion of his equal right.

It is the purpose of this article to suggest a monetary scheme adapted to the present situation in the United States based upon this conception of the proper sphere of government and, as far

as space permits, explain the reasons for the several features proposed.

1. Abolish all existing legal tender laws, and provide for the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the existing ratio of sixteen (nearly) to one. Charge the depositors of bullion the actual cost of refining, alloying, and minting.

Legal tender acts are indefensible, are fraudulent in character, and are not within the proper province of government. Consider what a legal tender act is. No legal tender act can ever be passed which does not affect existing contracts. It compels an existing creditor to accept and the debtor to give a certain specified kind and quality of money irrespective of all equities which may have entered into the original contract. A legal tender act presupposes that the money legislated upon may be inequitable and unjust. If the consideration tendered by the debtor is that which the creditor contracted for and which he agreed to take, no legal tender act is necessary. If otherwise, the legal tender act is fraudulent. Unless the legal tender act operates inequitably and fraudulently, there is no occasion or reason for it; if it does so act, there is no excuse for it. "Legal tender" was the invention of spendthrift monarchs who debased their coins and then promulgated legal tender acts, compelling their subjects to take the debased coins at their face value. The English pound sterling was originally a pound troy weight of silver. By successive debasements and contemporaneous legal tender acts, a pound troy weight of silver (at the English coining rate) now makes more than three pounds sterling.

Legal tender acts compel individuals to do what otherwise they would be unwilling to do, and this compulsion is entirely irrespective of any equitable or moral considerations. Legal tender acts hence constitute an infringement upon individual rights, are outside of the proper sphere of government, and consequently should be repealed.

If deprived of all legal tender qualities, no valid objection can be urged to the unlimited coinage on private account, at the expense of the depositors, of both gold and silver, or of any other

metals or things, for that matter. The governmental stamp would then amount simply to a credible certificate of the weight and fineness of the coin, and would rest on precisely the same principles which justify governmental regulation and inspection of ordinary weights and measures. To give a special privilege to gold owners which is denied to silver owners (or for that matter to the owners of other forms of property) is indefensible, because it gives to a class a privilege which of necessity cannot be shared by the masses, and is hence an infringement upon individual rights. This is irrespective of the consideration that, under existing conditions in other countries, the free coinage privilege in the United States is perhaps of no special value to gold owners.

Under such circumstances both gold and silver would circulate side by side irrespective of the ratio between them. Gresham's law, so-called, would not be operative, because the over-valued metal will drive the other out of circulation only when both are full legal tender. The two metals deprived of legal tender qualities will stand before the public on their own merits and if one supersedes the other it will be a case of survival of the fittest. Whoever borrows gold will contract to repay gold; whoever borrows silver will contract to repay silver. The only possible inconvenience would be the existence, perhaps, of two prices current. That this is not impracticable is witnessed by the period when greenbacks and other paper representatives of money were at a discount as compared with gold and silver. But even this inconvenience will be found to be obviated in what follows. The proposition here suggested can be adopted irrespective of the action of other countries, and would place the citizens of the United States in a commanding commercial position, since they would have the monetary facilities at hand for trade with both silver and gold using countries. The *ignis fatuus* of an international agreement would disappear. National monetary independence is clearly attainable by following correct principles.

2. The time has long since passed when the daily use of coins in considerable amounts is feasible. The public have

been educated to the use of the more economical and convenient paper representatives of money. No one wishes now to carry or handle either gold or silver in large amounts. The issuance of paper money having a statutory basis is peculiarly the province of government. It is a privilege which obviously can not be extended by statute to all. Hence to confer the privilege upon certain individuals is an infringement upon the equal rights of all. While, therefore, government alone has the right to issue paper money, such paper should never depend for its value upon the credit of the government. Where governmental credit is relied upon powerful special interests find frequent occasion to demand dictated legislative action to support it. That governmental credit may on occasion fail is shown by the late civil war. Hence the only form of paper money which should be issued should be coin certificates based upon the actual deposit with the government of coin. The government in such case would be a mere trustee and the certificates evidences of the trust.

In issuing these coin certificates the government should exercise absolute impartiality toward all the money materials. This article proceeds on the assumption that gold and silver are the only practicable money materials, an assumption which may in the future prove incorrect but which is sufficiently exact for the present purpose.

Should opportunity offer we may in the future discuss at length the opinion here offered. The proposed certificates should hence recite that there had been deposited, payable on demand, one-half the face value in gold the other half in silver.

3. The attitude of the government in using money should be one of equal impartiality. All of its receipts should be made payable, and all of its disbursements should be made, half in gold and half in silver. The coin certificates should be made receivable for all public dues, and should be used exclusively in public disbursements. The coin certificates would hence come into general use probably to the exclusion of coin. The certificates might perhaps consistently be made a legal tender in pay-

ment of all public and private debts contracted after the institution of the certificates, except when otherwise stipulated in the contract. Such a limited legal tender provision would simply be a declaration that where the kind of coin was not specified it would be conclusively presumed that half gold and half silver was meant. This would be the legal presumption without such a provision. Such a legal tender provision, it is believed, would be unnecessary to secure the circulation of the certificates. That paper representatives of money sufficiently guaranteed pass current without any legal tender provision is evidenced by the national bank notes. To hasten the circulation of the certificates it might be advisable to require that they alone should be used as lawful reserve by the national banks. As long as the present alliance exists between the national banks and the government, they should be compelled to further the government's policy. The states and municipalities would soon follow the lead of the national government in reference to the certificates.

4. Provision should be made for the early retirement of all the present forms of paper money, or their conversion into the new coin certificates. Existing gold and silver certificates as long as outstanding should be treated as gold and silver, and when presented for payment or paid into the treasury should not be reissued. Greenbacks should be placed at once on the proposed bimetallic basis, and the one hundred million reserve should be made up equally of gold and silver. The greenbacks should then be gradually and uniformly retired during a long period, say twenty years. National bank notes should also be made payable half in silver and half in gold. Their further issue or increase should be stopped, and they should be retired as rapidly as existing charters will permit. No more national banks should be established, and the states should refuse to authorize the issue of state bank notes and to establish any more state banks. Banking should be in the hands of private parties exclusively. There should be absolutely no alliance between banks and government.

Since the Sherman act, so-called, was, as far as the principles of monetary science are concerned, the most vicious monetary

act ever passed by Congress, so the treatment of the coin certificates issued under its authority presents the greatest difficulty. Since the Sherman certificates are made payable by the terms of the act in either silver or gold, under the discretion of the secretary of the treasury, and since the act declares that it is the purpose of the government in passing the act to treat the two metals alike, they should while outstanding be regarded as representing half gold and half silver, and when presented for payment they should be so paid and not reissued. Since the government has not the gold and silver coin to meet these notes, legislation is necessary. The silver bullion purchased under the act should be coined into standard silver dollars. Of this amount, \$50,000,000 should be transferred to the greenback reserve, and a corresponding amount of gold should be transferred from the greenback fund to the Sherman certificate fund. The coining of the silver bullion would provide more than enough silver. One plan for securing the necessary equal amount of gold would be to empower the secretary of the treasury (for this purpose and also whenever necessary to render equal the holdings of the government in gold and silver) to authorize all dues to the United States to be paid in gold at a discount equal to the agio between the new coin certificates and gold, plus an additional amount (say five per cent, or such other per cent as experience might show to be necessary) sufficient to make it profitable to the payer to take advantage of the offer. This would probably provide gold as fast as necessary. If not, the government would have to borrow sufficient gold on gold bonds to meet its current obligations. In a few years nothing would be in circulation except gold and silver coin and the new coin certificates.

5. So far, only contracts entered into after the inauguration of the proposed scheme have been considered. The maintenance of the equity of existing contracts is the most delicate part of the whole matter. That the debtor class has perhaps been robbed by past legislation is no excuse for defrauding the creditor class now. The individuals have changed, and existing creditors should not undergo vicarious punishment. All

existing contracts which call specifically for gold or silver would remain undisturbed. We can divide other existing debts into two classes; first, those which were contracted (or simply replace those contracted) prior to February 12, 1873, and second, new debts contracted since that date. Prior to February 12, 1873, the "debtor's option" standard existed, hence strict equity would demand that the first class of debts should be payable in either gold or silver, at the option of the debtor. Since February 12, 1873, we have been on an exclusively gold standard, and were it not for one consideration, equity would require that the second class of debts should be payable in gold. The one consideration referred to is that more than one half of the existing legal tender money is not gold, and it is now available for the payment of this second class of debts. The proposed scheme, since it takes away the artificial prop of legislative interference which has heretofore maintained silver, silver certificates, greenbacks, national bank notes, and Sherman certificates, on a par with gold, would deprive the debtor of over one half of his existing facilities for paying his debts. With some hesitancy, therefore, we conclude that justice would most nearly be attained by providing that *all* existing debts of the two classes named should be made payable half in gold and half in silver. Much could be urged in favor of this proposition.

6. The existing subsidiary coinage could remain as it is, but should be made convertible on demand into the new coin certificates only. Many sound reasons exist for subsidiary coins of less than their face value. They should be treated as tokens merely, should have no legal tender qualities (except perhaps up to one dollar), and the government should carry a sufficient redemption fund to cover the *agio* and the average loss by abrasion.

7. It is believed that after a sufficient lapse of time, say ten or fifteen years, all contracts would be based upon the proposed "average standard", that the proposed coin certificates would alone be in circulation; that substantially all the gold and silver coin would be in the treasury, and that gold and silver would have reached a natural and steady basis with a fixed normal

ratio. Since the gold and silver would be held in the treasury in equal amounts, then, if the ratio between gold and silver should be different from its present coining ratio, the gold and silver in the treasury when demanded could be recoinced at the new ratio at a value for each metal equal to the coin certificates, and all coinage on private account thereafter would be on the same basis, care being exercised to avoid interfering with then existing contracts specifying gold or silver.

The scheme submitted has the advantage of simplicity in itself, the only complexities arising from the endeavor to provide for extinguishing the results of past and existing defective legislation.

Since the "average" standard coin certificates would be used exclusively on government account, since no other paper currency would be in existence, and since all subsidiary coins would be on the "average" standard, the proposed coin certificates would soon be the only active circulating medium, and consequently the objection of two prices current would disappear.

The government would in its relation to money be a mere impartial certifier and custodian, exercising no discretion, and no interference with ratios or private contracts, the entangling alliances between it and the interested private and corporate moneyed class would cease, and as far as the national government at least is concerned business would be on a strictly cash basis.

ARTHUR S. BROWNE.

"CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS."

BY HERBERT M. JANEWAY.

MR. CHARLES ROBINSON enjoys the somewhat questionable distinction of having undertaken to write the first article of any importance in defense of President Cleveland's appointment of Mr. Van Alen to the Italian mission. In the January number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS he attempts to justify the selection of Mr. Van Alen in a remarkable paper entitled, "Campaign Contributions and Presidential Appointments", which is in the nature of a rejoinder to Mr. William Dudley Foulke's impeachment of the president in a recent issue of *The Forum*. In undertaking this task Mr. Robinson has a pretty big contract on hand, and it must be conceded that his article is both clever and ingenious, but it is really a matter of regret that a man of his education and position should prostitute his pen in such a cause. The fact that Mr. Robinson's relations with the administration are said to be very close and that his name has of late been mentioned in connection with more than one important office, makes the publication of this article all the more regrettable. Mr. Robinson is evidently a man of great facility of mind. It is only a couple of months ago that he contributed a vigorous article to one of the reviews in condemnation of the spoils system. Now he comes out equally boldly in defense of an appointment the character of which is utterly disastrous to all political morals. Indeed, his views on the subject of civil service reform seem to be like unto those held by that other clever and ambitious young "reformer", Josiah Quincy, who is conceded to be *facile princeps* among spoils-hunters. Certainly no one can accuse Mr. Robinson of not having the courage of his convictions. The manner in

which he pays his respects to the "political Pecksniffs" and the "unscrupulous editors" who justly opposed Mr. Van Alen's appointment, is worthy of ex-Senator Ingalls. But it should be remembered that when the lawyer for the defense has a weak case he usually attacks the plaintiff's attorney. And this is precisely what Mr. Robinson does in the present article.

It is conceded by everyone that Mr. Van Alen's selection for the Italian mission by President Cleveland grew primarily out of his having contributed a large sum of money—from \$30,000 to \$50,000—to the Democratic campaign fund. The appointment, as everyone knows, was severely criticised in the Senate, and was only confirmed after much delay. The press of the country, regardless of party, also very widely condemned it. To the surprise of everyone, Mr. Van Alen declined the place after he had been confirmed, holding that he could not take it under such a storm of criticism.

If Mr. Cleveland's sense of propriety were one half as responsive as Mr. Van Alen's, the appointment would not have been made. The letters which the president received would alone have prevented the act and saved the administration from a scandal from which it will never recover. The president would not have hurt himself if he had acknowledged that he was induced to make an improper appointment through lack of information, but has hurt himself by insisting upon the appointment after its impropriety was made clear to him.

General Harrison hurt himself by the Wanamaker appointment, and Mr. Cleveland is bound to suffer from the Van Alen affair. Indeed there is little or no difference between the two cases. It is just as treasonable to republican institutions to sell the ambassadorship for a \$50,000 contribution as to appoint Wanamaker postmaster-general in payment of his services as collector of a great fund for the Quay management of the campaign of 1888.

In spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Mr. Robinson declares that Mr. Van Alen "was selected purely and simply for the reason that he was fitted for the post, and not because he contributed to the regular campaign fund of the Democratic

party." As a matter of fact, it makes no difference whether Mr. Van Alen is really a man of superior parts or not. He never would have been thought of for the ambassadorship to Italy, or for any other foreign post of consequence, or for any important place in the public service at home, had it not been for the peculiar relationship which he established between himself and the men who managed the last Democratic national campaign. His nomination was simply the confirmation of what was in all essential particulars understood if not a declared contract.

The nomination in itself was not a good one, for riches alone, while they are no obstacle, and may under certain circumstances even be necessary (which is a source of regret), can never be a sufficient qualification for such a position.

Mr. Robinson tells us that Mr. Van Alen's fitness for the place "was officially vouched for by both the Republican senators from Rhode Island in their votes for his confirmation." Mr. Van Alen's only serious indorsement was that of the two Republican senators. In spite of this fact no less an authority than Mr. Whitney declared that Mr. Van Alen was appointed for conspicuous services to the Democratic party. Why, if that was so, did two Republican senators want him so much? If he were a Democrat with a record for party service, would not Republican senators have eagerly seized any pretext for rejecting his nomination? Inasmuch, therefore, as he owes his confirmation to two Republican senators, he should at least not be charged up against the Democratic party. He never voted a Democratic ticket, or any other ticket, until last year. His first vote and his campaign contribution went together. The real reason for his appointment—the only reason with any standing room—is not only that he gave \$50,000, but that Mr. Whitney demanded the place for him. There is no doubt that Mr. Cleveland is under great obligations to Mr. Whitney; no doubt that he should be eager to grant to Mr. Whitney any reasonable request.

As early as April last it was known that the appointment of this campaign contributor was Mr. Whitney's one request of

the administration, and Mr. Whitney confirmed this in his letter to the president on the subject. "This is the first time," he says, "you have been approached by me on the subject of appointments." President Cleveland had been informed by some of his best friends of Mr. Van Alen's contribution, and the nature of his claim. The disastrous effects of such an appointment were pointed out in the strongest terms, yet he has disregarded the warning, and by so doing has done that which involves greater evil to republican institutions than any good which can be accomplished by his economic policy.

Mr. Robinson seeks to defend Mr. Van Alen with the plea that as a rich man it was not a remarkable thing for him to give so much money to the campaign fund, and that aid to the Democratic cause in that form was just as legitimate as aid in any other form. He declares that "it is not a whit less creditable or patriotic for one man to help with his purse a cause in which he believes than for another to aid it with his voice or his pen." There is, however, considerable difference between giving offices to men widely known because they are occupied with public affairs, and who aid their party's cause with voice and pen, and parceling them out to the private rich men who give money to campaign funds. Every one can feel the difference, no matter what logic is used to obscure so real a distinction. But in the light of the soundest principles, even such a difference is hardly worth noticing. The offices do not exist to reward party or personal services of any kind. They belong to the nation, and ought to be filled solely upon the simple, plain principle, of promoting the nation's welfare.

The lesson to be learned from Mr. Van Alen's appointment is simply that a young man who has never attended a primary or even voted can step into a foreign mission by contributing fifty thousand dollars to campaign expenses. The spoils system of Andrew Jackson gave the offices as a reward for party services, but selling offices to the highest bidder in gold, regardless of capacity, President Cleveland's friends will hardly dare to claim as a worthy contribution to political ethics.

HERBERT M. JANEWAY.

TARIFF REFORM BLUNDERS—A REPLY.

BY DANIEL STRANGE.

“OH, MAMMA, mamma!” cried a small boy hurrying home from school filled with enthusiasm, and big with his newly acquired information which he assumed would interest and instruct his parent as much as himself. “Oh mamma, they spell ox o-x, ox,” then after a few moments reflection, “and say, mamma, when they mean more than one, for oxen, they just add s.”

Here was a bit of truth and a bit of philosophy, and the small boy came as near to comprehending his subject and to telling the whole truth as did the writer of the article in the January number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS in the caption of which article he very fittingly wrote the word “blunders,” and then proceeded to write of what he persistently and consistently called the “McKinley bill.” The doctor will doubtless be greatly surprised, if he shall ever chance to learn that there is no McKinley bill, and that there has not been one for three years, nor even a Bill McKinley in Congress to father such a bill.

With an assumption of superior knowledge which is really astounding and which would be in very bad taste in one really having something to communicate, he proceeds directly to discuss the one great blunder of three eminent tariff reformers; to wit: the president of the United States, the speaker of Congress, and a New York exporting merchant. “Though differently expressed,” he says, “the arguments of the three are identical.” Then quoting *verbatim* the language of Speaker Crisp, “Our manufacturers cannot pay duty on raw materials and sell their goods in foreign countries in competition with those foreign manufacturers who get free raw materials.” This he calls a

blunder "wholly inexcusable considering the positions they occupy." He might have added that President Grant in a message to Congress said, "The duty on raw materials acts as a protection to foreign manufacturers of the same completed articles in our own and distant markets." But he says: "The answer to this blunder can be expressed in a single sentence. There is in the McKinley bill *no tariff on imported raw materials used by our manufacturers in making goods which are to be sold in foreign countries*. In other words the duties assessed on such materials are refunded to the exporter, when sold abroad, thus actually making them free of duty."

The Italics are his own. How near they come to telling the truth we shall discover as we proceed. But for the time, granting they are true, instead of showing that his three eminent victims have made any blunder, they show that they told a truth so plain to the understanding of intelligent men that the late Republican Congress conceded its entire truth and enacted a law aiming to surmount the difficulty. Their action shows, however, another thing of vastly more importance. It shows that while every Republican member of Congress knows, and has so stated in every stump speech for years, that the foreigner pays the tax, they have deliberately voted from the public treasury money, acquired by the taxation of foreigners, and have made a gratuitous donation of it to the millionaire exporters of foreign goods, else they have been utterly insincere all these years in their pretense that "the foreigner pays the tax." This last supposition is scarcely tenable, for did not Thomas B. Reed, the ablest man in all their host, reassure us only last month, in his minority report, that the foreigner does pay the tax? Why then did Mr. Reed vote for this donation to exporting manufacturers?

Of course, we blundering reformers believe the importer pays the duty and charges it up with percentage added to the manufacturer or whoever buys of him, and the manufacturer charges it to his customer until it finally falls, with many percentages added, upon the consumer, be he American or foreigner. We believe, moreover, that any refunding of duties for the benefit of foreign purchasers, thus not only enabling but compelling our

manufacturers to charge us more than they charge foreigners for the same wares, is an outrage upon American consumers which words cannot fittingly characterize.

But does the present tariff law really add this to its many infirmities? The learned Doctor seems to think it does, for he says: "The McKinley bill authorizes the exporter to demand back the tariff duties he may have paid on imported materials he may have used, when he exports the same." Then assuming that the president and all of his executive officers are unaware of the truth, that the committee who framed the law do not know what it provides, and that the New York exporter whom he quotes does not know that duties are refunded to him, he adds, "If his intelligence will lead him to read Section XXV. of the McKinley bill, he may discover that the danger of losing the foreign markets exists only in the imagination of those who are not so well informed."

Well, presuming that by the McKinley bill he means the present tariff law, here is Section XXV. entire, that the unshorn lambs may read :

That where imported materials, on which duties have been paid, are used in the manufacture of articles manufactured or produced in the United States, there shall be allowed on the exportation of such articles a drawback equal in amount to the duties paid on the materials used, less one per centum of such duties; *Provided*, that when the articles exported are made in part from domestic materials, the imported materials, or the parts of the articles made from such materials, shall so appear in the completed articles that the quantity or measure thereof may be ascertained. *And provided further*, That the drawback on any article allowed under existing law shall be continued at the rate herein provided. That the imported materials used in the manufacture or production of articles entitled to drawback of customs duties when exported shall, in all cases where drawback of duties paid on such materials is claimed, be identified, the quantity of such materials used and the amount of duties paid thereon shall be ascertained, the facts of the manufacture or production of such articles in the United States and their exportation therefrom shall be determined, and the drawback due thereon shall be paid to the manufacturer, producer, or exporter, to the agent of either, or the person to whom such manufacturer, producer, exporter, or agent shall in writing order such drawback paid, under such regulations as the secretary of the treasury shall prescribe.

Well, now we have it; what does it all mean? We blunder-

ers, as well as the exporters, believe this section to be a sham, a fraud, a delusion, and a snare.

The most important material by far imported into this country for manufacture is wool. We produce but little more than half the wool worn in this country. It is imported under enormous duties, the tariff on some grades of scoured wool being over one hundred per cent. Manufacturers assure us the imported wool is never made up by itself. Neither is domestic wool. To secure the necessary strength and luster they must be combined; and "not a spindle in America is running on either domestic or foreign wool alone." The foreigner cannot pay a duty of over one hundred per cent without charging us an enormous price for the wool. The manufacturer pays it and must recoup himself either by charging enormous prices for his goods or by paying the American farmer much *less* for his wool than he otherwise would. Experience teaches us that he does both, and this explains why, in the language of George M. Bond, the most eminent wool expert in our country, "Our fine wools have always been higher, other things being equal, when we were able to freely import wools of other countries at a low duty or no duty at all."*

Think of the New York exporter demanding his drawback when exporting woolens. The "imported article must so appear in the completed articles that the quality and the measure thereof may be ascertained." After it is "identified" and "determined" and many other learned words, he then will find

* The fourteenth statistical abstract of the United States, published under authority of the secretary of the United States treasury in 1892, gives the prices of fine wool in the New York market four times in every year since 1824. From it I copy the following prices showing the fluctuations from time to time, and with them I have connected the rates of duty charged at the different times. It will be seen that with every increase in the tariff the price has gone *down*, and following every reduction in the tariff, with but one exception, the price has *advanced*. The table will well repay the careful study of every one who thinks that the wool grower can be protected by a high tariff.

Year.	Per cent of Duty.	Price.	Year.	Per cent of Duty.	Price.
1824.....	Free.....	68c-70c	1863.....	5-15.....	80-
1826.....	15-20.....	55-37	1864.....	25-30.....	78-
1827.....	15-20.....	36-	1867.....	50-60.....	68-48
1833.....	Free.....	55-65	1868.....	50-60.....	48-45
1834.....	Free.....	70-	1872.....	45-55.....	70-80
1842.....	30-60.....	48-38	1882.....	45-55.....	44-
1843.....	30-60.....	36-33	1883.....	40-50.....	40-
1857.....	Free.....	58-38	1889.....	40-50.....	34-
1859.....	Free.....	60-40	1891.....	32-120.....	33-31
1861.....	5-15.....	45-38			

it impossible to so comply with this "bill" as to recover a cent, yet the Doctor assures us he is as free as "any bill can make him."

Our manufacturers now produce fifteen sixteenths of all the manufactured goods used in this country, and still lie idle more than one tenth of the time for the confessed purpose of reducing their product and advancing its price. Whatever may have been true in an early day of the desirability of protecting "infant industries", the day has gone by when protective tariffs in this country can benefit any but the monopolists, prosperity can only come to us by enlarging our markets and our exchanges. After thirty years of ruinous and constantly accelerating protection, it has finally culminated exactly as philosophers have always told us it must culminate, in producing many millionaires and in reducing many millions of laborers to the point where they cannot procure their daily bread.

The Doctor is not at all content to give us grains of wisdom. He hurls it at us in solid chunks like the following: "Every class of articles imported in increased quantities must necessarily diminish the demand for the same class of articles made at home. . . . It means inevitably less employment for our laborers at home and more employment for laborers abroad." This certainly is the "imaginary result" for a man who cannot think. I heard the great McKinley Bill, himself, say, "Every ship load displaces American labor, and you cannot get around that." You cannot, without thinking it is true. If you expect foreigners to bring their goods here and "dump" them upon us, taking *nothing* in return, it is true it might lead to "less employment for our laborers at home and more employment for laborers abroad." In fact, no labor at all would be necessary at home if the dumping process is carried far enough. But if we but once think of the fact that they bring nothing here except in *exchange for the product of our own toil*, we then see that every ship load, instead of displacing our labor, fills our homes with comforts and relieves our markets of our surplus, and thus *gives employment* to our laborers to create another surplus for another exchange, which exchange we do not make unless it is to our advantage to do so.

DANIEL STRANGE.

BREAD FOR THE HUNGRY.

BY MRS. A. L. CORNWALL.

AN APPEAL has gone forth to western farmers for free contributions of grain and other provisions to feed the starving poor in eastern towns and cities, who have neither food nor money, and who are thrown out of employment. In the interest of every western producer and of every eastern consumer we enter protest. There is in the United States an abundance of food to provide for all our people until another harvest. There is an abundance of needed labor to employ profitably every able, willing hand. There is an abundance of money to so pay the laborer that he can buy his own food and other necessities of living, and pay a fair price which will remunerate producers.

Where is this food? It is in grain bins and elevators, in barrels and fruit crates, in root cellars, in cattle and sheep herds, in pens and pastures, barns and sheds. In first hands it is waiting for a market at any price however low. In the hands of speculators it is waiting for a demand, which will give a large margin of profit and add to fortunes already princely.

What is this labor? It is to provide comfortable homes and furniture, clothing, fuel, and food for the destitute. There is enough imperatively needed to set in swift motion all the idle wheels of industry.

The key to the whole problem is the money. Where is this money? It is builded into a wall between consumers and producers. It forms a dam across the stream of productive industry, causing equal destruction, by drouth below and stagnant overflow above. To build this wall of stolen gold, many of the wageworkers of our country, especially those who work under contractors in large cities and manufacturing towns, have been ruthlessly robbed of their rightful earnings. By a concerted

systematic oppression they have been compelled to live on the merest pittance, in squalor and wretchedness, in dens which it would be the most pitiful profanation to call homes. Their landlords and their employers make immense fortunes, leaguering together to force rents up and wages down.

Thousands of these poor people, whose greatest fault is the misfortune of being born, never see the sunlight or breathe the fresh air or know the meaning of comfortable food and clothing. They are willing to work. They do work. They have always work but for so scanty a recompense that decent housing, needed rest, and strengthening food have been an impossibility. They have merely existed, under conditions so harrowing, so loathsome, and so hopeless that the best thing about the life they lead is its brevity. A city missionary, who had worked for more than twenty years among the New York poor, told me that he had often seen miles of sidewalk filled with sleeping people who had swarmed out of their miserable quarters to escape the insufferable heat. The weak and feeble were often crowded and trampled to death, but what did it matter?

These are not overdrawn pictures or panic-stricken outcries. The literal truth is far beyond portrayal. The statements made are facts, facts repeatedly attested by candid, reliable eye-witnesses, corroborated by unbiased public officers, and sustained by the records of police stations and courts.

Even this wretched existence has no surety of an abiding place. We compress the following from the careful statements of one who has given the matter close personal observation: "In the city of New York alone, during the year ending September 30, 1892, were served *twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty dispossession warrants*. This at an average of five to a family means *one hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred human outcasts in one city*." These are official figures. We read the harvest of this seed-sowing in the number of arrests for vagrancy and theft; we see it in the swarming dives, slums, jails, workhouses, and lunatic asylums, and in the steady increase of prostitution, suicide, and child murder. We hear it in the constant roll of death carts from New York's crowded east end to the equally

crowded shallow trenches on Hart's Island, to be "thrown in with the city dead."

The work of these industrial slaves is of immense value. Evidently they themselves do not gather the fruits of their industry. Where are those fruits? Where is the money that represents all this labor! "On and near Fifth Avenue, New York, live *two hundred millionaires*, whose aggregate wealth is *thirty billion dollars*." "Thirty-one thousand out of our population of 65,000,000 own \$36,250,000,000 of our nation's wealth of \$62,610,000,000; otherwise, one man out of every 2,000 owns more than all the rest of the two thousand." Just so long as one man can command the labor of a thousand, there will be suffering among the robbed.

Let us look on the other side of this wall of extorted wealth and see how it is with those who cultivate the soil, and those who bring into merchantable shape the free products of forests and mines.

Lumbermen and miners are wageworkers and subject to the conditions of all day laborers. Whatever lessens the buying power of consumers and lowers the market value of lumber, coal, and minerals, reduces wages and throws many of them out of work. They have no resources and no opening for other employment, and unreckoned trouble comes out of their condition of enforced idleness. Crime and vagrancy are multiplied; recruits are added to the wretched army of unwilling tramps, who prey upon people that have no food to give away and no money to hire even needed help, in doors or out. Thousands of Christian men and women are daily trying to solve the problem, What shall be done for the ever-increasing multitude of wandering poor?

We turn with a feeling of relief to the great community of farmers. Surely, here we shall find peace, comfort, thrift. It is something to work in the free air and sunshine. It is something to live on the wide flower-decked prairies or on the bright slopes of the rolling hills. There is a charm in the tropical luxuriance of the sunny South, an equal charm in the fragrant depths of the northern pine-lands, in the bracing atmosphere

of mountain plateaus, in the fertile valleys of free-flowing rivers, or on the shores of peaceful lakes and great inward seas. We have an incomparable country in variety of soil, climate, and scenery. It is capable of bringing forth abundantly of all the fruits of the earth, of sustaining in comfort more than a thousand-fold its present population, and of furnishing a possible paradise for millions of charming homes.

But instead of the advance in wealth and comfort which we might reasonably expect, we look in vain among the agricultural classes for even the old-time cheerful prosperity. What is the matter here? One thing is clear, it is not the result of a panic caused by distrust of Democratic finance. It antedates by years the present partisan ascendancy, and has been steadily growing through both Republican and Democratic administrations. Neither is it chargeable to the extravagance and mismanagement of farmers. As a class these men are industrious, energetic, and frugal. They and their wives and children work hard and live plainly. There was a time, not many years ago either, when they felt the security of an independent home, when they feared neither landlords nor creditors, when they slowly but surely accumulated property and became forehanded, when only the unfortunate or thriftless needed to be in debt or absolutely poor. That time has gone by. The number of tenant farmers is steadily increasing. A large proportion of farms are mortgaged for more than they will bring on forced sale. Foreclosure notices and sheriff sales of mortgaged personal effects are too common to excite surprise or comment.

Thousands of families have endured cheerfully the privations of pioneer life. They have worked bravely on through heat and cold, floods and drought, hail and cyclones, fires and blizzards. They have been beaten by none of these accidents, common foes of their craft, especially in a new country. But when to these are added the steady depressing of market prices, below the *money cost* of production, and exorbitant interest and taxes, they have been compelled to yield. They are losing all they have saved, and are being driven from their homes in their old age, toilworn and empty-handed.

There is no argument in such epithets as "calamity howlers." It is vain to talk of "over production" when millions of our own people are underfed, and foreign nations want more than we can spare. No amount of campaign eloquence or newspaper ingenuity will convince sensible, practical men that the country is prosperous and they are getting rich under present conditions. President Harrison sealed his political death-warrant by blindly insisting that everything was all right, and by telling the most important factor in American industry if they did not like the situation to go to Europe.

But we do not care to discuss this question in a partisan light. It makes no practical difference whether a Republican, a Democratic, or a Populist, Congress sits day after day at the expense of the toilers wrangling over tariff or the coinage of silver. No benefit will accrue so long as the inflow of gold and the multiplied currency are absorbed by the monopolies of wealth and speculation.

Is there then no remedy? Yes. Confiscate this wall of stolen gold. Give back to the toilers on either side the money out of which they have been swindled. Make future monopolies too dangerous, through heavy penalties, to be risked. Stop the liquor traffic, which consumes at least two billion dollars every year, and gives in return only death and destruction. Take from those highway robbers, the brewers, the distillers, the traffickers in intoxicants, the money for which they have committed, directly or indirectly, every crime in the calendar, and use it to repair, so far as gold can, the ravages the trade has wrought. Take this as axiomatic truth, excessive wealth is proof presumptive of fraud, and it is the province of the ruling power to search the matter and to repay the defrauded. Make an assessment on wealth to relieve the suffering poor, the per cent of levy to vary with the size of the fortune, the rapidity of its acquirement, and the condition of those who have contributed to its accumulation. It will be difficult to accomplish all this? Certainly, righteousness is never easy. "Straight and narrow" is the way to justice as well as to life, but the nation which will not walk in it is doomed. A government which compounds

with rogues, and sells the privilege to commit crime, which cannot or will not right what is wrong, defend the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong, the workers against the speculators, has no warrant to exist.

It does not avail anything for wronged labor or its advocates to appeal to the mercy of its oppressors. There is no other passion so unrelenting as avarice. Labor strikes, anarchy, violence, exhaust the strength of the struggling victims, and tighten the grip of greed.

Law is the only effectual remedy, the ballot the effective weapon. Persistent demands at the polls will at last command relief. Politicians, even, will learn that the royal road to office is to give the laborer his due.

The ways of justice and mercy are not blind, but the spirit to walk in them is almost obsolete. Our statesmen surely know that the true object of government is the welfare and protection of its citizens, that the people are royal, that feasting and revelry, luxury and display, do not belong with making and executing the laws of a republic.

Are we going backwards? Washington shared the hardships of his private soldiers. Lincoln could not sleep when leaky tents and inclement weather threatened the health and life of his army. The president of to-day sleeps soundly on a downy couch in a room the curtains of which would furnish comfortable bedding for thousands of shivering women and children. If our boasted land of liberty does not soon seek a return of the simplicity and honesty of earlier days, we shall import missionaries from Africa and New Zealand and send our statesmen to sit at the feet of the queen of Madagascar.

Financial misfortunes will be to us as a lasting profit, if they reveal a higher standard of living. It is a propitious time for a clearer intelligence and an awakened public conscience to sweep away the rotten fabric of a false civilization, with its glittering gewgaws and fictitious estimates of value; and, on the bed-rock of enduring truth and Christian brotherhood, to build a *new nation*.

A. L. CORNWALL.

CANADA AND "POLITICAL REUNION"—FROM A CANADIAN'S STANDPOINT.

BY W. SANFORD EVANS, SECRETARY CANADIAN CLUB, HAMILTON,
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IN THE December issue of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS there appeared an article by Hon. F. W. Glen, entitled "The Political Reunion of the United States and Canada." From the nature of the subject the article is of special interest to Canadians, and as a Canadian I should like to say something about it. The article will have upon Canadians an effect quite the opposite of that which Mr. Glen would doubtless desire. Instead of being convincing or persuasive, it produces feelings in which are mingled mild indignation and a good deal of amusement. There are many small inexactnesses of statement which prove exasperating, and it is not fair to the American public that they should go uncorrected. As I shall confine myself to some of the things with which a Canadian would find fault, I take this opportunity of acknowledging the many kind things Mr. Glen has said about us, and particularly the deservedly high estimate he has given of our French Canadian brothers. And I would not wish anything that is said to give the impression that there is any other feeling in Canada toward the United States than the most cordial good fellowship and the sincerest admiration; but when our country is attacked we must appeal to statistics to show our comparative standing. We point to the United States as an example of what may be done in North America, but we intend to excel her.

In the first place, objection must be taken to the employment of the words "political reunion." These words would have meaning only if at any time there had been a political union between the two countries. Until the time of the Rebellion there

was not even political union between Massachusetts and New York. The British colonies in America were upon much the same basis as are the seven colonies of Australia at the present time, each of which has its own political autonomy; and the same thing is true of Canada and Newfoundland. When the thirteen colonies united against England we have the first record of union upon the continent, and it is well known that to consummate this union, and to make it sufficiently strong to enable it to live and to command respect and credit abroad, was the great problem of early statesmanship. There was no united Dominion of Canada until 1867. To speak of "political reunion" is, then, to commit an unpardonable historical inaccuracy, and while we can understand that some of those who are working for the political union of the two countries should think it a matter of policy to speak of "reunion," inasmuch as a majority of people shrink from anything radical and are much more easily induced to restore what has formerly existed, still a protest must be entered against so petty a subterfuge.

In the course of the article reference is made to several public men in both countries, and many quotations are given. Mr. Glen has contrived to introduce the names of some Canadian public men in such a way as to leave the impression that these men are very influential in Canada, and that they support the policy he is advocating. To show how unfair he has been in this I shall refer to these men and state the facts.

Prof. Goldwin Smith is heartily in accord with Mr. Glen's position. Prof. Smith is, however, not a Canadian by birth or in sentiment. His literary ability has earned for him a recognized position, but he has never been popular. He was not popular in England before he came to this country; he made himself unpopular in the United States, and his standing in Canada will be clear when it is said that he was threatened with a certain degree of social ostracism on account of his attitude on the annexation question. He started in Canada a continental union club which he could not establish, and which was never strong enough to be more than laughed at. He has created a breach between himself and the Canadian people which is widen-

ing every day. He is not a leader. Among other things he has shown no stability or consistency of purpose. Some years ago he was a prominent member of what was called the Canada First party, whose cry was, Canada for the Canadians; now his cry is, Canada for the Americans. His writings furnish many of the strongest arguments that can be urged against the policy he is at present advocating.

Honore Mercier is said by Mr. Glen to be "the most adroit and skillful political leader, with a stronger personal following than any of his contemporaries." Canadians blush to hear Mercier held up as in any way representative of Canada. The people of his own province passed an unmistakable judgment upon him at the last election when they rejected his party and policy by an overwhelming majority. He has entirely lost caste in Canada.

Of Erastus Wiman's success Canadians are proud; but although he has written and spoken a good deal to Canadians in favor of closer union with the United States, he has no following in Canada. Not only this, but he directly opposes Mr. Glen in the methods to be adopted to bring about the results, and firmly holds the opinion, which he expresses on all occasions, that political union is so remote that it does not deserve serious consideration as an issue that will affect the present generation. In a speech before the Union League Club of Brooklyn in 1891 he said: "To advocate annexation for years to come would be the ruin of any politician, the ruin of any party. If it is found to-day possible to elect a pound-keeper or even a constable known to favor annexation, in half a dozen constituencies, there might be some hope that there would be in time a change in sentiment. But any political party, or any combination, who might form the nucleus of a party, even any candidate for parliamentary honors, who adopted the annexation cause as the ground of confidence, could not just now summon a corporal's guard to his support."

The other Canadian public men whom Mr. Glen mentions are those who signed the Montreal Annexation Manifesto in 1849. Mr. Glen has been particularly unfair with regard to this event.

He introduces it by saying that it was signed by "such prominent leaders as the late Sir George Cartier and Sir Alexander T. Galt; Sir Leonard Tilley, the present governor of New Brunswick; Sir John J. C. Abbott, ex-premier of the Dominion; and Sir David Macpherson, a senator of Canada." Forty-four years ago not one of these men was a "prominent political leader." They were young men who in a time of unusual depression took a rash step for which they all afterward publicly expressed their deep regret; and from that time they devoted themselves so heartily to British interests that they became leaders in public life and helped to arouse the strong Canadian feeling which now exists in this country. The fact that each of those mentioned by Mr. Glen afterward accepted knighthood from Her Majesty as an acknowledgment of his services to the empire is a sufficient indication of a radical change in sentiment.

It will easily be seen how false an impression might be given by the use of such names when other facts were kept in the background.

With regard to the American public men to whom Mr. Glen refers we have nothing to say, because it is very evident that there has always been a strong party in the United States anxious for political union. The Continental Congress of 1774 and 1775, the provision left in the Constitution for the admission of Canada into the union, the events of 1812, 1837, and 1849, and of other times, the prominence given to the subject in the press, and the eagerness with which any facts that might seem to favor annexation are taken up and generally distorted, have long ago removed from Canadian minds any doubt of the policy of at least a section of the American people. And Canadians flatter themselves that there is good reason for the desire to possess our country. The territory of the United States is becoming filled up, the forests destroyed, and the needs of the country increased, so that in the not distant future they will be largely dependent upon other countries for their raw material, and Canada has more undeveloped wealth than any other country in the world. A knowledge of our resources makes Canadians believe that they understand the desire for political union to be

found among Americans. Unfortunately this knowledge does not lead us to the same conclusions. Because we are wealthy it is natural that others should desire to share with us, but it is equally natural that we should wish to keep it all ourselves. I am not saying anything now of the supposed gains to Canada by the union; but the fact remains that in Canada there is absolutely no agitation in favor of annexation, while there is certainly agitation in the United States, and since this is the case we cannot believe that this agitation is carried on because of the benefit that will accrue to Canada.

I have already said that some of Mr. Glen's statements are amusing to Canadians, and that some arouse indignation. It is amusing that in December, 1893, there should appear held out as a bait to the Canadians that the United States has "created and established a national banking system which has won the confidence of our wisest and most experienced financiers." Had this statement appeared a year ago it might have been more alluring. Canadians claim to have the best banking system yet devised, and in the Bank of Montreal, with its paid up capital of \$12,000,000, and its reserve fund of \$6,000,000, to have not only the greatest financial institution in America, but the second or third largest joint stock bank in the world. During the past year our banks have stood firm and there has been plenty of money on reasonable terms.

It is amusing to read the expression he more than once makes use of about "allaying the desire of Canadian people for annexation." There is not nearly so much sentiment in Canada in favor of annexation as there is in the United States in favor of lynching, and if we proceeded along the lines which Mr. Glen has marked out in this article, we could write strongly about "allaying the desire" of the American people for anarchy and deeds of heartless cruelty. There are fewer in Canada in favor of annexation than there are Southerners who will talk bitterly against the North. And, despite Mr. Glen's statements about the unrest in this country, we have nothing like the ominous talk indulged in over the silver question. We do not hesitate to make the assertion that Canadians to-day are as united and as

homogeneous as any people, that they love their country as heartily, and that there is growing up a spirit in this country that will in a few years cause it to be regarded as treasonable to mention national suicide.

"Canada adopted the American policy of protection to home industries, and even her judicial system is being steadily assimilated to ours." Without pausing to inquire whether Mr. Glen is laying claim to the principles of protection as an American product, and, if not, why Canada should be said to be adopting "the American policy" when she adopted protection, we may say that certainly Canada had to tax American trade when her own exports were taxed; but it is astonishing that we should be told that our judicial system is gradually being assimilated to the American system. They are entirely different, and unless the American system is changed they will remain so. We appoint all judges; you elect them all, except the judges of your Supreme Court, and the proud position of this court demonstrates the superiority of the system of appointment.

It is not worth while to take up other minor points. One, however, we cannot pass by, which is the most amusing of all: "Continental union will deliver the Canadian people from the bondage of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which controls and operates one half of the railway mileage of the Dominion, although first chartered in 1881. The late Sir John A. Macdonald, as premier of Canada and leader of the Tory party, induced Parliament to grant it enormous special powers and privileges for the purpose, largely, of maintaining his supremacy. The railway company exercises its power and influence and contributes liberally to election funds to sustain the party which created it, and in return the parliamentary majority grants it additional favors and privileges to aid in maintaining its monopoly. Neither could exist without the other, therefore, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company actively opposes continental union." This is absurd. If there is one thing that Canadians are proud of it is their great railroad. But, granting for the moment that Canadians are under the "bondage" of this "monopoly," what does Mr. Glen offer in

its place? He offers union with a country a large percentage of whose railways are in the hands of receivers, whose railway history has been stained by notorious instances of corruption which are a matter of history; a country which cannot check the power of such monopolies as the Standard Oil Company; a country where four thousand people (three hundredths of one per cent of the families of the United States) own twenty per cent of all the wealth, and where nine per cent own seventy-one per cent of the wealth. In reply to what he says as to the "enormous" grants to the Canadian Pacific Railway, it is sufficient to say that the United States government granted more in money and land to the Union Pacific Railway to build its one thousand miles of road than was granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway to build its three thousand miles.

But let us take this question on a little broader ground. Mr. Glen says the Canadian Pacific Railway was chartered largely for the purpose of maintaining Sir. John A. Macdonald in power. Can we not find a more generous and more statesman-like reason for his action?

A transcontinental line was first advocated by Major Carmichael Smyth in an open letter published in 1847, and this letter was accompanied by a map showing the route proposed by him, which was the very route afterward adopted by the Canadian Pacific. The Canadian people were at once convinced of the necessity of such a road, but the scheme found little favor in England, and it was not until nearly forty years later that Canada felt able to undertake it alone. Had the road been built when it was first mooted the development of our Northwest would have kept pace with development of the Western States. Chiefly owing to the fact that the United States had her transcontinental lines completed so long before ours, is due the difference in population, and the fact of the success of the American roads in opening up that Western country is sufficient justification for the policy of building a Canadian road, if any justification were needed in view of the wonderful progress of that country since the road was built, and the success of the road itself, for it has paid its dividends and added to its reserve

fund, while all the American Pacific roads are in the hands of receivers. Another point is that when British Columbia agreed to enter the Dominion, there was a condition that a road should be built connecting her with Eastern Canada. That condition had to be fulfilled. In addition to these considerations there is another which in itself would more than vindicate the wisdom which pushed through the Canadian Pacific Railway. The route through Canada between Europe and Asia is much shorter than that through the United States. In fact the difference in favor of the Canadian route over that by way of New York and San Francisco from Liverpool to Yokohama is nearly one thousand miles, and as it is also the quickest route from England to Australia this means that, with proper equipment, Canada must be the great highway of the future. Just here let me quote some words of the late Secretary Seward: "Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver Island, British America would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia, and the United States. Thus from a mere Colonial dependency it would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her other nations would be tributary; and in vain would the United States attempt to be her rival; for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce bestows." All this was recognized in Canada, and when the imperial government would not aid the enterprise, Canada, that country whose policy is "one of retardation, of slow development," undertook it alone and accomplished a truly remarkable feat, when, in four years and nine months from the day on which the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company became law, she had completed her great railroad.

Among the things in the article which arouse indignation must be mentioned the following: "The strongest active opposition in Canada to continental union will come from the political leaders now in power, and from those who hope to gain power at the next general election, the members of the Dominion and the provincial civil service, all of whom are appointed for life, the judiciary included, the manufacturers and wholesale

merchants who have an established and profitable trade, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has been granted enormous special powers and privileges by the government of Canada. They all oppose it for personal reasons." Is it not almost incredible that so narrow-minded and ungenerous a statement should be made of any people? Sentiment is not dead in the world; it will never die; and it will never cease to be one of the greatest controlling forces. Can Mr. Glen find in all history one example of a people who would thus, without compunction, hand over to another that which tradition and the natural instincts of affection called patriotism had rendered sacred to them? Why, then, should he think that, were it not for the pecuniary interests of a few, Canadians would be the first to write that disgraceful page? Is there anything in the stock from which we spring, is there anything in our past history, that would justify such an estimate? What is the attitude of the French Canadian as shown in history? Was not sentiment strong enough in our British fathers to make them capable of the heroic sacrifices of the Union Empire Loyalists? Was there anything uncertain about the stand we took in 1812? Have the men who have gone from us to you lacked manliness, that we should be so judged?

American misconception of the temper of the Canadian people and of Canadian sentiment has become historic. Mr. Glen's article instinctively brings to mind the proclamations of Generals Hull and Smyth in 1812. The irony of fate made these proclamations ridiculous, and yet there has been no change in the tone of American communications upon this subject. As they were before, so they have been since. To every one the answer of Canada has been the same: Let us alone; we have confidence in ourselves that we can work out our own destiny without interference and without help, and we intend to do so. When will Americans learn this answer and remember it?

Before asking what Canada would gain or lose by political union it would be well to ask what Canada is, and what she has done, and is doing. In answer to the first question we may say in a word that Canada is larger than the United States, that she

has inexhaustible natural resources, and has besides a climate which, as Mr. Glen says, "tends to develop and stimulate the conservative and best elements of human character so essential in maintaining and perpetuating self-government and free institutions."

What has she done and what is she doing? Mr. Glen quotes Mr. Wiman as saying: "The two nationalities set out side by side one hundred and twenty years ago on the race for continental supremacy. The United States had an untried form of government, had no capital, no backing, and no previous experience, working out on a vast scale a plan of self-government, and an experiment in finance and development. Canada had behind her, Great Britain, stable institutions, enormous supplies of money, and everything to make her great." That is to say, when the two countries started everything was in Canada's favor. Yes; but Mr. Wiman forgets that for nearly two centuries before this time what is now the United States had had behind her this same "Great Britain, stable institutions, enormous supplies of money, and everything to make her great"; so that the United States, upon this showing, had had nearly two centuries' start. She had had experience in self-government, as all colonies of Great Britain have had, and the republican form of government was no experiment in the history of the world. So well had she prospered that in 1760 her population numbered about 3,000,000, and she was wealthy. At the same date Canada had only 60,000 inhabitants, of French origin, in the greatest poverty because of the war. They could in no way be compared to the English colonists because the policy of France had not favored development or individual enterprise. It had been a military colony. Things had gradually become more settled in Canada when the Rebellion broke out, and the population of Canada was increased by the band of United Empire Loyalists who settled in an entirely unbroken country and began life where it had been begun in the United States nearly two centuries before. At that time the population of the United States was 3,500,000. When one realizes in addition to these things that the first four or five million of population is the diffi-

cult one to secure, it seems incredible that any one should entertain the idea that the two countries started on equal terms.

In comparing statistics of the increase of population in the two countries we find that since 1760, when it became British possession, the population of Canada has increased eighty-fold, while that of the United States has increased only twenty-one-fold. In 1812 the population of all that is now known as Canada was under 500,000, while that of the United States was 7,500,000. Since that time the population of Canada has increased tenfold, while that of the United States has not increased ninefold. Up to 1840 more European immigrants settled in Canada than in the United States. Then came the opening up of the great West which attracted to it an immense immigration, among which were thousands of Canadians. At that time Canada had no fertile western fields to which even her own people could go, and she did not have any until 1869, when she purchased the Northwest Territories from the Hudson Bay Company. These facts, and also the fact that the more thickly populated localities, by the greater opportunities they present, will always attract a certain number, account for there being one million Canadians in the United States. Yet even allowing for this emigration from Canada, we find that it is not true, as Mr. Glen says it is, that Canada has not been able to attract or retain population, for her population has increased at a greater ratio than that of the United States. Since our Northwest was opened up, and particularly since the Canadian Pacific Railroad was built, this "exodus" has stopped, and recent statistics clearly show that the tide has turned the other way. Before ten years have passed we will be quite willing to base our hopes for Canada upon what statistics will show of the relative movements of population.

Leaving the matter of population, let us look at some other facts about Canada to see if what has been said about her is justifiable. Compared with the United States, and in proportion to population, Canada has greater and more valuable public works; she has more miles of railroad, as well as \$60,000,000 invested in canals on the greatest system of inland navi-

gation in the world ; her exports are fifty per cent greater ; her mercantile marine is six times as great ; there is more respect for law, less crime, less destitution. Our export trade last year was greater by nearly \$12,000,000 than that of any former year. In seventeen years the deposits in the banks have increased from \$17,000,000 to \$223,000,000. The life insurance carried by Canadians amounts to \$240,000,000, and this with fire and accident insurance foots up to a billion dollars. The depression of the last few months has been less felt in Canada than in any other country. These are a few of the results of our "retardation," our "slow development."

What would Canada gain, then, by uniting with a nation which, in proportion to population, is not so prosperous or progressive as herself? "She would get more capital." Yes ; but the capital will come whether she unites or not, and, in any case, she would as soon have European capital as American. If United States capital was not able to support home industries when a large amount of European capital was withdrawn during the past year, we would just as soon get our capital when it can be better spared ; although we will welcome any attempt to develop our resources.

"We could share in the American form of government." The first thing that strikes a Canadian in this connection is that any representatives we would be allowed to send to Washington would be so hopelessly in the minority that we would be exchanging a condition of almost perfect freedom and self-government for one of helpless subjection to a parliamentary majority. Besides, with the exception of the universally attractive idea of independence, the American form of government has no attractions for a Canadian. We are firmly convinced that our own form of government is better throughout. But more than this, we believe that all government is yet in the experimental stage, and that nowhere has there been found that form which will best suit the development of man, and will foster what is noble while it represses all unworthiness, and will deal absolute justice between class and class. There is an ideal of government toward which the world is working,

and which we hope Canada will first formulate and carry out.

"But if we united we would form the greatest empire in the world, and there would be removed forever the fear of war." Unfortunately the teaching of reason and of experience, as shown in the pages of history, is that great empires are grand mistakes. Individualization in nations is as essential to the progress of the world as the development of personality in individuals. "But the fear of war would be removed." He who talks of or threatens war should be indicted of high treason before the court of the developed conscience of this Western World.

There remains something better for the United States and Canada than political union, and that is to live side by side, learning from one another, and adding to each other that stimulus which shall call forth the best from each, and withal in perfect friendship, so that the world may be taught what true progress is and what should be the relationship between nations from the example of Uncle Sam and his cousin on the North.

W. SANFORD EVANS.

IS PROTECTION IMMORAL?

BY PROF. M. B. C. TRUE.

SOMETHING over a year ago, in my presence, a preacher of the gospel told to a little knot of friends an incident connected with a sermon which he had preached a short time before, on the moral aspects of protection and free trade, in which he had asserted that protection is based upon false morality. The idea was so new to me, and at the same time it so startled me, that I am afraid that my involuntary, dissentient exclamation seemed disrespectful, and that that excellent preacher, long my personal friend, has never yet forgiven it. As he was born and reared in the free-trade atmosphere of England, I attributed his views to his inability, even in the newer, purer, and more healthful social atmosphere of the United States, to recover from his boyish ailments.

A recent paper in *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*, by Rev. Albert Walkley, opens the topic anew, and causes me to inquire seriously if a vein of real gold has been found, or if the "find" consists wholly of pyrites of iron. Rev. Albert Walkley's idea seems to be parallel with that of the other preacher to whom I have referred, and protection is held up as an immoral monstrosity. I should be glad to go over the whole ground which Rev. Albert Walkley has surveyed, but I have space for reference to but a few points.

The protection which governments afford to the persons and to the property of citizens is presented in a variety of forms, but the principle at the base of all these forms is essentially the same. It is the fundamental principle of all modern governments. Most individuals are too weak to defend themselves and their property adequately and efficiently from the attacks of others; they are also unable to render adequate punishment for such attacks. Besides, society cannot safely permit individuals

to take into their own hands the punishment of offenders. Isn't this a mark of national civilization? The people, who defend the persons and property of their individual citizens, have a degree and quality of civilization higher and better than the people have who permit, directly or indirectly, their citizens to defend their own persons and property? All modern civilized society is founded upon the duty of the government to take the place of the savage individual war-club in the defense of its citizens. The government substantially guarantees to the individual that he may engage in his peaceful pursuits, and that it will ward off, from him and from his property, attacks by others. All the machinery of courts and of police forces is organized to this end.

Not only are they who have injured the persons of citizens punished, but, so far as it can be done, the state wards off such injuries—prevents them.

An individual citizen has acquired some real estate by lawful means; the state undertakes to defend that real property from injury, or even trespass, by others. The individual is not compelled to stand guard over it; the government watches it for him. An individual citizen has acquired some personal property by industry and sacrifice; the government agrees to guard it and to punish those who injure it or who carry it away. In all this guarding property, by the state, and in the undertaking by the government to punish assaults upon the person and property of the citizen, it seems to me that anarchists only discover an element of injustice, of wrong, of immorality, therein. Most men, all good men, characterize such relationship as just and wise.

But where is the limit of the government's duty? I mean a government which pretends to represent a civilized people. Is it logical to say that it may punish, or defend, one species of personal injury and not another? May it justly or equitably defend the property of one class of citizens and not that of another class, or defend one species of property and not another species?

Assume that I am a shoe maker. I have made a pair of shoes,

valued, based upon the cost of material and the accustomed rate of rents and wages at the time, at five dollars. The law recognizes the shoes to be property and the title to be in me. If a man should steal those shoes and carry them away, the government undertakes to arrest and to punish him for his attack upon my property. He is punished because he has invaded my right to property. He has deprived me of the products of my labor and skill. If the shoes should not be stolen, but if a person should simply cut them so as to make their value less than five dollars, the government will punish him for that act, also. Is there any injustice, any inequity, any immorality in the action of the government in defending my property in the cases supposed, or in punishing the actors? I believe that anarchists and tramps alone would complain.

Is it unjust, is it unconstitutional, for the government to go beyond these two invasions of my right to property and to defend me from another and related species of invasion? Take the supposition which finds its verification in innumerable facts. After I have made the shoes at a cost to me of five dollars, some one who resides outside the jurisdiction of my government, who owes no allegiance to my government, who contributes nothing to the support of the government under which I reside, to which I yield allegiance and which I help support by taxes, such a one comes and so affects the market that I can sell my shoes for but four dollars. Under whatever name you disguise the transaction, I am damaged to the extent of one fifth of my gross income. Is the damage any less because the shoes have not been materially injured? Because the shoes have not been taken away bodily, therefore is it no injury? When I rely upon the government to protect my shoes from theft or from material damage, is any "generous and noble instinct set aside"? And is any appeal made to the baser and more selfish elements of our nature? I have heard no one even so intimate. How then, is it, that "every generous and noble instinct is set aside, and the appeal is made to the baser and more selfish elements of our nature," when I rely upon the same government to protect my very same rights to property in the same shoes, exerted by another method?

Now, protection, in "caps" or "lower case," is nothing but the machinery by which the maker of goods is assured that his market shall not be taken from him, that the value of his labor shall not be diminished by strangers or aliens. This is all there is in the dread name, Protection.

A few years ago, Congress was besieged by most of the authors of the nation to enact an international copyright law. Those that were at the head of the movement were conspicuous advocates of free trade. James Russell Lowell was president of the league. I did not read at the time that any of them objected to a copyright law on the score of its wrongfulness or its immorality. In fact, I understand that no petition contained any assertion in that direction. And yet, if there is any principle on which a copyright law can stand, it is the same principle that supports protection. The only difference is that protection is imbedded a little deeper in its foundation than copyright—its fundamental principle is a little more primary. So, patent rights are unobjectionable and are the peers of copyright, but protection draws its nourishment from civic and political equities that are more fundamental than those that nourish those rights. Every argument that supports copyright, or patent right, is equally applicable to the support of protection; in addition, protection is bulwarked by arguments to which patent right and copyright are strangers. Thus, it will be seen, when the essence of protection is truly declared, when its essential character is disclosed, when its true aim and end are seen, it is not true that "the whole system of protection is to maintain false notions of self-preservation," but that, on the other hand, it is to maintain correct relations of labor and business of the state, to maintain the true duty of the government toward its laborers and business men.

I have said that the principle on which protection is based does not differ in any great degree, nor essentially, from the principle that supports the laws by which governments try to defend the persons and property of its citizens. Unless these other kinds of protection are immoral, unjust—there can be no immorality, no injustice in the theory of protection. A recognition of the right and duty of government to protect my dwell-

ing from burglars, is but a logical step in the direction of protection. It seems to me that whoever acknowledges this right and this duty on the part of the government, if logical, must acknowledge this principle of protection. Isn't the theory of free trade, which Jefferson is said to have taught, the logical result or logical accompaniment of his theory of government, to the effect that it was not clear that a society, "without government, as among the Indians" "is not the best"? Protection as known and applied in the United States is a modern doctrine, it was entirely unknown in ancient times and among even half-civilized people. It is clearly a product, or a necessary concomitant, of modern civilization. It is not in harmony with any aristocratic or monarchical government. It is clearly in harmony with the spirit of a republican, or semi-democratic government. It is, in fact, as necessary in a government of the people, as in any other defensive law. It is a necessary element in American civilization, it is a part of our societary organization.

I think that the statesmen and scholars who are commending and defending the theory called protection, believe as fully and firmly in the right and duty of government to exercise its protective powers in favor of the maker of goods, as I have stated it, or as I am able to state it. The statement that the protectionist "never asks, Is it right? always, Is it expedient?" seems to me to be a monstrous confession of ignorance and misapprehension; ignorance of the literature of protection, and misapprehension of the aims and purposes of the doctrine. In one sense, protectionists never do ask, Is it right? That position is taken for granted; their whole argument is based upon its righteousness. They do not need to argue that it is right, they have already settled that. I do not understand how a close study of their writings could fail to make that clear to every thoughtful inquiry. As well might it be claimed that, because a legislature hesitates in regard to the kind or amount of punishment that should be inflicted for horse stealing, therefore the punishment of horse stealing is regarded as a matter of expediency, and not of right. Protectionists discuss, and differ in

regard to, the amount of import duty that ought to be imposed upon articles, but all agree in regard to the right to levy such duty of some kind and of some amount.

The writer to whose paper I am referring does not distinctly state that the regulation of business called protection, brings prosperity to the laborers and business men of the United States, but his argument for "sacrifice" is based upon such an assumption. The testimony of a distinguished disciple of free trade is worth being quoted here. *The Review of Reviews* for September, 1892, quotes and condenses from a paper by Speaker Charles F. Crisp in the August number of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*. I quote from *The Review of Reviews*: "That protection has been the chief factor in the development of our manufacturing industries, and that it does protect, Judge Crisp freely concedes. He even goes so far as to say that about ninety per cent of the manufactured articles used in this country are now produced by domestic manufacturers."

Is it in view of the prosperity which follows the adoption of the protective policy in the United States, that Rev. Albert Walkley exclaims, "What fellowship hath religion with protection? None"; and that he again asserts, "Turn in what way we will, religion and so-called protection, face to face, are in irreconcilable opposition"? The assumption of infallibility in such fulminations is painful. If religion is "charitable and liberal," as Rev. Albert Walkley asserts, ought not its apostles and defenders to possess the same virtues? Is there any charity in the assertion that a believer in protection cannot be religious? Or is the antagonism between religion and protection based on the theory that prosperity and religion are incompatible? Is the theory of George Hubert to be revived:

"For gold and grace did never yet agree;
Religion always sides with poverty,"

and are we to be taught that the prosperity that comes to a people through the application of the protective doctrine breeds irreligion? In either event, the asserted irreconcilability between religion and protection seems to be a creation of a fervid imagination growing out of distorted views of political economy.

M. B. C. TRUE.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents. By Charles Richmond, A.M., D.D. 12mo, cloth, pages 277. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

The fact that no plates were made for this book, but instead a small edition printed from type, shows how little interest is yet taken in the important question it so ably discusses. Sociology, however, is destined soon to occupy a much larger share of intelligent public attention, and our judgment is at fault if a second edition of this book is not speedily called for.

The author has had a long experience as pastor, has been a careful student of social and political science, has been director and organizer of important charities, is at present a professor of social science in the University of Chicago, and hence is able to speak advisedly on the subjects with which he deals in this book.

He divides society into the progressive, stationary, and retrogressive classes, of which the progressive includes a large majority who not only support themselves, but are obliged to maintain a great army of social parasites, both rich and poor, who are non-producers.

Dependents are defined as "those members of society who cannot support themselves without the aid of others, survivals of an imperfect past race living out of their time in a civilization to which they are not adjusted, degenerate offspring of injured and defeated stock or examples of arrested development unfit to endure the strain of modern competition."

He regards educational defects as being responsible for no small share of crime and pauperism—these defects being chiefly the neglect of the state to fit children to work at some useful employment. He looks upon the absence of kindergartens, kitchengartens, and manual training schools as a source of

social peril. The book sets forth the respective advantages and disadvantages of public and private charities, and discusses somewhat briefly, but clearly and sensibly the different methods of dealing with the criminal and insane classes. A valuable feature of the book is the large number of references to books and papers bearing on the different subjects discussed.

Home and School Training. By Hiram Orcutt, LL.D. 12mo, cloth, pages 308. Boston: Thompson, Brown & Co.

This is a new edition of a work that has been much read by those interested in the training of children. A new chapter, Physical Culture, has been added, and also a supplement giving a short biographical sketch of the author.

Dr. Orcutt assumes that the family and the school are inseparably connected in the great work of training children, and recognizes the fact that the family must assume by far the most responsible share, especially so far as morals, habits, and manners are concerned; hence the larger part of the book is devoted to parental training. It abounds in good suggestions that might be read with profit by every one interested in training the child-mind.

Among the important requisites in the management of children the author classes firmness, and shows the bad results of the fickle policy in dealing with the little ones. The child should understand from its earliest years that the parent's "no" means no, without any prospect of its being changed to yes by coaxing or whining. Among the mistakes that parents make in trying to control their children the author mentions: 1. That of being impulsive or fitful, one day punishing for offenses that on another they allow to pass unnoticed. 2. Threatening and scolding work immeasurable mischief on the child-mind. 3. Flogging is mentioned as a method of causing mischief. Dr. Orcutt, like many others, makes the rod a sort of "good devil" and "bad devil," and like all who are forced to admit the evil results of whipping, but somehow still seem to think it necessary, he argues that it is the abuse of the rod that is to be guarded against.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Orcutt, or any one else with the

ability to write a book, should offer any excuse or apology for a custom that they admit has worked untold mischief, and is still doing more to deaden the finer feelings of children than any other cause. As has been said, so long as the wise and kind use a rod the ignorant and cruel will use a club, and for example's sake, if for no other reason, Dr. Orcutt should be willing to declare against the practice of child beating absolutely and unqualifiedly. The rare instances where it may seem on the surface to do good are so few as compared with the evil results that they do not make a worthy exception to the general principle that the wilful and deliberate infliction of blows, either on child or adult, has a demoralizing and hardening tendency, both on the one who inflicts and the one who receives them.

The Economics of Prohibition. By Rev. J. C. Fernald. 12mo, cloth, pp. 573. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price, \$1.50.

No writer has a better field in which to wield a vigorous pen than has the man who portrays the inconsistent and puny methods employed in dealing with the liquor question, and the misery and wickedness that result from the consumption of intoxicants. Rev. Fernald has taken full advantage of his opportunity, and backs up his vigorous denunciation of the liquor traffic by facts and figures that cannot be controverted. He starts out with the opinion that a new political economy is needed in place of that to which we have been so long accustomed, and which has been aptly termed "the dismal science"—a discussion of plans to enable every man to get as much and give as little as possible.

Though the author inferentially condemns the "money making" feature of the teachings of political economy, he somewhat inconsistently bases his argument for prohibition on the idea of pecuniary gain. He argues that when men are fully persuaded that the whisky business doesn't pay from a money point of view, they will soon wipe it out. It was not until slavery became unprofitable at the North that it was abolished—when steam power became cheaper than slave power slavery was on the way to abolition. From analogy, when the people come to

understand that there is no money in the liquor business except for the few and only for them at a dead loss to the many, the end of legalized whisky business will soon appear.

The history and results of high license are shown up from the statistics as a failure, so far as lessening the evils of intemperance is concerned. The history and results of prohibition in those places where it has been given a trial are also given, with facts and figures, taken in many cases from the liquor men themselves, to show that prohibition does prohibit.

The author covers the whole field in a manner that leaves but little room for discussion. We commend the book to that large number of good people who assume to be fully in accord with the theory of prohibition, but insist that public sentiment alone must be depended on to put it into effect. Unfortunately, such books are likely to be read most by those who are least in need of the knowledge they convey.

Bulls and Blunders. By Marshall Brown. 12mo, cloth, pages 304. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price, \$1.00.

It is safe to say that a larger and more varied collection of humorous sayings cannot be found in any book of similar size. The author proves himself an indefatigable collector of awkward, peculiar, and contradictory expressions, and while the chief part of the labor in such a work is in gathering the material, the author has evidently improved many of his selections by re-writing them. He has done his work well, and there are but few paragraphs in the entire collection that do not contain a point to be appreciated by any one "who hath music in his soul."

While the Irishman, as might be expected, comes in for a good share of attention, enough examples are credited to the Negro, Frenchman, and Englishman, to show that no nationality can be charged with a monopoly of the bulls and blunders of speech. It is a good book to drive away the blues.

Live Questions. By Governor John P. Altgeld. 12mo, cloth, pp. 296. New York: The Humboldt Publishing Company.

"Live Questions" makes up the first one hundred and thirty

pages of the book, while the remainder is devoted to a most sensible and humane discussion of "Our Penal Machinery and its Victims." The writer divides the first question, "Arbitration of Strikes," into two parts: First, Has the state the right or constitutional power to compel arbitration, independent of the will of the contending parties? And second, If it has the right; is it feasible to exercise it, and in what manner?

Governor Altgeld argues very logically in affirmation of the first part of the question, and is heartily in favor of the state exercising the power which he maintains it clearly possesses, though he admits that there are difficulties in the way. He does not favor permanent boards of arbitration because they would soon come to be looked upon with disrespect. He thinks the better plan to select a board of arbitration whenever a strike occurs, this board to be formed by the employer and employees, each choosing a man, and these two to select a third, the decision of the three to be binding on both sides. He does not favor a board or court appeal for the reason that one side or the other would likely appeal in nearly every case, and thus defeat a most important consideration—a speedy settlement.

The other topics discussed are, Pensions for Soldiers, Administration of Justice in Chicago, The Abolition of Constables, Justices and the Fee System, Protecting the Ballot Box, Is the World Worse? The Rich Man's Bread and the Poor, Slave Girls of Chicago, Anonymous Journalism and its Effects, The Immigrants Answer, and The Eight Hour Movement. The author has an incisive style, and these topics are all treated in an able and interesting manner.

The latter half of the book is devoted to a very sensible discussion of crime and its causes and the various ineffectual measures taken to suppress it. He favors the indeterminate sentence, and in this has the coöperation of a great majority of those who have given the subject any careful thought. He argues forcibly against making those arrests which must result inevitably only in further hardening and degrading those who are apprehended, and sending them back upon society in a few days worse than before. The book is well worthy of study by those interested in the great question of prison reform, and other vital questions of social interest.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

MARCH, 1894.

THE DISEASE OF CHARITY.

BY BOLTON HALL.

OUR charities are the result of the experience of eighteen hundred years. Are they a real good at all?

There is a book about the size of the New Testament, a very sad book, yet it is only a directory; a directory of the charities in the city of New York; a sort of New Testament of the gospel of land owning. It is impossible to consider all its thousand agencies; let us take some which are types. You will find your own pet charity in the ranks.

The "fresh air fund" is well managed and on a grand scale, "the most beautiful charity of modern times." In the last five years a newspaper has taken not less than sixty thousand children into the country for two weeks each, at a cost of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. Other funds have taken perhaps as many more; suppose they have taken ten times as many. Still the little ones die, one in every three; and death is not the worst for children "whose angels are always beholding the face of Our Father which is in heaven," yet who grow up, in the natural course of events, to fill the hospitals, the prisons, and the brothel.

If they were only to die! Poor little children! Think of the mother who sees her darlings, not growing up, but getting old, diseased, unclean, depraved; who knows that their life must make them so, yet cannot change it—can only get them tickets for fresh air.

We may establish numberless fresh air funds, but though they

revive some of the little ones and bring new health for a year, we can reach, at best, but a few of the people and but a small tithe of their woes. If the excursions do help many and give fresh store of life, what is the effect? To increase population; to increase the price of land; to make competition still fiercer; to bring the wolf still closer to the door.

There is no end to fresh air charity. When have we done all that can be done? Even now one charity tries to take whole families. We might give money enough to take them all to the country permanently; that would be but to pump out a well; more spring up to fill their places, they themselves will flow back again to the lowest level.

Neither would it be any remedy to build suburban towns—that is but to transplant the weed; nor to build model tenements. It must sadden the bitterest cynic to know that, so far, model tenements have but shown that no ability and care can make five per cent on the amount actually invested in them, unless it be made by land speculation—that it is more profitable to the landlord to house men like dogs and to treat them like wolves than to give them decent habitations. But did model tenements pay never so well and were they multiplied indefinitely, it is the attractiveness of the city as compared to the country that brings the overcrowding. Improved tenements would but make the city more attractive, and bring still greater crowds. Further, if the buildings are good, they will raise the value of the land, and consequently, the surrounding rents. In order to get the space in which to put them, we must tear down swarming rookeries, whose occupants will still further raise the rents of every slum by crowding them the more.

Overcrowding is a cause of low wages. Competition for laborers brings up wages to the full earning capacity; competition for work in every place brings wages down to the point where mere subsistence is possible. As long as we have overcrowding, and the glut of the labor market, St. Andrew's stands,* soup kitchens, even Thanksgiving turkeys and charita-

* St. Andrew's Coffee Stands: "Its charity is indiscriminate, tends rather to support tramps in idleness and attract them in larger numbers to our city than to aid the worthy poor."—*From the Circular of the Charity Org. Society.*

ble Christmas gifts, will surely bring down the rate of wages. These things make living cheap; make more attraction in city life, and bring more people there wanting to work at the lowest wages on which they can live.*

We may multiply free eating houses and lodgings; we may have poorhouses and endless means of relief, but, as long as we have a glutted labor market, we but make living cheaper and enable the workman to offer his services in competition for what will afford him a more and more degraded "living." Nay, we bring in more people willing to work, to marry, and raise children, because when work or wages fail, they have the soup kitchens.† For where there is even one more worker than can be employed, he must bid against the rest for the work, and that one will have the job who, by freely using the soup kitchens, can exist upon the least pay.

The laborers appreciate this themselves. When someone shows how a family of eight persons could be comfortably supported on a dollar a day, by using some patent philanthropic cook stove, it raises a clamor from the workingmen, because they quite correctly reasoned that if they could be supported on a dollar a day it would be no long time before they would get but a dollar a day. Wages will be just what, using all aids, the laborer can live upon.

Says Mr. E. N. Kellogg :

At the beginning of the present century English pauperism increased

* "A large number of people without means of support or family ties constantly tend to the city and diminish by their competition the meagre earnings obtainable by a large class of resident work-people. They do not know that by coming to the city they probably incur destitution, disease, and suffering.

"Worse than these, a multitude of vagrants are allowed to come to the city and permitted to remain here, who, by idleness, debauchery, and disease, add to the pressing demand upon charitable persons and associations. These should be committed to the public institutions for a sufficiently long term, as the only means of relieving the city from their pressure and of discouraging others of a like class from coming here.

"In addition to the destitution caused by these incompetent or worthless people from outside, the unskilled resident laborers of our city can earn sufficient for self-support only by continuous work and frugal habits. Their labor is precarious, being interrupted by loss of jobs and inclement weather; for the average time of their occupation, as indicated by a report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, issued some years ago, and dealing with permanency of employment, is but 266 days in a year. Illness or accident renders them temporarily unable to support their families."—*Circular of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Concerning Unemployed Labor. February 12, 1892.*

† Plague, pestilence, and famine together could not work such irreparable harm as fifty free soup houses. The danger in gifts and clothing is that people will cease to try to exert themselves and will become miserable dependents on the bounty of others, losing their self-respect and manhood.—"*Philanthropy*," by Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., in *Baltimore "Sun,"* March 9, 1887.

with great rapidity, and in some seventeen years the ratepayers' burden was doubled—a tax that in some instances amounted to a confiscation of ratable property. Whether as a consequence or a cause of this increase, the justices of the peace adopted the expedient of making allowances from the parish treasury for insufficient wages, and fixed a standard to which the weekly income of paupers should be raised out of the rates. They justified this course by the argument that it was cheaper to provide a partial than an entire maintenance for the dependents upon the parish. The effect was disastrous, for it appeared in the general reduction of wages, which brought the most industrious to the brink of starvation and destroyed the motive of self-support.

Charity deliberately reduces wages. The *Annals of the Dorchester (Massachusetts) Conference* in 1888, says :

We strive to make every applicant for aid feel that work of any kind is better than idleness, and that to accept the smallest compensation and to perform the least service well, not only helps to supply present needs, but is the surest way to something better.

Charity feeding interferes with legitimate business. The London coffee stands, which are run for profit, give as cheap a meal as your St. Andrew's Guild, and support those who manage them. It is natural that these people in a fair competition will beat your charitable establishments. What chance has a committee, meeting once a month and employing a superintendent, against a good business man who gives his days and nights to skimp and save to make his dairy attractive to his customers? But you compete with him unfairly, because the loss in your business comes out of the pockets of the rich.

Nor will it help to raise the standard of living—to teach the people art and æsthetics and to cultivate their tastes; “to humanize them”; to raise wages by teaching the Chinaman to want ten cent cigars and mint juleps.

If the amount of work to be done or the amount to be paid for it is limited, then increased wants and a higher standard of living increase hardships and immorality. If men cannot keep wives as they are used to be kept, they will have establishments without keeping wives.

We furnish free dispensaries, or dispensaries where medicines are sold at cost to all comers, or only to the members of the ring. These are merely different ways of distributing burdens. Such dispensaries make living very hard for the small druggist

and the young doctor. Poor young fellow! he has to earn his bread. Can you blame him if, as often happens, he neglects a pauper "case" to attend to some one whose appearance holds out some hope of a future "patient"?

At least, then, says someone, we may provide free hospitals. Even this, which has been regarded as the first step in philanthropic civilization, fosters improvidence, is greatly abused by those who are really able to pay, and is the subject of continual mismanagement. In a natural state of affairs men would be able to take care of their own sick; the poor generally do so now. Any district visitor will tell you that were all the invalids taken from the tenement houses to the hospitals, ten times the hospital beds would not hold them.

The same objection applies to blind asylums and homes for the aged and infirm, which work against unselfish care for the dependent; in itself an ennobling influence. Separate the family—ship the old mother off to the charity home; so nice, so comfortable; no more worry for her—or about her. After a life of self-denial she lingers lonely and dies forgotten. Nor can we artificially provide enough homes.

"The respectable homes for the aged in New York City are filled with inmates. They all have waiting lists, and even when every preliminary is arranged it is a difficult matter to secure admission."*

By such institutions we oppose the law of natural selection, which is almost our only law of progress, moral or physical. Under guard and subjected to regulations, those unfitted to survive, can survive, and drag out such a poor existence as, notwithstanding its palliations, is possible in an institution. We are preserving lives which but spread disease, and raising up a species of the human species which is blind, and perpetuating a variety which is dumb. Then we set them to making baskets to be sold at a little less than the market price.

We have elaborate societies for finding employment for discharged convicts. Like most other charity societies, these destroy

*Forty-eighth Annual Report of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

the support of many by taking away the work of employment agencies, and usually get a man into a place for which some one else is better fitted. Why should a criminal have a situation gotten for him, when he must thereby displace an honest man? Even to teach a trade to criminals when our apprentice system prevents an honest boy from learning one, is clearly unfair.

In the same way we kindly get women to do men's work and thereby reduce men's wages. When there is competition, women, almost all of whom have some one upon whom they can in part depend for support, can naturally afford to take the work more cheaply than men. Their competition, therefore, reduces wages, just as surely as prison labor does. Where, then, is the benefit of your society for teaching women on a philanthropic basis to do at a lower rate the clerical work and manufacturing usually done by men? Such charities are a gross injustice to those who have honestly paid for an education which ought to bring them in a revenue; and the workers object to it. "When the people complain, the people are always right."

Help, then, only those who are utterly helpless—who compete with no one—women and children deserted by husband or father?

In England it has been found that to supply relief in such cases, and to treat them as one would wish to, tends to encourage men to desert their families. Not only does a man leave his family thoughtlessly, but he leaves them on purpose, sometimes with the collusion of his wife, because they will be better taken care of in his absence. All "help" tends to similar results.

Foundling hospitals have already been abandoned by enlightened charity, because their help in disposing of children increases the number of foundlings. One by one, charity will abandon nearly all its present works.

*There is something far more injurious to our race than poverty; it is misplaced charity. Of every thousand dollars spent upon so-called objects of charity, it is not an overestimate to say that nine hundred of it had better been thrown into the sea. It is so given as to encourage the growth of those evils from which springs most of the misery of human life. The relations of human society are so complex, so interwoven, that the creation of a new agency intended to benefit one class almost inevitably operates to the injury of another. The latter being the growth of natural causes, is by far the most important to preserve. The more one studies the question of wealth and poverty, the more difficult does it seem to interfere judiciously with existing conditions.—"Gospel of Wealth." Andrew Carnegie.

In our giving we walk between dread and terror. If we give so that the gift is felt to be charity, we surely degrade and pauperize him who takes it ; if we disguise it as a loan or a pension, we smooth the way to dependence and discourage self-help.

"Paupers may be made." Ask the president of a farmer's club how to raise beets, and he will tell you the very best plan. Ask how to raise paupers. The latest book on the Poor Law, by T. W. Fowle, says (p. 41) : "There is a growing conviction that in any case the amount of pauperism depends, not on the circumstances of the working classes, but upon the facility with which help may be obtained." A witty archbishop said : "If it pays a man to work, he'll work ; if to beg, he'll beg."

The list is almost exhausted when we come down to the flower charities, to charity balls, and fancy bazaars.

The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel recently declined to receive the profits of a church fair. If I were the devil I would attend all such performances and give liberally, so that all the expenses of the church would be paid in that beautiful way, and no one need practice any self-denial at all. That is rotten. God gives no commands to make festivals in order to assist in wheedling the world out of a few of its ill-gotten pennies for Him who says, "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine," and "the cattle upon a thousand hills."

Prison reform is attractive. Nothing can be said against making prisons habitable. But this is not charity, unless carried to the point of making criminal life as good as honest work. To make delinquency the easiest way of getting warmth and food, is clearly unwise. Thousands commit small crimes every autumn, merely to be sent to warm prisons.

Charity does not aim at wickedness or irreligion ; so that it is irrelevant to say that to grapple with want we must make men better or holier—the best that charity can do is to relieve misery.

With all we are palliating the most violent symptoms of misery, and encouraging those who have forgotten God, to say that we are much better off than we ever were before, are still improving, or, that if we are not, it is the will of the Lord

and that, therefore, we have but to go on heaping up more money still. Nay, worse, we are setting that love to distribute soup tickets, which might have redeemed the world.

Yet, if poverty, misery, and sickness are here, we cannot let men starve or die in our sight. True. If we can prevent it, we should not let them die, but if we make the sick better at the cost of making the well sick ; if we make the poor comfortable at the cost of making the comfortable poor ; if we ease misery only by shifting the load, what have we accomplished ?

We cannot blind these things by looking at the loveliness of charity. One thing affects the other. Foolish laws bring upon us hospitals, dispensaries, asylums, homes, refuges, free meals, so that the deserving may find fuel here, medicine there, clothing elsewhere, and all they need by visiting six societies every week ; these are free, but paid for in heavy taxes, and all to do those things which men would do of themselves and do much better, did we but let them use the opportunities for labor that nature has provided and did we but leave to them the wealth we now take from them in those same taxes.

BOLTON HALL.

CAUSES OF THE PRESENT BUSINESS DEPRESSION.

BY HARRY C. AGER.

THE present business depression naturally arouses much interest in the causes of, and remedies for, commercial crises. But a discussion of this subject involves many minor questions, some of which must be examined before the general subject can be profitably considered. Thus, one marked phenomenon of such crises is the scarcity of money; but to discover the cause of this we must inquire what increases or diminishes the supply of money. Again, the number of the unemployed increases rapidly during panics; but to learn why, we must investigate the laws governing the supply of and demand for labor. It may be well to begin with the latter question.

Writers on the problem of the unemployed frequently assume that the supply of labor is fixed, and that if one man receives employment another is displaced. Thus it has frequently been claimed that the Chinese displace American labor. But it must be evident that so far as a new workman uses his wages to satisfy his wants, he adds to the demand for labor. If a man makes an article worth a dollar and sells it, he does indeed add to the supply of labor; but if he uses the dollar to buy other articles, he adds to the demand for labor, quite as much as to the supply. To be sure, most persons do not spend all their earnings, but either invest or hoard a portion. But money invested is really spent in the purchase of some form of capital. It takes as much labor to build a railroad as to produce an equal value of furniture. Hence money spent to build a railroad creates quite as much demand for labor as money spent on articles of consumption. Money invested in banks or like institutions is reinvested in various undertakings, and therefore

increases the demand for labor quite as much as other investments. At first sight, hoarded money does not seem to increase the demand for labor. But it is admitted by all students of the subject that the purchasing power of money increases in the exact ratio that the amount in circulation decreases. If, therefore, a man hoards his earnings, he increases by that amount the power of those who keep their money in circulation to purchase commodities and, hence, to demand labor. It follows, then, that under normal conditions the supply of labor and the demand for labor would balance each other, no matter how many men were employed.

But if an increase in the number of men employed causes an increase in the demand for labor, a decrease in the number causes a diminution in the demand for labor. And when a man is thrown out of work there is no economic force operating to give him a new position. In ordinary times there are always men anxious to enlarge their business; and these, by taking on new men, keep the number employed in any community pretty well up to the maximum. But when a general business depression prevails, and everyone is contracting his business, the number of unemployed constantly increases.

In respect to the scarcity of money in panics, it would seem to follow from the law that the value of money rises as the amount in circulation decreases, and *vice versa*, that in the long run there must always be money enough in the world or in a country to carry on its business. But any sudden increase or decrease in the circulation has very serious consequences. A sudden increase in the amount of money, by raising prices, promotes speculation and produces a false prosperity; while any decrease reduces prices, discourages speculation, and causes apparent depression.

Again, a large proportion of modern business is carried on by means of credit, and as credit is a substitute for money, an increase or diminution of credit has the same effect as an increase or decrease of money. But if the standard of value is falling, credit is disturbed; for men will be unwilling to sell for a promise to pay at a future time, if what they are to receive is

likely to be less in value than what is promised. For these reasons, any sudden increase of the money in circulation diminishes credit, and, curiously enough, a decrease has for different reasons a like result; for it causes a sudden fall in prices, and this renders those who have purchased on credit to sell again, unable to meet their obligation—and their failure to do this creates distrust.

The circulation of this country is at least five sixths credit and not more than one sixth money. As a matter of fact, the transactions actually carried on by means of credit are nearly one hundredfold of those transacted by means of money. But large reserves in banks or other institutions are necessary to the maintenance of credit, and these should therefore be included as part of the circulation. Even so a relatively small shrinkage in credit will evidently raise prices more than a comparatively large diminution in the monetary circulation. Furthermore, if there is a shrinkage in credit and an attempt is made to supply the deficiency by money, the demand for money will be enormously increased, and those who have it to lend can charge an exorbitant rate. It is this that causes scarcity of money, a high rate of interest and falling prices in times of panic.

There is a third minor subject, namely, the balance of trade, that must be discussed before considering the main question. Ordinarily imports and exports must pay for each other: for if imports exceed exports, money will flow out of a country and prices will fall; lower prices will make foreigners less anxious to sell and more anxious to buy, and this will increase exports and decrease imports, until the balance between them is restored. If exports exceed imports the reverse takes place, and higher prices restore the equilibrium. But there are many exceptions to this rule, some apparent, some real. For instance, there are many exports and imports that do not go through the custom house: as for instance, ships sold to or purchased from foreigners. So the purchases of tourists in foreign countries are practically imports, for they are paid for by money taken abroad by the tourists, or by bills of exchange on the country visited. The interest on money that has been invested by foreigners in a

country must be paid in exports; otherwise money would be taken out of the country, and prices would fall until exports equaled imports, plus the amount of the interest. Investments made by foreigners are equivalent to imports in their effect on the balance of trade—for if they enter the country as money, the amount of money in the country is increased and prices are raised, and do not fall again until money has been drawn out of the country by an excess of imports over exports. For similar reasons, the withdrawal of investments must ultimately be paid in exports, although investors usually demand money or its equivalent, and this causes a temporary outflow of gold.

Again, a country with a rapidly increasing population and business continually requires more money, and as a consequence money flows in, causing the balance of trade to be in its favor; and, conversely, a country with a diminishing trade or population, or one in which the increase of trade or population is relatively slow, will require a decreasing proportion of the world's money, and the balance of trade will be against it. The purchase of property by foreigners, or of commodities when not exported, has the same effect on the balance of trade as the investment of foreign capital; and the sale of such property to residents has the same effect as the withdrawal of foreign investments. If a Frenchman engages in speculation in the Liverpool wheat market, his purchases or his sales will have much the same effect on the balance of trade as the investment or the withdrawal of capital. Thus the rise in prices of a commodity or commodities does not necessarily turn the balance of trade against a country, for in the first place the higher price may offset the decrease in the quantity exported; and, in the second place, it may induce foreigners to purchase largely for speculative purposes. The reverse may be said of a fall in prices. It was such forces as these that kept money flowing into this country during 1885 and 1886, although prices were extravagantly high and we were actually importing food products.

Now, a panic may be defined as any serious disturbance of business, which may be brought about theoretically in any one of three ways:

First—Something may occur to disturb production or exchange, then laborers are thrown out of employment and the demand for goods is diminished. This forces down prices and curtails production in other industries, and other laborers have their power to purchase commodities diminished. This may go on indefinitely. Moreover, the fall in prices and the decreased demand for goods render many persons who have purchased on credit unable to meet their obligations. This will disturb and weaken credit and foreign investors in the country and foreign depositors in its banks will withdraw their money and sell their securities. This will cause an export of money and a further fall in prices, and will still further curtail credit and production.

Second—A sudden withdrawal of foreign capital, apart from any other cause of industrial depression, would in itself produce, or tend to produce, a panic—for it would cause a fall in prices and, as a consequence, diminish credit and reduce production.

Third—Any collapse in credit causes a fall in prices, reduces production, throws men out of employment, and terrifies foreign investors, thus causing a withdrawal of capital—and practically this is the almost invariable cause of panics, although they are frequently aggravated by overproduction in certain industries.

All this is equivalent to saying that anything that causes a sudden outflow of money, or that curtails employment, or that materially diminishes credit, has a tendency to produce a panic. A series of valuable inventions, for instance, by lowering prices may cause failures, and thus produce a panic. This shows that events ultimately beneficial to a community may produce temporary distress. Again, reduction of import duties may have the same result for similar reasons; as may also a contraction of the currency in order to resume specie payments. Excessive speculation and consequent rise in prices may in time produce a panic, because in time goods will be produced in such quantities and prices will be so raised, that there will be no market. Then prices will fall, everyone will lose money, weak firms will fail, and confidence will be shaken. Inflation of the currency by stimulating speculation produces the same results.

One important cause of panics is the increase of capital in

comparatively prosperous times, or even during depressed periods. When the capital of a country outruns the supply of safe investments, interest falls. Then many persons become discontented with their returns, and begin to hazard their capital in order to increase their income. This leads to general speculation, and to the ultimate loss of the surplus capital, and perhaps other capital as well. Then the process of saving for safe investment begins again. It is probable that at all times, except in the midst of panics, the amount of capital in a country is increasing at a greater or less rate; but the demand for capital is also continually increasing.

Mr. Henry George insists that speculation in land is a potent cause of panics. Because during comparatively prosperous periods such speculations force up rents and thus reduce interest, since increase of rent causes decrease of interest. This is a logical theory; but Mr. George has not adduced much data to show how far it is true.

Whatever in any way tends to disturb business may bring on a panic; thus, a very large harvest gluts the grain markets, induces low prices, and diminishes the demand for the commodities consumed by the farmer. This tends to cause over-production in those industries that supply these commodities. A small harvest may have a similar effect by checking the demand of laborers for certain cheap luxuries, for the more laborers are obliged to pay for food, the less they will have to spend for luxuries. But in ordinary times, business men are prepared to meet any ordinary disturbance. They expect occasional losses, and the minor events that tend to derange business can generally be foreseen and prepared for. It is only when credit has been expanded, when speculation is rampant, when merchants and tradesmen have no reserve resources with which to meet a shock, and when prices have been so forced up by speculation that the slightest disturbance produces a sudden fall, that a panic can occur, except under extraordinary combinations of unfavorable conditions. This is the reason why panics almost invariably follow periods of speculation.

Having discussed the principal causes of panics, it remains to

examine the particular causes of the panics which have from time to time disturbed the business of this country. It is sometimes claimed that panics recur at given periods; every ten years in Great Britain, and every twenty years in the United States. But as a matter of fact, panics are more frequent in this country and in Great Britain than this theory assumes. The theory is harmonized with the facts by calling the disturbances that occur at these periods panics, and all others depressions. Thus the panics of 1819, 1837, 1857, in the United States are acknowledged to be panics, while the intervening crises are passed over unnoticed.

The first panic in this country occurred in 1809 and was confined almost exclusively to New England. There was no dispute about the cause, namely, inflated bank note issues. New England, being more commercial than the rest of the Union, was the first to embark in banking; and it committed the follies into which all communities fall when banking is first attempted. Notes were issued with no security behind them; gold was moved from bank to bank to deceive inspectors, and thus even the moderate restraints imposed by the states were disregarded. Moreover, the capital of the banks was seldom paid in. One institution was started with a capital of \$100,000, only \$20,000 of which was ever paid in. The directors subsequently withdrew the capital they had put in, leaving only an insignificant amount. When the bank failed it had less than \$100 in specie, while the outstanding notes were estimated at \$500,000. In 1809 the crash came, and the suffering was so great that all the New England States passed stringent banking laws.

In 1811 the charter of the first national bank expired; and it was not renewed, partly because many considered the institution unconstitutional, partly because many others wished to set up wild-cat banks. There seems, however, to have been some opposition to wild-cat banking on the part of the better class of statesmen; for bills granting charters were frequently vetoed by the governors of various states. But the legislatures generally passed the charters over the vetoes; and inflation, beginning in the Middle States, spread throughout the West and

South. In the meantime New England had become so sick of inflation that what was known as the "Suffolk Bank System" was started, under which one large bank redeemed the notes of smaller banks; and the system worked so well that New England bank notes circulated everywhere practically at their par value. In 1814 all the banks in the country, except those of New England, suspended specie payments; but this did not prevent them from extending their loans. In other words, the country was reduced to an inconvertible paper basis. All the specie flowed into New England, where the excellent banking laws kept the notes at par. The excess of specie was sent from New England to buy goods in England; and bitter were the complaints of the Middle States against that section for exporting the country's metallic currency. Many persons insisted that the Middle States were prosperous. Matthew Carey, a well known protectionist writer, called this the golden age of American prosperity.

In 1816 there was a slight reaction. In this year a government bank was chartered, but instead of checking inflation it added to it. In 1818 the bank had only \$300,000 worth of silver on hand, against \$6,000,000 worth of notes outstanding. It contracted its loans and increased its specie, but in so doing it ruined the country. So great was the distress that in some of the western states stay laws were passed to prevent the collection of debts. These laws were unconstitutional, but that mattered little when the people all favored them.

In the Middle States affairs were little better—perhaps worse. Twenty thousand men, or more than half the adult population, were seeking work in Philadelphia. In New York and other cities business was equally depressed. It is sometimes claimed by protectionists that this panic was due to a too low tariff. But in the first place, the conditions were exactly the same as obtained in New England before the panic in 1809, and in the second place, the tariff was much higher than it had been before the 1812 war, and it had been raised slightly the previous year. But the people had not yet had enough of inflation, and new banks were chartered which kept up the issue of notes.

In 1824 the tariff was again increased, and an era of prosperity was predicted. But the next year the panic in England carried down American banks by hundreds; and their notes, of course, became worthless. The result was a collapse of credit and prices, and another trade depression. In 1828 the tariff was again raised, though this time the increase satisfied no one. Democratic-Republicans, as the Jackson party was then called, wished to elect General Jackson president, but the northern states were demanding higher duties, while the southern Democrats were mostly free-traders. Accordingly the Jacksonians, who were in the majority in both branches of Congress, devised a tariff which increased duties, indeed, but in such a way as to injure manufacturing interests; many of the duties, on raw materials, for instance, being increased more than those on manufactured articles. The plan was for the Jackson party to hold together and defeat all amendments to this tariff, and then on the final vote the southern Democrats were to unite with the northern Whigs and defeat the measure. Thus the northern Democrats would receive the credit of trying to enact a higher tariff, while the northern Whigs, who more strictly represented the manufacturing interest, would defeat it. But the Whigs chose to vote for the new tariff rather than be caught in this trap; and the measure was finally passed. Henry Clay, while advocating, in 1842, an increase of the then low duties, referred to this measure as the tariff of 1828 which everybody condemned. But when the circumstances connected with its passage had been forgotten, it was claimed to be the perfection of high protectionist principles. But by 1828 something like order had been established in the bank note circulation, and business had begun to revive.

One of the first acts of President Jackson was the commencement of his war on the national bank. The bank was still far from sound, and it was especially difficult to control the issues of the western and southern branches. About this time Europe began investing largely in the United States. The introduction of railroads gave a broad field for capital. The rapidity with which we were paying off our public debt convinced European

capitalists that the United States was a good country in which to invest money; and as a result capital flowed in from abroad in immense quantities. In 1833, Jackson withdrew the government deposits from the national bank and placed them in state banks. This created a disturbance in the money market; for the state banks in which the money was deposited were not always in the same part of the country as the branches of the national bank through which the money had previously been loaned.

In 1834 the national bank by contracting its loans attempted to prove itself necessary to the country's prosperity; but the only result was the formation of small state banks. In the same year a law was passed by Congress reducing the amount of gold in the gold dollar. This raised prices and stimulated speculation. In 1835 the Erie canal was enlarged, which created a boom both in New York City land and in the land about the lakes. At the same time the extension of railroads was creating similar booms in other parts of the country. The great value of cotton, and especially of American cotton, was just beginning to be appreciated; as a consequence, the price of this commodity rose and the boom was extended to southern farms and southern city lots. Then western banks were organized that issued notes in practically unlimited amounts, regardless of either state laws or the laws of finance. The notes of eastern banks were carried west for investment in government lands, then deposited by the government in banks throughout the country, loaned by the banks and again invested in government lands. Prices rose and speculation became rampant. We actually imported food products from Great Britain, and so expensive had the necessities of life become that there were bread riots in New York City. By 1836 the people seem to have gone mad over western lands. Sales amounting to tens of thousands of dollars were continually being made on credit, with only a few dollars in cash to seal the transaction. In 1833 the compromise tariff was enacted, under which duties were to be gradually reduced until 1852. The lower duties had a tendency to lower prices; but this tendency was more than offset by other in-

fluences. Still these reductions may have aggravated reaction after the period of speculation.

In the meantime developments had disclosed the weakness of several firms lending money in the United States. This, in turn, caused distrust of all firms engaged in that business, and forced them to withdraw their capital from this country. This withdrawal was accelerated by the pending crisis in Great Britain. The crisis certain to come in this country was hastened by the specie circular issued by Jackson in 1836, which forbade government agents to accept bank notes in return for land. This checked the issue of inconvertible paper, and sent the notes back for redemption. In 1837 the panic came; the government bank suspended, and the men who had been buying on credit found themselves unable to pay their debts. As everybody had been speculating, everybody was ruined. But even so the country might have recovered quickly if a second crisis had not occurred in 1839, due largely to a second suspension of what had been the national bank, but which had been re-chartered by Pennsylvania. This second crisis disheartened the people, and the country did not recover until 1844 or 1845. Many of the states had by this time passed laws restricting the issue of bank notes; and the repeated panics had created a public opinion that supported their enforcement. In 1842 the tariff was raised; and in 1846 it was lowered again; but in neither case were industries materially affected. In 1849 there seems to have been a depression of business; but a revival soon came and the country continued to prosper. The discovery of gold in California gave a certain impetus to business, and the large production of gold, combined with the restrictions on bank note circulation, seems to have made the use of specie more general, while the development of the West gave ample scope for capital, both foreign and domestic.

During the next few years railroad building increased rapidly, until during 1853 it amounted to three thousand miles. But in 1854 several fraudulent issues of railroad stock were discovered, and this again disturbed public confidence. There was the usual run on banks, some of which, as a matter of course,

were unable to stand the strain, and suspended. But the increased use of gold mitigated the panic. The speedy recovery from this panic by the middle of the following year, produced over-confidence, and speculation again became rampant. Weak banks, with only nominally paid up stock were started, even in New York. The clearing house had shortly before been established, and its facilities for extending credit were naturally abused. Moreover, the country was still young and hopeful, and the large fortunes made in California undoubtedly increased the tendency to speculation. Everyone bought and sold on credit, and conditions were, in consequence, ripe for a great crash, which began in 1857 with the failure of the Ohio Trust Company. This institution was one of the first in the country, and when it suspended and it was discovered that all its funds had been embezzled, confidence in other like institutions at once vanished. Runs on banks and savings banks ensued, and these were forced to suspend in a body. The telegraph, then a new institution, spread the news of each failure throughout the country and still further alarmed the public, which had not become accustomed to such speedy transmission of news. The notes of the suspended banks depreciated in the hands of farmers, and their consequent fright brought business almost to a standstill. At business centers the stringency was still further increased by the delay of the California gold steamers, one of which was lost. But in spite of the severity of the panic, and the large withdrawal of capital by European investors, confidence was soon restored, and the crisis was over within a few months.

Some protectionists seem even at the time to have attributed the panic of 1857 to the reduction in the tariff made only a few months before; and from that time the high tariff politicians have done their utmost to spread this view. But the view gained no credence at the time, as the panic was evidently due to other causes.

The policy of our government during the Civil War tended to foster speculation; the issue of paper money, the increase of the tariff, and the taxes on manufactures all tended to raise prices.

But the war also taught our people the power of organization, and brought them to realize the value of the great West. As a consequence, as soon as the war was over this power was employed to develop this new field; and the result was a great increase of credit and a strong tendency to speculation. Regions almost entirely unsettled were gridironed with railroads; and the lands were seized either by railroads or by land-grabbers, to be sold to immigrants. The government attempted to call in the depreciated paper currency, but the speculators protested and the attempt was abandoned; and the variations in the purchasing power of this money stimulated the passion for gambling in products. At length, in 1873, the failure of Jay Cooke & Co. brought on the impending crash. Universal distrust sprang up; and the banks throughout the country, except those in Chicago, were forced to suspend. Manufactories that had been producing goods beyond the legitimate demand, were forced to close and men were thrown out of employment.

Several successive events prolonged the depression. Before the crash the government had determined to restore specie payments, but this meant a contraction of the currency, which in itself would have made recovery difficult. But it was uncertain for a long time whether the government would persist in the policy or abandon it for a policy of increased inflation. The granger legislation in the west, and the decisions of the federal courts upholding this legislation, checked railroad building and destroyed confidence among western railroad men. During the presidential campaign of 1876, the uncertainty respecting the policy of the government in regard to specie payments was intensified, and the uncertainty concerning its tariff policy increased the prevailing lack of confidence. Moreover, the war was still a recent event, and the Democrats, who had developed remarkable strength in the elections of 1874, were regarded by many as a rebel party. After the election the result was in dispute, and some thought that a revolution might ensue—and this cause of distrust was hardly out of the way before the great railroad strikes of 1877 gave new grounds for alarm. But when the strike was over, and specie payments had been

resumed, the country entered on an era of unexampled prosperity. In three years the average price of stocks nearly quadrupled; and the progress of industries and commerce was only less remarkable.

It is needless to discuss the causes of this revival. Undoubtedly the Russian-Turkish war and the short crops in Europe were factors in bringing it about. But, naturally, reaction soon set in, especially when the temporary causes of prosperity had ceased. In 1883 the failures of large speculators began, and the public withdrew from the stock market. As the price of stocks had been inflated, speculators were left with large blocks of securities on their hands that could not be sold except at a loss. Moreover, there were plenty of worthless railroads in the country, building having been stimulated by the government land grants; and there had been the usual expansion of credits, and the carelessness in supervising subordinates that always attends periods of prosperity—and the conditions were again ripe for a panic. It was undoubtedly the failure of Grant, Ward & Co. in 1884, that precipitated the panic. After this failure, holders of securities, finding themselves deprived of facilities for borrowing money, were obliged to sell. Men began to look into their affairs, and frauds were discovered which diminished confidence. In 1884, as in 1873, many causes tended to prolong the depression; but in 1884 the causes had their origin in legitimate business changes. The rapid progress of invention and improvements in transportation had a continual tendency to force down prices and to change business methods. Many of these causes had been more or less in operation for some time previous to 1884, but their effects began to be felt about that time. Thus the opening of the Suez Canal and improvements in steamers revolutionized trade between Europe and the East. Formerly, it had been necessary to hold large stores of eastern products in European centers of trade, especially in England. When the canal and new steamers shortened the time between the East and the West this became unnecessary, and many great merchants found their occupation gone. So in other business.

The panic of 1890, from the results of which the commercial world is still suffering, was undoubtedly caused primarily by speculation in the Argentine and other South American states. The resources of England are already so thoroughly developed that the savings of her people must be largely invested in other countries or in her colonies. The Argentine seemed to English bankers to furnish a profitable field for such investments. But due care was not exercised, and the crash in the Argentine carried down the Barings. The consequent depression in England reacted on the United States. English investors refused money to Australia, which had been borrowing large sums through its government and bankers. This in turn forced the suspension of many works, public and private, threw thousands of laborers out of employment, and caused a depression in Australia. As there had already been considerable speculation, financial reaction soon set in.

In discussing the causes of the present panic in the United States several facts must be borne in mind. First—The panic was evidently due to external influences tending to depress business, and not to any weakness in business itself. There have been numerous failures, but in most cases the proportion of assets to liabilities has been large, showing that those who failed were prepared for ordinary contingencies. No serious frauds have been disclosed, and the failures have been largely in speculative lines of business. There has been no shock to confidence, and no evidence that credit is overstrained.

The panic has been ascribed to several causes, any one of which would have a tendency to depress business; but it is open to dispute which one of them has been the most potent. In the first place, the mere change of administration, whether it were for better or for worse, would tend to disturb business. This influence has been the more potent because the party that has come into power has pledged itself to important changes of policy. Again, the panic in Australia would tend to produce a panic here. But the fear that gold payments could not be maintained, and that the dollar would depreciate thirty or forty per cent, was a severe shock to credit. Finally, the fear of tariff

legislation had a tendency to depress prices and reduce sales.

In the first place, the mere change of parties could not have affected business appreciably. Political parties must necessarily undergo reverses; and the fact that a large majority of the people desired a change is in itself almost a guarantee that the change was not dangerous, and on no former occasion has such a change affected disastrously the business of this country.

Again, the Australian panic could have had no serious effect in the United States, for practically no American money was invested in Australia; and while the losses of those with whom we deal must reflect injury on us, the ill effects of a collapse of speculation in so small a country as Australia would not be important.

When it comes to the relative influences of the Sherman act and the fear of tariff legislation, we are met by the difficulty that is always encountered in discussing party questions. But the following considerations should certainly have weight. The mere prospect of tariff reduction has never produced trade depression in the United States, and there is no proof that such legislation has caused business depression after it came into force. On the other hand, nearly all our panics heretofore have been caused by bad currency. The substitution of the silver for the gold dollar, involving as it would a depreciation of nearly forty per cent in the standard of value, would necessarily be a much greater shock to trade than any probable tariff legislation. Still again, while thousands of merchants and business men were demanding the repeal of the Sherman act, very few were really protesting against changes in the tariff. In brief, all the evidence points to the conclusion that our recent panic was produced mainly by a fear of a change in the standard of value. Nevertheless, uncertainty in regard to tariff legislation may retard the recovery of business. For tariff legislation, however beneficial it may ultimately be, has a disturbing influence for the time; and when business is unsettled, slightly depressing influences hinder its recovery.

There is no way to prevent the recurrence of panics except to remove the causes. The causes of panics at the present day are:

a tendency to inflate credit, a tendency to undue hopefulness, a tendency to reckless speculation, and a tendency to undue alarm when disaster is imminent. When more cautious and conservative business methods prevail, and men become more confident and courageous in times of danger, panics will become less frequent and less severe.

But there is one palliative for panics that deserves attention, namely, elasticity of the currency. The most dangerous feature of a panic is the rapid fall in prices, which is produced by lack of confidence and shrinkage in credit. Business men find themselves called upon to pay their debts when the goods or securities in which their money is invested are almost unsalable. This leads to the failure or suspension of those who would ordinarily be solvent, and this further diminishes credit and reduces prices. Credit is the machinery of exchange; money may be called the tools. And in a panic the business community is in much the same condition that a farming community would be in, if all the mowing machines were destroyed at haying time, and there were nothing but a few scythes to take their place. At such a time scythes would be in great demand, and a person having one to lend could exact an extortionate rent for it. Similarly in times of panic the interest on money rises.

In view of all these facts attempts have been made to provide for an increase of money during such periods. But the great difficulty is, that in the period of speculation that usually precedes a panic, every resource for increasing the circulating medium is certain to be strained. But there is one fact that points to a solution of the problem, namely, the high rate of interest during panics. The extra demand for money can, therefore, be partially supplied by restricting bank issues under ordinary conditions, but permitting banks to issue more notes on the deposit of securities, and on paying a tax graduated according to the amount of their circulation. This makes it worth while for banks to increase their circulation when interest is high, and forces them to reduce it when interest is low.

HARRY C. AGER.

A STUDY OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

BY H. F. BARNES, M.D.

WHEN we attempt to trace the source of party divisions that have been the dominating characteristics of American politics, it is not difficult to find the fountain head. John Adams said : "It commenced with human nature and existed in America from its first plantation." Thomas Jefferson aptly says : "Free communities naturally divide into two parties, one in favor of keeping things as they are, the other strenuous for making them better than they are."

Alexander Hamilton represented the quiescent state ; Thomas Jefferson the turbulent one. Hamilton believed that corruption is an essential to the government of a nation, and thought it foolish to attempt its reformation ; Jefferson declared for purity in official affairs in which all the people should have a voice. Hamilton was imbued with and naturally held to Tory sentiments. The English government was his ideal. He devoted his life to the education of the people, in declaring for an America with English ideas and form of government. Jefferson was a lover of liberty in its best sense, and declared himself on every occasion an earnest advocate of the independence of the states. Hamilton was not an American by birth, and many times declared : "Every day proves to me more and more, that this American world was not made for me." Jefferson gloried in the turbulence of the French Revolution, and the propagation of advanced ideas of liberty in America. Hamilton represented the aristocracy ; Jefferson, the common people. Hamilton believed in the pomp and glitter of wealth, and had no conception of what Jefferson meant by "the rights of man" ; Jefferson detested the rule of the wealthy class, and befriended and advocated the rights of man regardless of his environments.

From these men, each a representative of a class, has grown the divergence of sentiment that still separates and divides the people of the United States into parties. One represents the people, the other the classes; with one, *vox populi, vox Dei* is an axiom, with the other an illusion. Birth and environment have much to do in determining man's weal or woe in after-life. Heredity gives him his passions and natural instincts.

Alexander Hamilton owes much to his birth in directing his inclinations during life. A born aristocrat, a direct descendant of a Scottish nobleman, and with Huguenot extraction on the side of his mother, he combined the sturdiness and perseverance of his Scottish father, with the suavity and unscrupulousness of his French ancestry. His environment in the West Indies Islands, where he was born, was conducive to the development of his natural instinct—"the prevalent ambition" that he was pleased to term "his desire to lead and rule." He received much of his early education from his mother, but by reason of a series of financial difficulties which had overtaken his father and the unexpected death of his mother, he was placed under the care of an uncle at Santa Cruz when he was twelve years of age. He resided with his uncle for three years, assisting him in a mercantile establishment. Clerical work was not to his liking. His ambition was to obtain a collegiate education, and he decided to avail himself of the first opportunity that offered to secure it. His coming to America was in a manner incidental. He had no friends or acquaintances in the colonies. He came at the instance of friends who had supplied him with funds, to pursue his studies, and finish as far as he could his education.

He landed in Boston in the spring of 1772, being fifteen years of age; not finding a school that pleased him in that city, he went to New York, and attended a private school for nearly a year. He visited Princeton University, then under the care of the venerable Dr. Witherspoon, during his first year's residence in the colonies, intending to finish his education, but being unable to arrange his studies so that he could make as rapid advance as he desired, he returned to New York City where,

under the patronage of Governor Livingston, and as a member of his family, he entered King's—now Columbia—College, and in a short time graduated with honor.

Notwithstanding he was in a large measure a recipient of charity, his early associations were with the Loyalists, from whom he received his first impressions of the mob (common people), and where he obtained his first lessons in "a leaning towards the British government that was always afterwards a part of his being." His contact with the laborer and plodder was only in a superior sense. He knew and cared for no one that he was pleased to designate "as beneath him."

He studied the arts of war after his graduation, and eagerly sought and obtained a commission as an officer in an artillery company. In this he was gratifying an ambition, which in his early letters he said was war. At nineteen years of age he was hobnobbing with the turbulent crowd that invested New York City, and on one occasion addressed an assembly of citizens that had met to elect delegates to represent the colony of New York in the Colonial Congress. He joined the colonists in their open revolt against the mother country, not to establish a democracy, for said he on one occasion: "Democracy means turbulence in an incontrollable, excitable, and partially informed mob that needs the checks which can only be furnished by that part of the community which have wealth and leisure, and are, therefore, better qualified to know, think, and judge in conformity with their needs." He joined the colonists in their fight for independence that America might be made "a larger and better England."

According to his contemporaries, his public utterances and private beliefs were often at variance. He declared publicly in favor of independence with the British Constitution as a model, yet in his private views as declared to intimate friends, he favored a monarchy, vehemently asserting that it was a better form of government than a republic.

Surrounded by the glamour and frivolity of wealth, and with an educated horror of anything that did not savor of high birth and good breeding, he incessantly taught the false economics as

held by royalty, and as constantly derided the views of the Jacobins and Democrats. These views, although not always openly proclaimed for fear of the mob, he always held. When asked one day in the midst of the debates of the Constitutional Convention, whether the masses could be trusted with the affairs of the government, he tartly replied: "What a contemptible subterfuge is that travesty, *vox populi, vox Dei*. The fickle and ignorant get their inspiration from the devil, rather than the Almighty. Only wealth and brains, controlled by good breeding, should govern."

To be a leader was Hamilton's ambition. His ability to dictate and command was early recognized. The turbulence of 1774 and 1775 opened a way to the gratification of his ambition. He expected, and so far as he was able, determined to build a monarchy founded on wealth and birth, to grow out of the troubles then brewing between the colonies and the mother country. He recognized his own importance as a leader and adviser, was patronized by General Washington, confided in and loved by the officers of the French battalions and his brother staff officers. His quarrel with General Washington, or rather the words had with him—for it cannot in a true sense be called a quarrel—which was the cause of his retirement from the general's staff, has been the subject of much comment by both friends and traducers of Hamilton. It is doubtful whether the same cordial relations existed between them afterwards, but it is not of this we write. While Hamilton was a soldier of no mean ability, for he delighted in "war's alarms," he would not have been content to stand in the ranks as a common soldier. He loved the life of a soldier, because it gave him power. An officer's position at that day represented the upper classes. The etiquette of the camp and court was of infinite importance, while the rank and file were only so many "clods" to be commanded and sacrificed to the officer's ambition.

Within the space of eighteen months General Hamilton was married, resigned his commission in the army, was admitted to the bar, and became a father. He was not yet twenty-five years of age. His marriage into the family of General Schuyler, an

English aristocrat of the old school, served to still further add fuel to his ambitious flame. It gave him family position and fortune, and served to aid him to the admission to the bar, with less than four months actual study of the rudiments of the law.

The financial embarrassment of the Confederation of States, and the indifferent Congressional action relating thereto, had some years before been the subject of much thought on the part of Hamilton. During his leisure after admission to the bar, and while waiting for clients in his office at Albany, he wrote a series of anonymous communications to Robert Morris, the Congressional superintendent of finance, in which he proposed certain financial schemes for his consideration. It is interesting to note that the proposition for the establishment of a national bank and the issue of bonds was recommended by Hamilton in these Morris communications. He proposed that the government should issue bonds for one half of the stock of a national bank, the balance to be owned by the monied men of New York and other cities, many of whom had refused to contribute of their means or give aid and comfort to the colonists in their fight for independence. He also proposed to give to monied men an immediate interest, by which they might coöperate with the government in the preservation of the national currency. He advised a foreign loan and recommended the sending of an ambassador to Europe to negotiate with the house of Rothschilds, "as," he said, "did the most opulent states of Europe in a war of any duration."

The measures proposed were not accepted by Morris as wise financial legislation, and not until the adoption of the Constitution, and selection of Hamilton as the secretary of the treasury, were they made a part of the financial system of the United States.

The Federation of States as it existed at the close of the revolutionary war has been called "a government of states in which the parts were greater than the whole." Many attempts were made to bring the colonies into a closer bond of union. To Hamilton credit is due in a large measure to the calling of the first Constitutional Convention. He desired to centralize gov-

ernment control. The growth of Jacobinical sentiment alarmed him. Democratic ideas and liberty were distasteful to the man who expected to see the colonies grow into an aristocracy. He succeeded in his efforts to call a convention of delegates from all of the states for the purpose of enlarging the powers of the Continental Congress.

The convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, with Gen. Washington as its presiding officer. Hamilton was named as a delegate to the convention by the Legislature of New York. His colleagues were John Lansing, Jr. and Chief Justice Robert Yates, who were staunch republicans. To them is due the defeat of Hamilton's many attempts to engraft into the organic law of the land provisions for a strong and powerful government controlled altogether by force.

Hamilton introduced a form of constitution for the consideration of the convention, that provided for an aristocratic monarchy, and gave to the executive and higher branch of the law-making power a life tenure of office. His scheme gave to the executive head of the government a power beyond the immediate control of the people, and endowed the higher legislative branch with such authority as would check the tendency of the lower house to despoil and confiscate the property of those who could have the time to "know fully, think coolly, and judge wisely." He opposed an elective franchise that would reach all the people. He declared that men of wealth should control the franchise and permit only those to exercise it who were the possessors of a stipulated amount of property. Force was his dominating idea. Liberty with him meant uncontrolled license.

His firm belief in the efficacy of a government of aristocracy led him to make use of very many extravagant expressions. In conversation with his friends on one occasion he said: "An executive that is good for anything cannot be included as a part of a government constructed upon a purely democratic plan." He refused at all times to recognize talent or ability in the common people. With him the laborer was an animal to be held in restraint by the strong arm of the law, executed by wealth and blue blood.

The relations that Hamilton held to the majority of the convention of 1787, precluded the remotest hope of seeing his ideas made a part of the Constitution. We can only surmise what the effect would have been.

The rapid growth of republican ideas went on apace under the magnificent tutorage of Jefferson and Paine. The infant was a lusty one. The representatives of aristocracy, with Hamilton as their leader and mouthpiece, could not brook the vehement utterances of the republicans in declaring that "all men were created free and equal."

A majority of the states adopted the Constitution, and although the partisans of Hamilton claim for him that he was largely instrumental in having it adopted by the states, yet his known hostility to its provisions is a matter of history. He often declared that the Constitution was weak, would fall of its own weight, and during his life let no occasion escape to treat its provisions with levity and disdain.

A noted historian in this connection says: "Hamilton, it must be remembered, was no American; he never understood America, as he himself confessed, 'was not the man for America.' The English government was his ideal: his dream was to make America a larger and better England." He was charged times without number with attempting to subvert the true teachings of the Constitution. He described it "as the crazy old hulk of the Constitution," and gained by his conduct the stigma and hatred of the true lovers of liberty.

Firmly believing in the short life of the republic under the Constitution, he advised measures in the heat of partisan strife, and sought the interested support of the wealthy residents of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, that had for their consummation the founding of an aristocratic form of government on the ruins of the republic.

That he hoped to make this country a greater England with a strong central government, is corroborated by Jefferson, who records a conversation held at a cabinet dinner, at which were present Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, and others. Politics was the chief subject discussed. A kingly, in preference to a repub-

lican, form of government seemed to be the favorite sentiment. John Adams, the John Bull of American politics, since his return from the Court of St. James, had added to his already large stock of admiration for a monarchical form of government. In conversation at this cabinet dinner, Adams had expressed his belief that the British Constitution, purged of its corruption and an equality of representation given to the House of Parliament, would be the most perfect constitution devised by man.

Hamilton, with a disdainful curl of the lip, and casting a furtive glance toward Jefferson, replied: "Purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an impracticable government. As it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government that ever existed."

Only an hereditary king or life ruler could have the earnest support of Hamilton. Although pretending great fidelity to the government under the Constitution, he let no opportunity slip to show his contempt of it.

In a letter to Gen. Pinckney on one occasion, he wrote: "I am still laboring to prop the frail and worthless fabric, and believe that its life is a short one." On another occasion he said, referring to what he believed would be an early collapse of the republic, "We can then assert our true independence, and avoid the rush of the mob that now declare that we have in America the right to go and see the president and shake hands with him."

In the year 1800, during the presidential campaign, Hamilton said: "If Mr. Pinckney was not elected president a revolution would be the consequence, and within the next four years I will lose my head or be the leader of a triumphant army."

The election of Jefferson was a severe blow to the Federalists. All manner of ominous predictions had been made regarding it. It was the universal opinion of those who received their inspiration from Hamilton, that in the election of Jefferson the country would be overtaken by Jacobinical chaos, or Bonapartean usurpation, and eventually be brought to ruin.

But, if the election was a severe blow to the Federalists, upon

their leader and adviser it fell with such telling force as to wreck his hopes and forever blast his ambition. He never recovered from it. It was the universal belief of the early republicans that should he have survived the deadly aim of Burr, "he would have hied him away to some fair land, where kings hold sway, and vassals craven neither murmur nor betray."

Dress played an important part in the growth of republican sentiment. With a distinctive dress for the government officials, and another for the plebeian, one for the high born, another for the low, one for the rich, another for the poor, the obsequious and deferential bearing of the clods could be preserved. It was when Jefferson in pantaloons, his shoes tied with strings, and his hair combed straight, without queue or powder, assumed the reins of government that the barriers were thrown down, and the equality of man outwardly declared.

The lowering of the dignity of the rich and well-born by the change of dress and the rapid disappearance of "hair powder, pigtails, and shoe buckles," was of serious consequence to the vanity of Hamilton. He could not be induced to change his style of dress. He usually dressed for state occasions in a blue silk velvet coat with gold buttons, the skirts of his coat unusually long; white satin waistcoat elaborately embroidered, a ruffled shirt bosom and wristbands, black silk breeches, with silver knee buckles, white silk stockings, and low-cut shoes with large silver buckles. A three-cornered hat with a plaited queue completed his attire. He wore a short sword in the presence of guests. It was in this costume that he appeared in his famous duel with Burr.

In contrast with the elaborate costume that is still worn in the courts of kings, was that of the leading republicans that has been preserved in a more or less simple form to this day. Democracy declared for simplicity in dress and the equality of man. Distinctive costumes became opprobrious, while the rights of the people were established and approved. Kingly costumes did not cease to appear in a day. They were worn by ex-officials and leading Federalists, on great occasions for many

years, and were not finally discarded until a new generation with American ideas appeared. Not so Hamilton's ideas of strength and force in government control or his English system of finance and bonded indebtedness. Some of the parties in this country have always approved them, notwithstanding it is a noteworthy fact that whenever Hamilton's idea of a government of force for the protection of property-holding classes has been practiced in any of the states or by the national government, injustice has been done the masses, and their rights and liberties curtailed.

The English system of finance and bonded indebtedness, as advocated by Hamilton, and in a large measure adopted in the financial legislation of the states and national government, has been a curse to America. Periodically since its adoption, suffering, want, misery, bankruptcy, and degradation have overtaken the people, and will continue to do so until a radical and far-reaching change is instituted, in which the masses are protected as well as the classes.

The death of Alexander Hamilton at the hands of Aaron Burr has always been deplored; yet viewed in the light of the last decade of the nineteenth century, it was a blessing.

H. F. BARNES.

THE LAWYER AS A PUBLIC SERVANT.

BY T. FLETCHER DENNIS, ESQ.

THE relation of the lawyer to his fellows is essentially a public one, and as such imposes duties of a public character and of great importance. Indeed, the lawyer is in some sense a public officer.

The profession, to be sure, is open to all who choose to pursue it, but, in its practice in the courts, it is in some respects an official function, and the lawyer is an officer of the court. Moreover, lawyers are regularly and formally admitted to practice, take an oath of office, are under the control and supervision of the court, and may be removed or prohibited from exercising their office. To this extent, at least, the practice of law is a part of the administration of justice, and is a function important, not to private persons only, but to the general public; the station thus conferred by public authority confers its peculiar powers and privileges and imposes its peculiar duties. The word "office" is of varying significance in different relations. Whether the lawyer as such is in enjoyment of an office, has even engaged the attention of the courts, and while the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that an attorney, as such, is not an officer within the meaning of certain constitutional inhibitions, it is no less true that he who wields a power owes a duty to the public—a duty proportionate to his ability and opportunity to benefit or injure it. This duty is imposed by the common conscience of mankind and permeates all enlightened intercommunication. The lawyer's oath of office requires that he conduct himself uprightly and not delay or subvert the ends of justice for any fear or favor. It is obvious that this oath does not primarily *impose* the obligation, but it goes to recognize and sanction the obligation inherent in the duties of his station, and to render him amenable to law for recreance to duty.

In a complicated social organism such as ours, the relation of the lawyer to his fellow-men is one of peculiar delicacy and responsibility, as well as of signal opportunity for good or ill. The lawyer, in a constitutional government especially, is first of all a student of the political, intellectual, and material, as well as of the judicial development of the country. The subject is vast and difficult, but he will be qualified to prosecute his profession with satisfaction to himself and profit to his clients, according to the breadth and depth of the foundation of his culture in the themes coördinate with his special field of thought.

The profession of the law is an ancient one and represents a gradual progression. At Athens in earliest times, the lawyers were not a separate class; later it was permitted to a relative to speak in behalf of one having business in the courts, but with this exception, those who sought or suffered justice were required to present their causes in person. There naturally grew up a class of men resembling advocates of more modern times. Many learned men were employed in writing speeches for parties to deliver publicly in connection with their own litigations.

At Rome the earlier kings presided in person at the trials, and this duty afterwards devolved upon the consuls, and still later upon the prætors who were appointed to sit as judges. Originally two such prætors were appointed, but the number subsequently indefinitely increased. During the Middle Ages it was customary also in France for the king to preside in person, and this obtained for a time in England even. It is related of King James of Scotland that when he became king of England, he determined to try a case in person, because he desired that the king's presumptive presence in court should not remain a fiction. But in his first attempt the arguments of the opposing lawyers proved both so utterly conclusive that he was unable to decide between them, and never sought to preside again as judge.

The Roman advocates were statesmen rather than attorneys; they were known as "patrons," and espoused the causes of their clients less for pecuniary gain than for political preferment.

Clients were required to render their patron prompt obedience ; to pay his fines and ransom him if necessity arose. The advocate appeared in court as the friend of the litigant or accused, and by his presence lent prestige to his cause. Cognitors or procurators more nearly resembled our attorneys, while juriconsults gave advice in legal matters as counselors do now ; their station or profession was sometimes regarded as hereditary. Greater latitude was allowed the lawyer and the court than now, and the judge, if sufficiently swayed by the skillful advocate, might pronounce a judgment which was virtually a pardon.

During the Middle Ages again, the profession of law is almost lost from sight, but in France from the fourteenth century it appears as a distinct and separate class. Examinations in branches deemed necessary were held, as a condition precedent to admission to the profession, and the candidate was presented by some advocate of long standing ; an oath of office was administered and many stipulations were made as to the espousing of unjust causes, the courtesy due opponents, and respectful demeanor toward the court.

In England the legal profession has long been divided into several classes, but with us the multifarious duties are so combined as to place the lawyer in a position not elsewhere exactly paralleled. In the ordinary walks of life men come into contact with each other first on the plane of commercial transactions. The rapidly multiplying objects of commerce, the widening of the domain of trade by the methods of applied science, and the numerous points of contact between delicately adjusted personal interests, render the office of preserving the rights of all more and more difficult, and the penetration needed to discover wrong and to expose fraud, more and more acute. The "professions" are held to occupy a higher plane than other respectable and useful occupations because of the more exact discrimination they require, the more unselfish living they compel. In other fields personal gain is the chief, if not the only, object. The laborer or tradesman in the pursuit of his business owes no duty to his fellow-men, aside from the demands of integrity and truth ; but in the professions each individual assumes a trust relation to

his associates, and his private ends become of secondary importance. The minister, the physician, the lawyer, to be sure, is paid for his services, but this is in some sense an attendant circumstance and not the chief consideration. The cause of truth, the public good, is the more important end. The preacher in the pulpit, the doctor at the bedside, the lawyer in the court, is not thinking of his fee. He is a failure if that be his only thought. His relation to his parish, to his patient, to his client, is too sacred. His obligation is greater than money represents. The trust accepted may not be relinquished at pleasure ; it binds him till the end. The upright or faulty attitude of lawyers has brought to the profession extremes of eulogy and ridicule. It is not strange that lawyers are sometimes held up to public scorn. A man of any public note is of necessity a target for the mediocre and unsuccessful. There are different reasons for the unfavorable opinions that to some extent prevail. What is called the "mystery of the craft," renders it objectionable to some. The lawyer deals with matters which seem dark and strange to the uninitiated ; his knowledge of legal forms and technicalities is anchored in the cloudy past by uncanny French and Latin phrases. His knowledge of the rules of law is drawn from ponderous and musty volumes, into which the layman seldom peers. The forms of procedure are appalling in their apparent complexity, and his strange names for well-known things grate harshly on the ear and give rise to some distrust. Besides this, the litigious character of the business he conducts leads him to flourish where quarrels most abound, and suggests him as the cause of disagreements. His duties bring him into antagonism with the prejudice and selfishness of men. Advocating the cause of one, he necessarily opposes the interests of another, and the defeated party will readily ascribe his ill-success to some unfairness of his foe. For a still more serious ground of popular distrust, the profession has no one but itself to blame. As humanity is not perfect, this, as other callings, has those for whose shortcomings the body aggregate is held responsible. The exceptional power for good or ill, wielded by the lawyer, subjects to strong temptation ; while this power may

be made a noble instrument for good, its perversion, though pernicious, is not readily detected nor accurately located, and so suspicion falls on all. This wholesale condemnation is utterly unjust. Some ministers betray their trust; some tradesmen are dishonest; some lawyers are inherently oblique—but this is not the test by which to judge each calling. To be sure, the more enduring weapon of attack upon lawyers is ridicule, rather than blame—and even this is beginning to lose its edge. On the other hand, among the more discriminating, from earliest times lawyers have been held in honor and regarded with esteem. As already suggested, the Roman patron was a leader of the people; his relation to his client resembled that of a lord to his vassal. The word “fee,” which is not unknown to those who have to deal with lawyers, is derived from feud or fief, and implies an allegiance due to a superior. Those men at Rome who most nearly resembled our attorneys were said to be “clarissimi,” and, under the Empire, Roman lawyers were granted many privileges and exemptions. In France, from the fourteenth century the bar constituted an order of nobility and was fully recognized as such. William the Conqueror treated the lawyers whom he introduced into his statutes, with marked consideration.

The profession in America has won the highest encomiums in every quarter. Edmund Burke, in speaking of the study of law in the American colonies, said: “This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dextrous, prompt in attack, ready in defense, full of resources. In other countries the people, more simple and of a less mercurial caste, judge of an ill-principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate evil and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and sniff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.” De Tocqueville more than once gave his opinion of the lawyers of America. “They constitute,” he said, “A sort of privileged body in the scale of intellect.” And again, “Lawyers form the highest political class and the most cultivated portion of society.” Lord Coleridge, during his visit to this country some years ago, paid the highest compliment to our legal fraternity: “With all

America's boasted republicanism, it fosters a nobility—a nobility of intellect, whose members are the lawyers of the land." Such a nobility is surely harmless. It knows no primogeniture, for its highest place is open to its humblest son; its estates of intellect and fame know no entailments nor escheat.

It is said that in England more than eighty peerages have been created from the legal profession, and the highest political positions in every land call their incumbents from the same prolific source. All of the presidents of the United States but four have been educated for the legal profession. Eighty per cent of the senators at the present time are lawyers, and this proportion will usually hold good in the lower House. The administration of justice consists of legislation and jurisprudence. Not only are most of our legislators lawyers by profession, but all legislators, as law makers, may in a sense be classed as lawyers, and in this relation their duties are of a purely public character. As the laws have to do with the affairs of all who constitute the public, and in a complicated society are necessarily complex, the lawyer is essentially the guardian of public morals, the defender of the weak, and the educator of the public mind in the direction of legal morality, as well as legal information. Whether or not he sit in legislative halls or fill the public places of a local character, to which he is peculiarly eligible, he should take an active part in the business of the public, both general and local. He has peculiar opportunity to study the needs of the community and promote its general well-being. Whether or not he vote for their enactment, he may play his part in making the laws simple, plain, and fitted to secure swift, exact, and impartial justice. He can and should antagonize pernicious legislation, the making of laws affecting vested rights and giving to a class advantage over others.

Judge Sharswood has said lawyers are "bound by the true spirit of their oath of office, and by a comprehensive view of their duty to the Constitution and the laws, which they bear so large a part in making as well as in administering, to discountenance and prevent."

Practically, then, all legislation, good or bad, is effected by

members of the bar, for from no other class are men so often called to leave the scenes of private life and lend their talents to "promote the general welfare," and no other class at home so strongly influences his fellows called to power. In the daily walks of life the relation of personal liberty to the public weal is springing questions which demand a constant readjustment to the growing demands of a rapidly developing ethical culture. Society cannot exist except with a regard to public morals, and as the public's morals are the morals of its component parts, the growing intelligence and moral sense of the individuals develop, from time to time, requirements of moral duty beyond or without the statute law. No one is so favorably situated as the lawyer to seize upon this demand for a new expression of law to meet the sentiments of the people, and to express it in a form that will secure the personal rights of the individual and at the same time give the solemn sanction of the law to the moral tendencies of the day. Nor need the law, if wisely framed, always play lackey to the sentiments of the people. Within limits which experience and culture may apprehend, the statute may, and frequently ought to, fore-run the action of the people who sometimes hesitate to frame in solemn statute that which once expressed they will not only cheerfully obey but will assist to enforce upon the refractory. In some such matters the lawyers must of necessity be the leaders of the people, and bring the public ultimately to their standard. On the other hand, enthusiasm or furor may arouse the masses to clamor for a law unjust in itself and calculated to injure those compelled to submit to its operation. The lawyers then withstand the tide and bring them back to calm deliberation.

Beyond these affairs of local importance are the larger questions that make the lawyer's field of operation boundless. The relation of the individual to the state and to the nation, and of the state to the federal government; the efforts of political ambition or of selfish passion to override the principles upon which these relations are so delicately adjusted; along these lines the lawyer is pre-eminently qualified to discover and ex-

pose the first approach of danger and to divert the heresies clamoring for recognition.

Jurisprudence comprehends the functions of the lawyer as counselor, as advocate, and as judge. In the two former relations the public nature of his duties is less apparent, but as judge he is wholly the servant of the public, and if legislators come usually from the legal profession, judges, from the necessity of the case, are always chosen from this class, unless where, for a time, forces quite at war with the very theory of government may gain pernicious sway.

In his capacity as judge the lawyer's power becomes the most impressive. The most successful advocate, when called to this higher sphere, is sometimes a conspicuous failure, while comparatively unknown attorneys have won, upon the bench, a lasting fame. Erskine, the brilliant advocate, in later years as chancellor delivered opinions of such doubtful authority as to be called apocryphal. On the other hand Lord Eldon, always popular, powerful, and successful as an advocate, took his place upon the woolsack only to increase and make immortal his already widespread fame; but even he was called the "great doubter," the training of the advocate instilling doubt in the mind of the judge. Whatever feeling, fire, or fancy may be permitted to the advocate, the sympathies of the judge must be intelligent, and his feelings well disguised. His station demands sound discretion, profound legal information, strict impartiality, incorruptible integrity, and a sound judicial mind. It is said of our own renowned Chief Justice Marshall that he was "conscience incarnate, reason made flesh." No higher duty falls to the lot of man than that of the lawyer in his judicial capacity. To him is intrusted the power to pronounce forfeited the life no man can give; the law the legislator unwarrantedly frames, he pronounces null and void. Within his jurisdiction he is supreme, amenable to none. To the public he owes it to render the law certain, for uncertainty is tyranny. To this end authority is sacred, the maxim for the judge is *stare decisis*. The English judge asks "How did my predecessors decide this question?" The French judge

asks "How should they have decided?" While in the United States the judge asks both these questions and if the answers conflict, he must consider the addition, "Which is better—to produce uncertainty by innovation, or to let an established ruling stand even though it seem unjust?" That life, liberty, and property may be secure, old landmarks should remain. Solemn adjudications are entitled to respect, and new theories to overturn the old must be admitted only for most cogent reasons.

Law systems are exceedingly complicated and require extreme discretion for their accurate comprehension, but their final aim is, after all, natural justice to all beneath their sway. A plain uneducated man being elected a justice of the peace, once applied to a learned judge for advice as to the course he should pursue and the books by which he should be guided in his rulings. He was advised to read no law book but the Bible; to order his decisions by its teachings, with the assurance that in the great majority of cases he would have the satisfaction of seeing his course sustained by all the higher courts.

The ethical phase of the lawyer's duty has not received the consideration it demands, but it is by no means a new idea. Aristotle was of opinion that "the laws constitute the principal and most important branch of ethics; they are in fact the application of morality to the various matters which arise in daily life."

The lawyer's moral obligation is bounded only by the boundless latitude of the affairs of life in which he may be called to participate, and not only, be it remembered, is it in his obviously public station as legislator and as judge that the lawyer is a public servant. Every opportunity which comes to him as counselor, arising out of conflicting financial interests—the opportunity to bring order out of confusion, justice out of threatened wrong, and to secure to all impartial justice—imposes its peculiar obligation not only toward his client but to the public good. To his client and to the public he owes, first—the essence of it all—a thorough preparation for the work upon which he seeks to enter. His warranty of competency and skill, though implied, is binding, and for its breach, in the

court of public reckoning he will pay exemplary damages.

The education for this field should be of the most liberal character. A collegiate course is desirable, of course. There is no branch of business and no realm of space which the lawyer in the pursuit of his profession may not be called to visit. Prior to the time of Lord Coke little else was expected of the lawyer than that he know *ita lex scripta est*. From that day to this the requirements have increased with the newly arising complications of business, until they are well-nigh boundless. Haste results in superficiality, and the youth of the land are too eager to enter the arena. Precocity is said to be a sign of inferiority. It may be true to this extent, that those who pursue with special aptitude a certain course, while yet their years are few and their minds not yet mature, will fail to derive the fullest benefit or fix securely the foundations for future usefulness. For the study of the law, the broadest preliminary culture possible is to be desired. Some regard a knowledge of Latin and French not only desirable but almost indispensable, and nothing in this direction will ever come amiss. To study the law itself, there is a choice between the lawyer's office and the school or college, or to combine the two in rational admixture. That the law schools are gaining favor is obvious from the fact that a century ago such institutions were noticeably few. A hundred and ten years ago the first law school in the United States was founded at Litchfield, Conn., and about sixty years ago it ceased to flourish, after graduating many who became the eminent jurists and statesmen in the land. Harvard law school was founded in 1817, and since then such schools have enormously increased, and their graduates are legion. These numbers and their questioned competency demand consideration. A commendable effort is making by the bar associations in certain states to set a higher standard for the admission of applicants to practice in the court. It is alleged that with many examining boards the requirements are such that a mere smattering of the law will gain the applicant admission to the bar, and thus we get our shysters, and through them many cases of wrong and persecution on the dockets of the courts;

that spurred by poverty in character and brains, they resort to questionable means to gain a livelihood, and thus fill the dockets with hypothetical cases, consume the time of the courts, and ultimately worst their clients. This arraignment is severe but not entirely groundless. A higher standard in examinations would doubtless preclude many from entering the profession, to the benefit alike of the profession and the state, but dishonesty would not wholly vanish, for ability and trickery sometimes go hand in hand.

In such reforms law schools must play a part. The honor shown the profession prompts ambitious parents sometimes to dedicate thereto sons who evince no aptitude for the duties which will devolve upon them. In the schools the requirements for graduation are not too rigorous, and the "payment of all dues" often plays too great a part. It would be to the credit of the schools if a greater number than at present failed to secure diplomas. The text-books have little to say as to the lawyer's duty towards the public, and the public itself is not exacting. It is content to laugh or sneer good-humoredly at the incompetent or the unscrupulous, and often to applaud the things it should condemn.

Let schools and public teach the ethics of the law, and the duties of the lawyer to his fellows and the state, and strive to thin the ranks of professional wrong-doers who seek to gain a livelihood by catering to the follies, foibles, and animosities of men; that such may be induced to divert their efforts to other fields of labor, there they may serve their generation in some capacity as respectable as the law, but calling for another type of heart and talents, hoping thus to realize the ideal of the "Just Lawyer," who, "While he lives is the delight of the court; the ornament of the bar; a pattern of innocence; the glory of the profession; a terror to deceit; the oracle of his country."

T. FLETCHER DENNIS.

THE DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

BY GEN. C. C. ANDREWS, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO
STOCKHOLM.

"JUSTICE," said Daniel Webster, "is the great interest of man on earth. It is the ligament which binds civilized beings and civilized nations together." "One strong thing," said Carlyle, "I find here below: the just thing." The influence of justice is seen in the administration of governments. Whatever their form, whether autocratic or constitutional, those whose administration was just will be found to have been most effective in maintaining security and tranquillity. Those administered unjustly will be found to have produced insecurity and disorder. Striking examples of this principle are found in the administrations of two of the popes. Gregory XIII. ruled from 1572 to 1585, and was succeeded by Sixtus V., who ruled until 1590. The states of the church, over which the popes exercised autocratic political power, then comprised a portion of central Italy from the Po to about a hundred miles south of Rome, and as extensive as the two states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Gregory XIII., to increase his revenue, confiscated very many large estates of the nobility—which high-handed injustice plunged his territory into a condition bordering upon anarchy. Influential people, whom, on legal quibbles, he stripped of their property and dignity, were loud in their denunciations. Authority was felt to be unworthy of respect and was not respected. The lower classes seeing robbery practiced in high places excused themselves for following the example. On the accession of Sixtus V. he thus found the country swarming with banditti. He resorted, it is true, to severe punishment for their suppression, but, unlike his predecessor, he was no respecter of persons, but was impartial and

just, and was not long in establishing security. Nothing, says Ranke, gave him greater pleasure than when ambassadors from foreign courts observed on their arrival that they had found security and tranquillity in their whole passage through his states.

The prevalence of disorder and crime in our own country is remarkable. It is only within a very few years that the daring and murderous practice of "holding up" railway trains has been known in the United States. Ten years ago it excited amazement to hear of such a thing in the worst governed parts of the world; but now its frequency in this country is startling. The assassination of men in high position is another symptom equally startling.

As the "spoils system" is in every way lacking in justice, it must be charged with responsibility for a large part of the present demoralization. This system is the appointment of persons in the public service through influence or as a reward for personal or party adherence. It is the giving offices to one's "friends." When a political party obtains control of a city or state government, and removes competent, experienced, and faithful subordinate officers and employes, just to furnish places for its own favorites, or when a member of Congress induces the president to remove a competent and faithful officer and appoint in his place some one who has rendered personal or party service, or who can bring influence to bear—that would be an illustration of the "spoils" system. A rich aspirant for political preferment contributes liberally to the campaign fund and gets a big office if his party wins. His competitor may have rendered brilliant service for his country in peace and war, but if he is poor he stands no show whatever. But this is according to the "spoils" plan. For example, a candidate for the United States Senate is having a hard struggle to secure his election. Actually or impliedly he promises this and that member of the legislature that for their support he will, if elected, use his influence to secure them offices. He is elected, has private interviews with the president in due time, and gets his friends nominated for the offices they seek. The Senate, of course, confirms the

nomination. No matter if trained and valuable incumbents are turned out, the vacancies must be made so that the senator's adherents shall be rewarded—for it is influence and not justice that dominates.

It is a common saying that nothing can be done at Washington (in respect to offices) without influence, and that anything can be done by influence. Landed estates are not confiscated, but take the president and Senate together, their confiscations of civil offices will aggregate in value about as much as the confiscations of Gregory XIII. I refer to no particular president or administration; the practice has been the same by each party for many years. Nor is the fault confined to public men, for the majority of business men, while they would resent the thought of hiring employes in their own establishments on the "spoils" plan, will readily sign petitions that may lead to the removal of trained and worthy officers.

If, in addition to the national government, we take city and state governments, there are more than two hundred thousand offices in this country which are subject to the "spoils" method; and the injustice of the system tends to alienate respect for government and produce demoralization.

I admit that progress has been made in abolishing the spoils system; for the *clerks* below those of chiefs of division in the central departments of the general government are now appointed on non-partisan principles. Also, two of the foremost states of the Union, Massachusetts and New York, have successfully organized the greater part of their civil service on a non-partisan basis. But there are still 4,000 presidential offices, appointments to which have to be confirmed by the Senate; about 60,000 fourth-class postoffices, and several thousand of other positions, such as employes at Indian agencies and the like, making in round numbers a hundred thousand places under control of the president which remain as heretofore, political spoils.

In support of the practice of giving all these places to the party which for the time being is in power, it is urged that an administration ought to be served by its "friends." I concede

that cabinet offices, assistant secretaryships, and a few of the more important heads of bureaus should be filled by the president's political adherents, but as a rule party sympathy is not a qualification for the discharge of a public office. What the country needs of a collector of customs is that he will not be a respecter of persons—that he will collect the duties on imports in a faithful manner. "Sympathy" for the administration does not qualify land officers for deciding contests between homestead settlers; nor does it enable a commissioner of patents to determine the utility and novelty of an invention. If offices ought to be filled with the "friends" of an administration, then why not change military and naval officers? A general in the army commanding a department, by his influence on Indian affairs or in quelling riots, might affect the popularity of an administration. Still more is this the case with rear admirals, commodores, and captains in the navy, who are frequently called upon to act in delicate matters involving the government's relations with foreign powers. Under the Constitution, the president and Senate have the power to remove and change all such officers as readily as they change civil officers; but it would awaken the most profound feeling and very likely excite a revolution if such officers were dismissed on the incoming of a new administration. Yet the civil service ought to rank higher than any other. It requires as much knowledge, training, and experience to fill worthily the most of such positions as it does to fill military and naval offices, and there is no more sound reason for changing competent civil officers on the incoming of a new administration than there is for changing officers of the army and navy. What the government and people equally want of an officer is not "sympathy," but duty. The work of a civil officer, and for which he receives his pay, like that of an army or navy officer, is for his government—and not for his party.

But before there can be permanence in the civil service it must be reorganized and "divorced from the bed and board" of party politics. One of the demoralizing features of our spoils system is allowing officeholders to pack conventions and run the politics of the country. When Leon Say was minister of

finance, he instructed the tax collectors of France not to mingle in the elections, because it would deprive them of their proper influence over the taxpayers and prevent the full collection of the revenue. But our American officeholders insist that it is the right and duty of every citizen to take part in political affairs. Yes, but when the American citizen enters the public service and receives its honors and emoluments, he has to forego a few privileges. It is the right of an American citizen to enter into contract with the government of the United States to carry the mails, to construct ships of war, erect public buildings, and to furnish supplies for the army and navy; but on grounds of public policy, Congressmen are prohibited by law from having any pecuniary interest in any such contract. There is equal propriety in prohibiting officeholders from mixing actively in party politics any further than to vote and to express on suitable occasions their views on public questions.

Again, the spoils system is unnecessarily expensive. It is a principle in business that where the risks are great the profits should be large in proportion. Public service attended with the risk of frequent change must naturally be expensive. Not only does our system of rotation in office terribly obstruct business at Washington and scandalize our country but through it the government always suffers the disadvantage of being served by mere apprentices. It requires some years for an officer thoroughly to learn his duties; yet about as soon as he becomes efficient he is removed and a new apprentice is put in his place. An agent for the Indians holds his office only four years; yet he is practically the ruler of several thousand Indians. To be as valuable both to the government and the Indians as he ought to be, he should have that thorough knowledge of their character, language, and needs which can only be gained by many years of experience with them. There are about 250,000 Indians in the United States. The Indian service proper costs over \$6,000,000 a year; and \$6,000,000 a year out of the \$40,000,000 annually expended for the support of our military establishment may be charged to troubles arising from the bad administration of Indian affairs. For fifty years under both political parties, the

government has been selling much of its pine timber land—the virgin forest—at \$1.25 per acre, which was actually worth \$75 per acre. The greater part of the revenue which the government collects is derived from customs duties levied on goods imported from foreign countries. To determine promptly the proper duty on the numberless kinds of goods requires not only a great deal of technical skill and a judicial mind, but many years' experience. Mr. French, assistant secretary of the treasury, testified before the Tariff Commission of 1882, that 18,000 appeals came from custom houses to the Treasury Department in course of a year! With trained and skilled officers in all departments the government could accomplish its work with a smaller force and obtain better results.

Of course it is not expected that appointees to the 4,000 presidential offices, whose nominations have to be confirmed by the Senate, will be subjected to a competitive examination or that a university education will be insisted upon. Many people, however, while admitting the injustice and evils of the spoils system, fear that a long tenure will breed an offensive aristocracy of officeholders. A satisfactory answer to this, I believe, is found in the fact that, under a truly reformed system, the officeholder's hope of advancement is a sufficiently strong incentive to good behavior. The desire which a man has of bettering himself in life is the strongest motive for his continued application and exertion. Tenure in our military and naval service is practically permanent and its officers command respect but they do not compose an aristocracy.

Mr. Quincy, who after several months experience as assistant secretary of state, lately resigned, is reported to have stated in a recent public address in Boston that the evils of the patronage or spoils system can be remedied only by legislation. That has been my opinion for a long time. Congress is all powerful in the matter and could, if disposed, afford an effective remedy. It is obvious, however, that it will require a great deal of popular agitation before Congress can be induced to enact a suitable law. As the short draft of a bill on this subject which I drew up a few years ago met the approval of the late Mr.

George William Curtis, among others, I will here quote it :

"That from and after the passage of this act appointments of assistant treasurers, mint and assay officers, customs and revenue officers, consular officers, district attorneys, marshals, postmasters, Indian inspectors and agents, registers and receivers of land offices, surveyors general and supervising inspectors of steamboats shall be made solely with reference to fitness, and not on account of adherence to any political party, yet so as to distribute appointments with reasonable fairness among the several states ; and officers so appointed after the passage of this act shall not be removed except for cause, which in each case shall be duly reported to Congress."

This includes the greater part, but not all (for some people might object to making it too sweeping at first) offices which have to be filled with the advice and consent of the Senate, and if enacted would, as fast as vacancies occurred, withdraw them from party politics. The status of present incumbents would not be changed ; they would take their chances for promotion, retention of their places, or removal, as heretofore has been the practice by both political parties ; but probably they would not be removed except for proper cause or to equalize fairly offices between the political parties. But all new appointments would have to be made on the ground of qualification ; and when it should become known that these offices are to be filled solely with regard to fitness and the career is to be one of permanence, men would make sacrifices to qualify themselves for the positions they seek. Then the service will acquire higher respectability and efficiency. Such a law, to the extent it goes, would establish the civil service on a basis of justice. It would put an end to the present spoils system and its demoralizing influence.

I repeat that Congress can abolish this evil by passing a simple brief law ; but it will not move a step in the matter until forced to do so by a tremendous public sentiment.

C. C. ANDREWS.

DEAD MEN'S SHOES AND WHO SHALL WEAR THEM.

BY JOHN F. HUME.

THE state of New York is about to have a convention that will meet for the purpose of revising the fundamental law of the commonwealth as it is embodied in its constitution. A number of modifications, which are ordinarily spoken of as reforms, have been suggested, but the writer believes that no more urgent or important measure of a reformatory nature can be considered than is contained in the following proposition, viz.: Hereafter no law shall be enacted conferring upon any one the power to direct the disposition or use of property beyond the period of his or her natural life, and all existing legislation to that effect shall at once become inoperative and void.

In other words, the will, as an authoritative dedication of property, shall no longer be recognized. If for so radical an innovation, and doubtless to many so startling, the reason be asked, it will, in the writer's opinion, be quite sufficient to point to the proceedings in the numerous great will cases that have latterly occupied the courts. Their titles need not be given, as about all that is required for their identification is to run over the names of the very rich men among us who have died. The instances in which there have been no contests over the devises have been decidedly the exceptions. Such controversies, however, have not been limited to the estates of the very rich. There has been plenty of litigation, accompanied with more than enough bitterness and scandal, where bequests have covered but little property. It takes, unfortunately, but a small stake to create a great lawsuit in the case of a dead man's effects. People will fight harder for riches they never possessed and never earned, and which have been the fruits of somebody else's toil, than if they

were the products of their own labor. Such, alas, is human nature.

We should not forget the fact that, under such names as probate, surrogate, prothonotary, orphans, etc., we have one court which is almost wholly occupied with testamentary business, the most of it contested. Nor does it suffice. The business overflows its boundaries, and in one form or another permeates all our tribunals, and especially the appellate ones. It is probably not an over-statement to say that one third of all our so-called civil litigation proceeds directly from wills. It is a branch of litigation to itself, and what litigation! All litigation is bad enough. It is more to be dreaded than sickness or poverty. It attacks and endangers what to right minded people is worth more than health and wealth and even life itself. It threatens reputation, peace of mind, the brotherhood of friends, the harmonies of family and social circles. The loves and ties that the most sacred relations have welded are broken by it. It blasts whatever it touches. Better in the hands of the doctors than of the lawyers. "A good lawyer is always a bad neighbor," says a French proverb.

But of all the sorts of litigation that harass and scandalize mankind, that which grows out of wills is the most deplorable. It is at once the most cruel and the most far-reaching. It breeds the worst passions. It spares nobody—the dead least of all. There is nothing sacred in a will case. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* is directly reversed. Everything that is bad and little that is good is said of the deceased. If there was a weak spot in his armor while living, a legal javelin is pretty sure to reach and pierce it. Every taint upon his memory is uncovered, and the light is thrown with merciless intensity along the entire pathway he has traveled. For him there is no sanctuary in the grave.

The living, however, are those who suffer, and how much they suffer from those terrible controversies that so often grow out of the contesting of wills, no pen can adequately describe. So intense are the animosities frequently engendered that the holiest of sentiments perish in them like flax in fire. The home withers un-

der their assaults. The household ceases to be a citadel of affection. All privacy is destroyed. Every closet is thrown open. All the skeletons, big and little, that have been hidden away in dark recesses, are brought out to the light. Ordinarily a will contest is as destructive to a family as a dynamite explosion. It is a danger, since death is certain and wills are many, by which every household is menaced. Indeed, so general has the practice of contesting wills become, that a legatee is nowadays rather a subject for our condolences than for our congratulations.

But the public suffers as well as individuals. No litigation is so injurious to the moral sense of the community, and so effectual in pandering to prurient and vicious tastes, as that which flows from wills. We need no other proof of this than the space it commands in the public prints. Editors begin to sharpen their pencils as soon as a will case is approached. They know what is coming. There is a sensation impending; there is scandal in the air.

It is true that all litigation relating to the disposition of property left by deceased persons does not originate in wills. People are so constituted that, wills or no wills, we may always expect more or less of such contention; but it is quite safe to say that we would not have the one hundredth part of the legal controversy now incident to the settlement of dead men's estates if there were no wills. In ninety cases in every hundred the issues raised and submitted to the law are directly traceable to the disabilities or idiosyncrasies of testators, which are reflected in their bequests. And all the contention, scandal, heart-burning, worry, loss of friends, and waste of money in costs of court and charges of lawyers, disruption of social ties, abasement of family pride, and outrage of public decency which we witness in connection with legacy contests, are in consequence of what? Of the right of a man to say what shall become of his property after he is dead and gone. But is there any such right?—I mean natural, not statutory, right. Not if Thomas Jefferson was justified when he said "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living, and the dead have no right or power over it." Not according to Blackstone, the great law expounder, who tells us that

"there is no foundation in nature or natural law why the occupier of a particular field or the possessor of a particular jewel, when lying on his death bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, shall be entitled to tell the rest of the world which of them shall enjoy it after him." Not according to Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, who may be said to fill the highest judicial position in the world, and who in a recent address on the Law of Property, approvingly quotes the observation of another noted lawyer to the effect that it is positive law alone that "prevents the property of the dead from reverting, as it would in a state of nature, to the common stock." According to these high authorities we have but a life interest in property. Our estate is bounded by the grave, and on our demise our title reverts to that public which we call the state.

But although not an innate right or original prerogative, has not the will, by reason of its antiquity and almost universal adoption, become so imbedded in our social and legal systems that its removal would be fatal to their integrity? But the will is not ancient. On the contrary, it is comparatively a recent invention and a radical innovation on the law of property. While among our English ancestors there was always a superstitious regard for the wishes of dying persons, and the law recognized their power to dispose, by request, of a certain portion of their personal belongings, it was not until the reign of Henry the Eighth, and in the sixteenth century, that the statute was enacted that extended the privilege to real estate, and actually created the modern will. That was not much more than three hundred years ago. During that comparatively short period the testament, although strictly a fungus development, with the aid of the legal profession that has fed and fattened on it, of the church which has often turned it to good account, and of the natural temper of man to hold fast to what he has as long as he can, has grown into an immense and complicated system, and, in the writer's humble judgment, a tremendous abuse.

While the will, as already stated, is not rooted in natural law or reason, it is not denied that the organized public, as heir-at-large to all dead men's effects, and with full power to do what

it pleases with its own, may establish and continue it. Should it do so? In one side of the scale, as has already been shown, we have to put the evils of our worst species of litigation. Another unquestionable drawback is the restraint, apart from the entanglements of the law, often placed upon property by the embarrassing conditions imposed by arbitrary or whimsical testators. And then there is the money cost of will-making. It is not very formidable, and yet it is too considerable to be wholly overlooked. Wills do not come up of themselves; they do not grow on trees. They cost money, and, when eminent ability is called in, a great deal of it. Lawyers' charges in such cases—no levity intended, because it is not a joking matter—are among our heaviest "bills of mortality." They make death doubly formidable. In fact, to die has now become a very serious matter, provided we have anything to leave behind us. A rich man cannot nowadays properly get out of the world without a great deal of costly preparation. In ancient times the dying were expected to give gifts to one Charon. A small fee to the grim and silent ferryman who monopolized the transportation business of the River Styx, was all that was required for a peaceable departure from this life and a safe landing on the shadowy shore of the other. But now the man of means, who is ready "to shuffle off this mortal coil," is expected to contribute to a trio of Charons—to the three learned professions. It takes the united efforts of the doctor, the priest, and the lawyer to secure him safe transit and give him a good send-off.

While none will deny and few will underestimate the gravity of the foregoing objections, we have, on the other hand, the increased opportunity, as well as increased incentive, that is afforded by the will for the accumulation of property. That is the principal source of its popularity with busy business men. It enables them to make money all their lives. They don't have to stop to spend it or give it away. All they have to do is to pause for an hour or two to have drawn up and executed a document disposing of their treasures after their use for them is over, and then, feeling that they have done

all that the future requires of them as stewards of great wealth, they resume with redoubled energy the work of rolling up the millions. The testament is to them a sort of monetary indulgence. The man who has made his will feels that he is licensed for the rest of his days to make all the money he can. With him it is,

"Gold, gold, gold, gold,
Molten, graven, hammered and rolled,
Hunted, bartered, treasured, and doled
To the very verge of the churchyard mould."

We have here the secret of many, if not most, of the great fortunes that ambitious and crafty men have made. They have given their entire lives to the task of raking money together. An hour, more or less, has sufficed to provide for its distribution. How much is there in that fact to be carried to the credit side of the will? If vast wealth in a few hands is an unmixed blessing, then its glory is great. If, on the other hand, as some believe, wealth beyond a certain limit, however acquired, is robbery, the will has much to answer for.

The subject under discussion is one admitting of no thorough argument unless we take the case of a will and follow it to its logical conclusion. It should be a possible, if not a common case. Let us suppose that a successful man according to the world's estimate—one who has by hard and constant labor gathered together a large estate—detecting in certain infirmities the premonitions of approaching dissolution, concludes that the time has come for him to put his house in order to leave it. Accordingly,

"Wi' mony a sigh an' mony a groan,"

he sits down to block out his "last will and testament." He is a man very much like other men. He has his friends to reward and his enemies to punish. The latter may be of his own household; for rich men do not always love their relatives as their relatives love them and theirs. Some of them he remembers and others he conveniently forgets. Perhaps his conscience smites him for the selfish life he has led, and, resolving to make amends by doing something for religious or charitable interests,

he bequeaths a few hundreds or thousands to missions, to hospitals, or to the church for which he happens to have the warmest side. It is natural, at such a time, that he should desire to leave something to be remembered by when he is gone, and after the manner of very rich men whose *post mortem* ambition runs to institutions to bear their names, he appropriates a large sum of money to endow a home for the poor, an asylum for the sick, or a school for the advancement of baseball and metaphysics. And then he dies, solaced by the reflection that he has put everything on a solid basis. Strange delusion! Scarcely is he under the sod before the Harpies gather. They rally from near and far—some of them from a great distance in point of consanguinity. Long have they been waiting and watching, whetting their beaks meanwhile, and anxiously looking for the hour when, the funeral over, they might swoop down upon the feast. With hungry eyes and ruffled plumes they come. The only ones among them not feverished and excited are the eagles of the law. They have no cause for anxiety. Whatever the result as to the others, their harvest is assured.

The will is unsatisfactory; it always is to the cormorants. There is but one thing for them to do, and that is to tear it to pieces. Then begins a tremendous battle. The lawyers are called in and the conflict opens. What follows is an old, old story. The sharpest legal microscopes are brought to bear upon the objectionable instrument, and it is subjected to a merciless search for technical flaws. Its maker fares no better. His life is gone over from the cradle to the grave. He is shown to have been conceived in sin, to have lived in iniquity, and to have died under the most diabolical influences. Poor man! if he were to come back and learn what a monster of depravity he had been, and what his dear relatives really thought of him, he would curse the wealth to which his earthly existence had been devoted and the cause of all the infernal pother. The chances are that the will is broken; but whether it is or not, in the long and bitter contest of warring interests, in the greed and grapple of counsel, and in the wear and tear and grind of the courts, the property that is fought over is taxed and wasted and worn and

finally "goes to the dogs"—*in aliis verbis*, the bailiffs and lawyers.

In the case we have supposed the will in issue is a good one. But all are not of that character. On the contrary, the majority are either bad or unnecessary. Nothing, as a rule, is calculated to make us think so meanly of our fellows as their wills. In them the worst features of their authors' dispositions appear. If a man has a constitutional weakness, an idiosyncrasy or any other flaw of mind or morals, no difference how carefully concealed during his life, it is pretty certain to crop out in his testamentary remains. The number of really good wills, where the law of legal inheritance is departed from, compared with those that are positively bad, is lamentably small. How many foolish and mischievous bequests all of us are able to call to mind! It is but a little while ago that a procession several miles in length, made up almost entirely of empty coaches, was seen making its way slowly and solemnly through the streets of New York. It was a funeral that accompanied the remains of a woman of wealth, who had left a sum that might have relieved the wants of hundreds of destitute and suffering persons, to be expended in an empty and silly parade. Her will had provided that the money should be so used and that was the end of it. The papers have just told us of a woman who left all her estate for the support of her dog, with her church as residuary legatee. One of them informs us that the old lady's directions are being "religiously observed."

The following item not long ago went the rounds of the press: "John Gilpin, of Kittanning, Pennsylvania, was an able lawyer and accumulated a fortune. When he died his will directed that his executor should annually pay a considerable sum of money for the ringing of church and other bells on the anniversary of his death. When asked, before his demise, the reason for inserting such a provision, he replied, "Oh, when I am dead and gone, and the bells ring out, everybody will say, 'that is some more of old John Gilpin's foolishness.'" The account of the affair closed with the statement that for several years the bells have annually rung, and the money been as regularly paid.

Such instances might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*. They, in fact, represent millions of treasures. They show that people will direct their money to be used, after their departure, in ways they would never dream of during their natural lives. To rid the world of such follies, therefore, we have only to limit the control of property to the existence of its proprietors. People will not devote their means to the support of cats and dogs as long as they have themselves and their families to take care of, or their fortunes to magnify. They love money too well for that.

But silly eccentricities are not the worst characteristics of wills. Folly, though bad enough, is virtue compared with the motives that so often dictate them. How many children have been cut off with sixpence to gratify the spleen of unnatural parents, or to pander to prejudices that are worse than criminal! We have on record the case of a father of agnostic proclivities, who disinherited his daughter because she had become "a mouthing Methodist"; while another of orthodox views, cut off his son because "he believeth not the Scriptural doctrine of regeneration." One old curmudgeon, who seems to have been of a particularly spiteful disposition, was not content to limit his son's inheritance to a shilling, but directed that it should be a smooth or "short" shilling, and consequently of inferior value. Another parent, who was blessed with daughters to the number of eight, burdened their right to share in his property with the condition that they should not lose the family name by marrying; but as the name was Smith, they were by no means debarred from matrimony. In another instance, a man of the peculiar name of Horrid, wishing to keep it from dying with himself, made its assumption by a friend the condition upon which he was to have his estate. The legatee accepted the incumbrance; but, reversing the spelling, became known as Mr. Dirroh.

But of all wills, doubtless, the worst that was ever executed was that of a once celebrated Scottish nobleman who, having taken umbrage at his only child, a daughter, bequeathed his disposable property to a long list of persons, and to their heirs

after them, each to succeed in case those earlier mentioned failed, and added, "to anybody and everybody in all the wide world before my daughter or her seed have aught that unto me belongeth." Such a provision was possible only in a will.

But there is no assurance that bequests, be they ever so good, will be operative. The legal dangers attending them are multifarious. Not long ago a very wealthy man residing in one of our western cities, who had been a very eminent lawyer, made a will which was acknowledged to be in all respects a model document. It was carefully witnessed and executed. But it consisted, as it happened, of several sheets of paper which, although properly numbered and arranged in order, had not been fastened together when death overtook the testator, and the court held that seemingly trifling neglect to be fatal to the instrument. No one will question the good intent of the New Jersey man who recently died bequeathing several thousand dollars to aid in disseminating the economic doctrines of Henry George; but a conservative chancellor holds George's doctrine to be dangerous and false, and so the testator's purpose is defeated. And what could be better meant than the Connecticut deacon's testament, which gave all he had to "the Lord"? But a materialistic court decided the instrument void because of uncertainty as to who was the legatee. In none of its departments is the proverbial uncertainty of the law so certain as in that relating to wills. There it is that technicality seems to reign supreme. It is questionable whether the man ever lived who could, at all times and under all circumstances, frame a testament that was absolutely lawyer proof. Hence the pertinency of the old lawyer's joke, when the familiar passage about "men's deeds living after them" was quoted in his presence. "That may be true of their deeds," said he, "but you can't say it of their wills." The man who lives all his days for himself, and tries to bless the world through his will after he is gone, trusts to a very doubtful agency. The chances are against his success. Far better in such cases had the will never been known. Persons of a benevolent frame of mind would then attend to their benefactions themselves, and many a

barren life would blossom and fructify with charitable deeds.

But now we come to the main argument for the will—the one which is conclusive to many minds—viz.: that it brings to benevolence many contributions it would not otherwise receive. The assumption proceeds upon a very low estimate of human nature; but it would be useless to deny that there was something in it. People will, in contemplation, if not in the article, of death, often give to philanthropy, what, under other conditions, they would not part with. But the vital question goes to the utility, not to the frequency, of such gifts. Does more of good or harm come of them? The writer has, at best, but a poor opinion of posthumous charities. So far as the donors are concerned they are not charities at all. The essential principle is lacking. Nor are others always benefited. Injury and injustice are frequent results. To leave reputations for liberality which their lives have belied, owners of property have been known to favor the public in their testaments to the disregard of family claims and interests. Nor are such donations, when unimpeachable on other grounds, always wisely ordered. The case of the bequest which is now the subject of a famous lawsuit, of a very large amount of money to a literary institution already possessed of more of an endowment than the law permitted, is a case in point. Lawsuits are the usual sequels to such legacies. A philanthropic bequest is always a challenge to somebody. Hence the great number of excellent benefactions that are planted by the dying, which fail to reach the fruitage point because blasted by the law's untimely frosts.

It does not follow, however, that money would not be given for humanitarian purposes if nothing came from the dead. Living men and women have given of their means to such objects, and would they not give much more liberally if they realized that the opportunity was limited to their lives? Certain it is that their bounties have proved much more effectual than those which have been carried to death's door. No argument for a proposition so manifest seems to be needed; yet an illustration may do no harm.

It is probable that no dedication of individual wealth to a

purpose looking directly and solely to the general good, will be more far-reaching and potential in its beneficence than that which embraced the construction and endowment of the universally known Vassar College by the man whose name it bears. In opening the door to woman for an equal education with man and proving her ability for its achievement, the effect has been not merely to elevate one half of the race, but the whole of it. Matthew Vassar did more than construct a single institution ; he created a system of institutions. He turned over another leaf in the book of human progress. His gift is not, therefore, to be classed with the numerous contributions which rich men have made to the cause of general instruction, and especially in their last wills and testaments. It has a distinct and unquestionable pre-eminence. Not by reason of its magnitude ; for many others have been greater. The amount donated and applied by its founder in the construction and endowment of Vassar College, was surprisingly small for so great an undertaking. How was it made so effective ? The paramount reason, undoubtedly, is that the donor took the work into his own hands, and saw to its accomplishment while living. Convinced of the occasion and the necessity, he did not wait to die and leave the task to somebody else. Beginning operations while in full mental and physical vigor, he not only arranged the plans, but saw to the details of the work. It is said that scarcely a brick was laid or a timber inserted in the building of the college edifices without his personal supervision, and every step taken in school organization was with his knowledge and by his direction. He treated the money used as if it were in his hands as a trustee and he was accountable for its application. The result was that he not only accomplished what he entered upon, but lived to realize the success and triumph of his laudable and wise munificence.

A case differing not so much in motive as in execution is that of James Lick, of California. He, too, was inspired to promote the cause of education by the introduction of new methods, and to consecrate his wealth to their realization ; but he saw fit to devote his entire life to the acquisition of the means, and to leave the application, in pursuance of the designs he had formu-

lated, to others surviving him. In that way he succeeded in accumulating an available treasure many times greater than that of Matthew Vassar. But with what result? The story is told in the following extract from a California journal, published nearly ten years after Lick's death :

James Lick would be surprised if he were permitted to know how slowly his gifts have been made available to the people. He died in 1876, and in 1880 the litigation with his son was ended. What has since been accomplished? The observatory is by no means finished. The public baths are as far from completion as the day Lick died ; the monument to Scott Key is still on paper ; the emblematical groups of statuary representing California, to cost \$100,000, exist only in the imagination of the designer, and the School of Mechanical Arts may be utilized in the middle of the next century. However, the trustees have had some benefit out of it if the public have had none. They have drawn salaries amounting to \$100,000 ; they have paid out prodigious fees—\$136,000 to one lawyer and \$35,000 to another—for legal services ; they have given each other splendid contracts ; they have occupied their pleasant offices at home and taken their ease abroad.

Leaving out of consideration such cases as that of Lick and their beneficiaries, what use have we for wills ? Whom do they profit ? Only two parties are concerned : individuals and the public. The former, in this connection, are rarely to be envied. The testator who sits down to give away, even after death, what he has spent his life in acquiring, has anything but a cheerful task before him. The heir-at-law, a prey to alternate hopes and fears while his interests are in suspense, is far from being a happy mortal ; while of all wretched beings the most to be pitied is the man or woman who wastes his or her life in the expectation of being "remembered" by somebody who is expected to die. Ah, but there is the legatee ; is he not benefited ? Not always. The law condemns lotteries, so-called, because they are assumed to be demoralizing to all concerned—to the winners quite as much as to the losers. The philosophy upon which the law proceeds is unquestionably sound. Property which is not earned, and which descends through none of the channels marked out by natural law, but which comes as a "windfall," is likely to bring with it many more curses than blessings. The lottery of the will does not materially differ from any other kind.

Then as to the public ; how is it benefited by having a large portion of its available capital tied up by restrictions or contentions incidental to wills ; or, when in the hands of the aged or infirm, handicapped by the uncertainties attending its disposition ? As the whole of our property goes through the Court of Probate once in thirty years, it is easy to calculate how large is the proportion that is continuously under the shadow, if not the curse, of the testament, being made by it a thing of chances and often the sport of idiosyncrasies. As a rule it can be said that the more certain the laws by which property is governed, and the more regular the grooves and channels in which it moves, the more useful it is both to the public and individuals.

Why wills are made is generally a puzzle. They are not necessary to the disposition of property. Much of it is constantly passing from the hands of dying persons without being bequeathed. It is not lost. Somebody always gets it, and generally the party who ought to have it. The channels marked out by the law of inheritance closely follow the lines of natural affection and equity. They cannot very well be improved upon. In ninety-nine cases in a hundred the law makes better testaments for people than they can make for themselves. Indeed, in most cases the wills that are made substantially follow the law. Deviations are merely to reward faithful servants or confer tokens of regard on persons happening to be outside the circle of consanguinity, and in the most of such cases the benefactions could better be bestowed before than after death. The majority of wills undoubtedly owe their existence to a sense, or rather sentiment, of duty which is nothing more nor less than superstition. They are simply a product of fetichism. A man having something to leave is taught that he ought to direct its disposition after he is dead. It becomes a matter of conscience with him, and his mind is relieved by the operation. He hopes to sleep the better for it in the grave. That he may die at peace with himself, many a man has bequeathed war to his survivors.

Not that the writer would interdict the making of wills. Far

from it. There is no reason why the wishes of the dying, or of those soon expecting to die, concerning the disposition of their effects, should not have formal expression. Such directions, if proper, are not likely to be ignored. We are so constituted that we will always have respect for the commissions of the dead, even if we had slight regard for them while living. There is something about such utterances which is almost sacred with us. But let them carry no legal obligation. They should be left entirely to our free agency. The attempt to clothe them with an element of compulsion, at once changes their character and robs them of their moral force. They are brought down to the level of ordinary business, and must then take their chances in the matter-of-fact struggle that goes on from day to day for pecuniary precedence. The writer verily believes that if the law were left entirely out of the question, and bequests were addressed wholly to reason and sentiment, there would be a much more general compliance with the injunctions of the dying than now when they are sought to be clothed with legal authority, and go with other sordid materials into the cast-iron hoppers of the courts. The result would be that meritorious wills would be executed, and undeserving ones quietly disregarded. At all events, it is time we had an end of those public scandals known as "great will cases." Because of the number of very rich men who are as inexorably called to pay the debt of nature as their poorer brethren, these are becoming entirely too numerous. They taint the social atmosphere; they endanger the moral health. They are evils that the possession of no amount of money justifies. There is no reason why the very rich should not arrange their affairs on an incontestable basis before they die as well as other people. A life that is long enough for the accumulation of millions, is long enough for their disposition. If men will be so selfish as to give all their days to the attainment of riches, they ought to be content to surrender them at the tomb, and not ask to control them beyond it. They have no superior claim on the future, although they often act as if they held it under mortgage. When the grave is entered the millionaire is no better than the beggar.

While it may be as Byron sings, that "dead but sceptered sovereigns still rule our spirits from their urns," it cannot be so said of our estates. The dead had the use of them while it was their day to rule, but their reign is over. The living stepped into their shoes, and to them belongs the authority henceforward. Nor should they seek to arrogate to themselves a supremacy beyond their time. The present with its vast resources and tireless energies is quite enough for one generation to dominate. Let us, while blessed with life, be content to attend to our own affairs, leaving the dead behind us in peace, and the future before us with the largest liberty and in the fullest confidence that it will be abundantly able to take care of itself.

JOHN F. HUME.

DOES OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM EDUCATE ?

BY GERTRUDE BUCK.

THE American public school system is an American fetic. Before it every patriotic American knee is expected to bow, and unto it every loyal American voice must perpetually ascribe all honor and glory and praise. The unanimity of American sentiment upon this point no longer than ten years ago was such as to appall the thoughtful observer.

But, like all institutions of any worth, the American system of public schools has, at length, succeeded in shedding a light in which its own defects become visible—as the spots on the sun are revealed by the sun's own shining. And the fact is noteworthy, as being most creditable to our educational system, that recognition of its inadequacy to the demands of the present has lately arisen and is now spreading mainly among those who own the public schools as their intellectual mother. Whatever its defects, our much-vaunted system has at least accomplished a work of no inconsiderable moment in making possible this criticism of itself, which had no existence ten years ago, not, indeed, because the public schools were more efficient, but simply because their graduates were less enlightened.

For it is, in fact, very largely from those who have drained to its dregs the cup of education offered by our public school system, that the cry of bitter accusation rises to-day—"Our educational system does not educate! We asked for bread and it has given us a stone. It has sent us out to meet the world unready."

At first glance, the indictment looks somewhat overdrawn. In plain English it means that life asks more of the individual than our educational system has furnished him; in other words, that the system is inadequate to the demands rightfully made upon it. If this be true, the system stands at once condemned,

for it has altogether fallen short of the true function of education, as defined by Herbert Spencer for all the ages, when he said that it is "to prepare us for complete living."

In the light of this eternal conception, an educational system is worthy of the name only when it has reference to man as an individual in all his relations to a complex environment; when it develops his every physical sense and power, and places within reach the knowledge necessary both to secure and maintain his perfect physical correspondence with the laws of the universe; when it enables him to observe accurately, to think independently, and to express truly; when it cultivates his æsthetic sensibilities and enlarges his capacities for enjoyment; when it illuminates and enriches all his social relationships; when it strengthens his moral fiber, and identifies forever, in reason and in habit, duty with self-interest. Such an education must inevitably further the chief and only legitimate end of man, that is, his self-realization as an individual member of the social organism, which is the later philosophic translation of Spencer's term, "complete living."

The essential failure of our educational system may be defined as a failure first and chiefly of extension; secondly, and to a minor degree, of intension. The vicious notion that public education has to do merely with the training of the mind has undoubtedly contributed more than any other single factor to the inefficiency of our schools, since the inferior quality of the mental education afforded by them may be directly traced to the narrowness of their curricula. Our schools teach too little, and, as a result, teach that little poorly.

It will require no extended line of argument to prove that our present system includes nothing which can fairly be termed physical, social, æsthetic, or moral education. And, of these, unquestionably the gravest omission is that of physical education, for, lacking this, we necessarily lack adequate mental training, with the social, æsthetic, and moral culture that is properly incidental to both.

Physical health and physical development must be the two-fold object of all education of the body. To acquire the former

and to maintain it, demands, first, gymnastic exercises, both outdoors and in, taken under competent direction, with strict reference to individual capacities and needs. And, secondly, it requires the practical study of human physiology with the hygienic subjects which stand essentially related thereto. Such study, to be most effective, should begin in the very lowest grades, with the natural history, that is, the life-stories, habits, and gross anatomical structure of those first playmates of the growing child: the bugs, worms, beetles, and all creeping things, the grass and dooryard weeds. It should continue with experimental biology, that is, with practical observation of the vital processes of these same humble friends, which study may be allowed to broaden naturally into that of human anatomy and physiology, with constant hygienic applications. In higher grades, laboratory courses should be given in physiological chemistry, in food and water analysis with lectures or text-book work in the science of nutrition, the principles of sanitation and the causation of disease. All this, abstruse as it may sound, is yet thoroughly practical, and rigidly essential to an intelligent maintenance by the individual of his own health and that of his immediate family, as well as necessary to the competent discharge of his duties toward the community of which he is a member, by sanitary *prophylaxis* against the diseases of filth and ignorance.

But physical development is still another story. It implies gymnasium practice for muscular strength and suppleness, but it involves as well the practical training of the senses to exactness and power, by means of systematic exercises in singing, sketching, dancing, in draughting, designing, and executing all the fundamental varieties of skilled manual labor. In short, it introduces the physical man to himself, so that he may ultimately come into possession of his own, and rule as a prince over that extensive domain wherein he once pitifully contended even for a peaceful habitation.

It is true that the germs of some such physical education as this may be even now detected in our public school system, in the calisthenic exercises, the drawing and vocal music, the clay-modelling, the sewing, and that limited amount of physiological

study which has in late years been made compulsory for the lower grade schools in some of our states. But the hopefulness engendered by these commendable innovations is speedily neutralized by a glance at our poorly-lighted, ill-ventilated, and worse-sewered schoolhouses, our ignorant teachers, and the monstrous exactions of our educational methods upon the vital forces of the innocents whom we are accustomed to sacrifice under these beneficent auspices.

However, the court of last resort is yet to render a verdict upon the case. Ask the men on the street, and the women in their homes what the public schools have done to educate their bodies. By their fruits we shall know them, and the fruits are in evidence at every turn. The intelligent witness in court whose judgments of distance, location, and time show a percentage of error altogether discreditable to a properly educated child of ten, the noble army of public school products to whose benighted consciousness "Old Hundred" and "After the Ball" are musically synonymous, while their fingers and their voices are equally incapable of reproducing either—not at all to include the countless hosts of their invalid or semi-invalid wives, mothers, sisters, or daughters—women whose lives are a hopeless struggle with diseases due to wholly preventable causes—all these things press home to us the unwelcome conviction that, whatever our schools may have succeeded in doing, they yet have miserably failed to prepare us for physical living in any complete or satisfactory sense.

The introduction of an adequate system of physical education into our public schools must occasion some radical and far-reaching changes in our present curriculum and methods of teaching.

First, our system of mental education must be rationalized with a view to economy of time. With the greatly increased number of subjects to be taught during the period of the child's school life, no such reckless prodigality of time and energy as now constitutes a marked feature of our schools can be for an instant permitted. No one subject can then be studied and re-studied and studied over again, each succeeding year from the first grade

to the ninth, as is now almost universally the case with, for instance, arithmetic and grammar ; but any given body of knowledge must be presented, once for all, at that stage of mental development at which it can most shortly be grasped, the succession of subjects to be carefully graded with reference to the gradual widening of the child's interests and the orderly unfolding of his faculties. Observational and practical studies would thus naturally precede logical and theoretical ones, while subjects of more remote and indirect bearing upon the normal activities of the child are postponed to those of direct and present interest.

And not only will the order of studies be regulated by the growing interest of the child, but the manner of teaching each subject will be thus determined, purely on economic grounds, since the psychological ratio is known to be constant between the active interest of a child in any given object or idea and the readiness as well as the thoroughness with which he grasps that idea or object. The practical application of this principle, which can hardly be carried too far, may safely be counted one of the largest educational benefits resultant upon the physical training innovation.

But, further, the intelligent development of the physical senses must go far to obviate that incapacity for expression which marks so conspicuously our pupils and graduates under the present order. The educational maxim "you know nothing until you are able to reproduce it in some other form" has never yet been discredited ; but, before it, the boasted acquisitions of the average pupil shrink to infinitesimals. Indeed it may be safely said that to represent adequately by a drawing or model what one sees, or in language what one thinks, is the rarest result of our common school education. And, consequently, our knowledge is, for the most part, somewhat ill-defined and chaotic, hence unavailable ; our mental habits slovenly to a scandalous degree. The two ideals of the laboratory, to see truly and to express faithfully, can do us incalculable service in the public schools.

And, finally, the introduction of laboratory and manual train-

ing courses cannot fail to awaken in our schools such a healthy hungering for first-hand knowledge of the real, the essential, and the fundamental aspects of the universe, as must eventually rid us forever of that "gross utilitarianism which is content to come into the world and quit it again without ever knowing what sort of a world it is, or what it contains." This new hunger will call loudly not only for large additions of natural and physical sciences to our curricula, but also for still larger increments of history, psychology, ethics, political economy and governmental science. It will demand a broader knowledge, not alone of physical relations, that man may live and act in harmony with his material environment, but also of social relations, that he may act and live in harmony with his spiritual environment.

But physical education subserves æsthetic as well as purely intellectual ends. And this point is not unworthy of serious consideration. For, whether happiness be the legitimate end of activity or not, it is at least true that pleasure is an accurate gauge of the usefulness of activity, since any action yields pleasurable emotions just in the degree to which it meets the demands of the situation, that is, just in the degree of its usefulness. And hence, that a common school education in most cases does but little to multiply, to deepen, or to purify the sources of pleasure accessible to the life of a workingman or woman, is one of the gravest charges to be brought against it.

But a tolerably complete system of physical education, with the rationalized *régime* of mental training consequent upon it, opens well-springs of pure pleasure everywhere in even the busiest life. The whole material world is transfigured to the individual. Every object on the daily road to and from his place of work becomes infinitely suggestive. Enforced idleness, either outdoors or within walls is never tedious, for every square inch of material surrounding him becomes the starting point for vast excursions of thought. The world is an interesting place to live in, because his eyes have been opened to observe and his brain has been accustomed to think.

The treasuries of art and of literature also become his, by virtue of his ability to appreciate the fidelity of outline or of epithet, having himself been trained to such accuracy of expression. He can henceforth see the beauty or grandeur of institutions to whose underlying idea his attention has once been directed, though their abuses and perversions fill his uneducated neighbor's eye.

His well-developed and thoroughly healthy body experiences almost hourly that elemental rapture of life, which only our early childhood knew. At fifty as at five, he finds, in every turn of the hand, nay, in every heart-throb, a peculiar joy, born of harmonious and unimpeded activity.

But the rational education of the body and of the mind involves even more than this. Its perfect flowering is the moral education of the individual. Whereas, now, our rote methods of instruction, with their necessary emphasis upon results rather than upon processes, foster cribbing and all the minor dishonesties, while they effectually impede that fearless working of the human intelligence which alone makes true morality possible—though these conditions now prevail, to the incalculable detriment of society, a far different status of affairs must result from such a broadening of our educational system as has heretofore been indicated. The moral nature is developed by every straight line drawn, every hinge exactly fitted, every note precisely sounded, every definition thoughtfully constructed. The instinct for truth is born anew in every scientific observation accurately made. The habit of truth is strengthened by every blow of the well-aimed hammer. The love of truth grows with every recurring satisfaction over an honest drawing or a reliable description.

There is no such moral culture as that which is naturally developed out of one's work—nay more, there is no moral culture worthy the name that is otherwise secured.

So much for the educational advantages of introducing physical education into our schools. It may be that the social benefits lie somewhat outside the scope of this discussion. Yet a brief capitulation of them will not, perhaps, be altogether un-

warranted. They may be classed as (I.) financial and (II.) political.

I. Under the head of financial advantages, fall

(1) The direct pecuniary saving to the community resulting from the practical abolition of diseases preventable by sanitary means. This sum is by no means an inconsiderable one. The state of Michigan is conservatively estimated upon the basis of her official health reports, to have lost, in the single year of 1888, by illness and deaths of her citizens from typhoid fever alone, the astonishing sum of \$699,526. And Michigan is but one of our forty-four states, typhoid fever but one of the dozen or more preventable diseases induced by ignorance and filth.

(2) The indirect pecuniary saving in hospitals, orphan and insane asylums, institutes for the deaf, dumb, and blind, poor-houses, jails, and reformatories, consequent upon an elevation of average healthfulness and an increase in the average acquaintance with physiological facts.

II. The main political advantages are also two.

(1) The increased value of the elective franchise, due to the enlarged capacity of the average citizen for independent thinking.

(2) The purification of political institutions, due to the development of a practical morality.

In conclusion, our public school system does not now educate in any adequate sense. It will become capable of doing so, only in proportion as it ceases to be an object of indiscriminating laudation, and, by the revulsion of public sentiment, undergoes transformation into a target for unsparing criticism, the subject of searching investigation, and the theme of sober, disprejudiced consideration. Thus, and only thus, can this, or any other public institution, become ultimately adapted to public needs.

It is surely high time that old King Fetich abdicate the educational throne in favor of Prince Reason.

GERTRUDE BUCK.

A CRITIQUE OF THE SINGLE TAX THEORY.

BY H. W. BOYD MACKAY.

ALTHOUGH George's single tax theories have not been left altogether without criticism, they command a considerable following; and in one of the Australian colonies they have already been made the basis of municipal rating. It is not unlikely they may further influence legislation. They commend themselves to philanthropists as being one attempt to remedy an evil admitted to exist and very difficult to remedy, and for this reason many sincere and enthusiastic men have thought they saw in them a cure for the poverty and misery so deplorably manifest throughout the world. These men, if I do not mistake them, are for the most part candid and willing to be convinced that they are in error if satisfactory reasons be adduced, and I cannot think the time occupied in criticising their views will be wasted. The literary beauties of George's style must be admitted, but I cannot help thinking that his work shows great lack of reasoning power, and lies very open to the charge of intellectual jugglery. This observation cannot be confined to the single tax theories, but it is those only which I propose to criticise in this essay.

In doing this I propose to take the course of stating in my own words the propositions embodied in the work on "Progress and Poverty," and then to deal with each separately. I do not anticipate that any fault will be found with the accuracy of my mode of presentation, and I dare say that those who have leisure to peruse my arguments will not deem them unsatisfactory. I wish, however, to make one preliminary observation. In attacking the single tax theories I am certainly not actuated by any indifference to human suffering. I know, better probably than Henry George, what is the agony of seeking employment and finding none. I sympathize most keenly with the evils

which he deplores. But it does not follow that, because a remedy is difficult to discover, *this* nostrum is a sound one. Personally I believe a remedy can be found, but on the present occasion it will be quite sufficient to show that George's is not the right one.

The main thesis of single taxers is this : That the imposition of a yearly tax equal to interest on the value which land would be worth if unutilized and unimproved will have the effect of making employment accessible to all men, of making destitution and extreme poverty in the case of industrious men impossible. To this they subjoin another of secondary importance ; that by this tax the public will be reinstated in possession of a fund which has been unjustly appropriated by private individuals.

To establish these theses they rely upon the following propositions :

I. It is just and desirable that so much of the value of real estate as is derived from nature (as for example, sites, soil, metals, minerals, wild animals, etc.) should belong to the public, and not to the holders (owners or occupiers) of the land.

II. It is just and desirable that so much of the value of real estate as is derived, not from the exertions of the landholder or of those employed by him, but from the action of the public or of a section of it, (as for example increase of population and artificial means of communication with places where population can be found, whether in the form of roads, railroads, canals, wharves, or otherwise), should belong to the public and not to the holders of the land.

III. It is just and desirable that all persons should be authorized by law to utilize for their own benefit all land not for the time being utilized.

IV. Such a law would abolish abject poverty in the case of industrious men.

V. The same result would follow from a law vesting in the state the ground rent of all real estate, such ground rent being equal to interest (at the rate current on mortgages on fee simple estates in the locality) on a sum equal to the value mentioned in propositions I. and II.

VI. This ground rent (or these values, for they are the same) should be confiscated without compensation.

VII. This ground rent or value should be applied in relief of ordinary taxation.

In addition to these propositions the question whether the owner in fee simple or the lessee (or other tenant) should be chargeable with this ground rent is one which, though not prominently brought forward by George, yet requires solution.

Let us discuss these in order.

I. Before considering the first proposition we must remember how small a part of the value of land is derived from *nature*. To test this let us suppose a piece of land to be situate a thousand miles from the nearest human habitation and an equal distance from the nearest road (or other artificial means of communication) leading to one. Such land will, in general, possess *no* value. It may possess value in the following instances: (1) When there are natural means of communication with populous centers, as when the land is near the sea or a navigable river. (2) When its products are so valuable that they will bear the cost of transit on packhorses, as in the case of spices, ivory and precious metals. (3) When adjoining land produces these things, in which case the land in question may be used for purposes of storage. (4) When some person can be found willing to live away from the rest of mankind and able to maintain himself on its products without selling any. Even in these exceptional cases, land situated as described has but little value; in all others it is without any. Without any for the purpose of cultivation or working because its products can not be sold for prices as high as the cost of transit; without any for purposes of manufacture for analogous reasons; without any for purposes of distributive trade because no purchasers reside near. The above remarks, however, apply only to *present* value; for if an access of population be anticipated, the land generally acquires an *anticipatory* value, that is, parties may be found willing to buy the land at a price exceeding its present value (as that would, but for the expectation of population, have stood) in the hope of selling it at a value still higher.

Now the question we are discussing is not whether the land itself should belong to the public, for that is not one of George's proposals, but whether the value of it should be collected for the public use. In *general*, as we have seen, it has no value, and so the question cannot arise. When there is any value the annual interest on it will rarely be worth the cost of collection. Nevertheless in a few instances the question may assume a practical shape. But even in such cases the state cannot derive any benefit by purchasing this portion of the land value at a fair price. For the portion of land value now under discussion (unlike that which arises from access of population) cannot increase—it is a fixed quantity. The state purchases an annuity, or, in other words, lends money at interest and undertakes never to call in the principal. The proceeding appears to be a senseless one. The question whether the state should *confiscate* this value will be discussed later.

II. The second proposition is more important. The value to which it refers fluctuates and more often increases than diminishes. The state therefore, even if it paid a fair price for this value, might possibly be a gainer. Postponing the question of price, the question stands thus :

This value is generated by two factors, the absence of either one of which would prevent the coming into existence of this value. One of these is the labor of the landholder, or of those working in his interest, and the other is the action of the public in coming to reside in the neighborhood or in forming means of communication with populous centers. If the action of the public were omitted the land would have no value save in the exceptional cases already mentioned and in them only to the extent already indicated. For if the products of labor are unsalable they can give no value to the land, whether they consist in crops, houses, stores, or other improvements. And if no labor be bestowed on the land nothing is won from it, and it therefore possesses no value, except indeed an anticipatory value which assumes that labor *will* be bestowed on it. Now George's proposal is that the whole value of the land with its improvements should be divided into two parts, the one to represent

what is due to one of these factors and the other what is due to the other, and that the landholder should retain both, but should pay yearly to the state the interest on that part which represents the second mentioned factor. This assumes that it is possible to separate the two.

In this respect, I think there is a difference between lands utilized by obtaining a *product* (whether by tillage, pasturage, quarrying, or mining) and lands utilized for purposes of residence, trade, manufacture, or pleasure. For shortness, I will call the former "country lands" and the latter "town sites." As regards *town sites*, I think George's plan a very fair one. Accounts are usually kept of the cost of buildings, and the prevention of frauds would not be more difficult than in the case of income tax. The value of land as it stands *improved*, is generally ascertainable without difficulty. Interest on the cost of improvements may be reckoned at the rate usually obtained by lending on note of hand for trade purposes, and interest on the value of the land as improved at the rate usual on freehold mortgages; and, by subtracting the one from the other, the share of the public would be ascertained. As the public make this share, it seems only reasonable that they should own it. I say nothing now about the terms—whether purchase or confiscation. I hardly think, however, that the reason sometimes alleged in favor of vesting this value in the public—namely, that it will compel the utilization of the land—is a valid one, because I think the existence of vacant lots in towns is an advantage for sanitary reasons.

But in the case of "country lands," there are many difficulties. First there are generally no means of ascertaining the value of the improvements and of the results of labor. The farmer does not keep accurate accounts, nor does he debit himself with the yearly value of his house, or with the produce which he uses off the farm, nor credit himself with wages. There are, indeed, some instances in which unimproved land of exactly similar character in the same neighborhood has been recently sold, and in such cases a criterion is established; but, in the absence of such a circumstance, it is difficult to see how

the two factors can be separated from one another. We might as well try to separate a child into the part attributable to the father and that attributable to the mother. Nevertheless, several solutions have been attempted. The first, which especially commends itself to the legal mind, because it presents no *legal* difficulty, is, that a surveyor be employed to estimate the amount of each factor, and that his estimate be taken as correct. This would facilitate the passing of the single tax law by winning the votes of the surveyors; and if accompanied by a right of appeal to a jury, would further win the votes of the lawyers; but, in a scientific point of view, it is worthless, for the estimate of a surveyor could not be more than a guess. He must necessarily either defraud the public or defraud the landholder, even if he aim at fixing the *present* value. But surveyors are apt to fix anticipatory values, and values far higher than any purchaser would give. In one of the British colonies I recently purchased a small piece of land at £2 per acre. I purchased at auction, duly advertised, many being present to bid, and land quite close and very similar has not found purchasers at £1 per acre. Yet (for purposes of municipal rating which in that colony is based on the Georgian "land value") the surveyor assessed it at £5 per acre. And in so doing they only followed the uniform practice of their profession in that colony. The second solution is to allow a wage to the occupier and give the state the value of the rest of the produce, treating him as a manager. The practical objections to this are so great that it scarcely requires discussion. It assumes that accurate accounts are kept. It assumes that a fair wage for management can be determined by a general rule. It assumes that profit comprises some other element besides interest, wages of superintendence, and compensation for risk, for of course all these must remain with the landholder. The third solution is to allow the landholder a proportion and the state a proportion of the gains. This amounts to an income tax. The above, I think, comprise all possible solutions consistent with the principle of taking the money value of the land rather than the land itself, and they drive us to the latter method as the only way of dealing with

country lands. There are several methods of doing this, but all lie outside Georgeism. The state might let the land on leases for the usual terms (21 years for an agricultural lease, 60 for a mining lease, 99 for a building lease, etc.) and might require the covenants usual in leases by large landholders in England. On expiration of a lease the land might be relet to the highest eligible bidder. The state might retain a portion as a model farm and might act in all respects as an English landlord. Another method suggested is that the existing occupier should remain in possession, rent free, until some one else should offer a rent; that then the existing occupier should be placed under a rent equal to that offered or should give up possession to the party making the offer; and that as often as a higher rent should be offered than that already received, a similar change should be made. Both solutions assume that the incoming occupier is to pay the outgoing one for improvements. The objection to both is that they make fixity of tenure impossible, although a practical fixity would often be produced by the obligation of paying for improvements. There is, however, great difficulty in determining on what principle to assess the value of improvements of a certain kind. I mean those which have a higher value to the individual making them than to the world in general, as where a man builds a house which suits himself but is not likely to sell for the amount it cost. Shall the cost or the probable selling price be the basis of compensation? If the former, no man will venture to make improvements for his own personal convenience and the pleasures of landholding will be largely curtailed; if the latter, no one will venture to offer for the land, and the existing occupier will be able to retain the unearned increment. Amid so many difficulties a suggestion can only be offered with diffidence. Mine would be that, in the main, parties should be left to the operation of the present law, guaranteeing, however, to tenants compensation for improvements, and, in the case of energetic and capable tenants, fixity of tenure, except where land is required for town sites, and depriving the landholder of all such unearned increment as he has not paid for by enabling the state

cumpulsorily to purchase land at the price paid by the holder plus a compensation for laying out his money in cases where he has not reaped a profit or rent—the state in such cases taking the risk of subsequent depreciation. The above remarks apply to farms. Mines and quarries stand on a different footing, and I cannot see why they should not be vested in the state and either be worked by it or let on leases. George's theory seems to me *peculiarly* inapplicable to mines. He either meant to vest in the state the rents and royalties which possibly might be obtained from mines if worked to their utmost capacity, or merely those which actually are received from them. If the former, it is difficult to see how the proper amount could be ascertained, for the amount obtainable depends largely on the capital at the command of the owner or lessee, and probably no one would work a mine on the terms that he must do so to the utmost extent for which the largest imaginable capital would be sufficient. He would be like a mortgagee in possession, a position in which mortgagees were never willing to place themselves and from which they were always saved by the appointment of a receiver. Again the amount which can be prudently raised depends on the fluctuations of the market. Yet this rule is what George's principles require, for his object is declared to be to force on the use of land to its utmost capacity. If, however, he merely means that a royalty is to be levied for the amount *actually* obtained the owner will derive no advantage from leasing the mine or disadvantage from retaining it. He will therefore not lease it, and he is not always himself in a position to work it. If a *tertium quid* is to be found in the amount *usually* obtainable from mines it would be hardly possible to fix it. Of course fixity of tenure is not applicable to mining lessees.

Besides the above difficulties in the application of George's theory to country lands, there is another which applies to town sites, also. It is the frequent fluctuation in the "land value," which would render it necessary to revalue the land at short intervals—a process agreeable to the surveyors, but apt to entail an extravagant outlay on the public.

III. I take it that the third proposition was intended to apply to country lands only. That it would be for the public advantage that farms should be worked to their utmost capacity, thus cheapening food supplies and rendering possible a larger population, admits of little doubt. That it is for the benefit of individuals liable to destitution or fond of country life to be permitted to work them, is open to less. But the rule would not be without exception. It could not be applied to lands reserved for a specific purpose unless the occupation were temporary and without right to compensation for improvements. Neither could the firstcomer be always the party favored, for he would not always be the man most capable of developing the land. And conditions would have to be prescribed to secure the fair and careful working of the land, and its redelivery (if abandoned) in as good a condition as that in which it was received, with a liability to eviction if these conditions were violated. On the whole, the principle seems an admirable one, but it must be remembered that George does not desire that it should be acted on, but immediately goes on to assert that a tax on land values would produce the same effect—a question considered below.

IV. In affirming the fourth proposition—that to permit the free occupation of land would abolish abject poverty—George falls into an extraordinary error. If a party having the privilege of utilizing land is possessed of sufficient capital to do so, he certainly cannot fall into extreme poverty, except in the rare event of a succession of dry seasons. But if (as is assumed) he is in danger of abject poverty, we must assume that he possesses no capital. How, then, shall he procure tools, beasts, seeds, and a dwelling?—and, if some good fairy supplies him with these, how shall he procure food until his crops are salable? George's answer is a comical one, were not comedy sad on such a subject. Before a man can make any attempt to produce either tools or crops, he must first live on the products of the chase, which are not recognized as capital; therefore, after beasts of the chase have been exterminated and the country civilized, he can still subsist without capital—*i. e.*, without food and tools previously pre-

pared. But the hard facts of life cannot be faced on the strength of such theorems as this—as well might a man seek to balance himself on a spider's thread ; and uniform experience in new countries where land really can be had gratuitously is the best refutation of the sophistry. Those who have commenced farming on terms approaching those proposed have either failed or become so deeply indebted as to be virtually the tenants of their mortgagees. Evidently, therefore, tools, seeds, rations, etc., must be advanced to the would-be farmer, as well as land ; but, of course, with proper safeguards, such as inspection by a government official, and the retention by the state of the ownership of the goods advanced (rations excepted), until they should be paid for. It must be remembered that the object is to give to all men, whether already farmers or not, the opportunity of maintaining themselves from the land. And the object is not to give temporary relief as an alms, but to place these people in a position of manly independence—to enable them to *compete* on equal terms with those more favored by fortune, and to add to the food supplies of the country. For this reason, and also on account of the high rate of interest which would be charged, the duty of making the advances could not be left to private individuals but must be undertaken by the state, which, under a proper system of supervision, would rarely be a loser ; while, by exacting a rent from the occupiers after the first year or two, it would be, in nearly all cases, a considerable gainer—and its gains would relieve the taxpayers, who, in the first instance, need not be burthened, since the expenses could be met by borrowing on state credit. Such schemes have been carried out with good results more than once. Notably, by the French government in its settlement of Algeria after the surrender of Abdel-Kader. It is not too much to say that by the universal adoption of such a scheme, poverty would be abolished, population increased, taxes lightened, and the world turned into a garden.

V. The fifth proposition is a correct statement of George's *meaning*. He assumes that the values mentioned in propositions I. and II. can be accurately determined, and then he proposes that a yearly sum, equal to interest on these, should be levied by

the state. The rate of interest he does not specify, but it can hardly be other than that stated. This sum he designates a "tax." I will give below my reasons for objecting to this designation. In discussing the principle embodied in this proposition, George is guilty of the most flagrant fault in his book. His mind fixes itself on the fact that so far as gain to the state is concerned, the result of vesting this yearly rent in the state is the same as that of vesting the land itself in the state. He then slips into the conviction that so far as regards the utilization of the land by the people and the consequent abolition of poverty, the result would also be the same. But he does not attempt to give any reason for this opinion, and had he not been confused by the fallacy I have referred to, he would have seen that no reason could be given. I have made frequent inquiries from single-taxers on this subject, and could never get any reasons save the following: (1) The state would be in the position of a mortgagee, and in the event of arrears of the "tax" accumulating, it could seize the land itself. In other words, single-taxers propose to produce, in a few instances and by a round-about process, a result which it would be much more sensible to produce in every instance by a direct process. (2) The "tax" would lower the selling price of the land—consequently more persons could purchase—consequently the labor market would be relieved of unemployed, and if the relief were great, wages would rise. No doubt the cash price would fall by the capitalized value of the tax, but this would merely produce the same effect as a sale by installments. There might be some further fall, because more persons would desire to sell; but I think this is exaggerated. Land speculators are apt to hold over a long time for a good price, even if they do pay a tax, and there would be considerable competition among purchasers unless the demand were limited. Perhaps the practical effect would be smaller and longer installments, and a deficiency in the supply of *skilled* labor is apt to be supplied, not from the unskilled nor from those skilled in other occupations, but from apprentices. The advantage would be very small compared to that accruing from public ownership.

VI. In refusing compensation to the landholders George is again inconsistent with himself. He urges that if compensation were paid, the state would not be a gainer. But his view is that the possession of wealth by the individual does not harm the state provided that that wealth consists in personalty. If compensation were paid the individual would have only personalty. The most obvious objection to "tax" or confiscation without compensation is that it amounts to robbery. Single-taxers do not see this, but the following hypothetical cases will make it clear :

(1) The state sells land by auction. A purchases it, no one else bidding so much as he. He therefore pays the state its full value. Afterwards the state levies the value a second time by the "land tax." If the state were to wait till the "land value" had increased and then levy only on the increase this would be perfectly just, but this is not what is proposed. On George's principles if the landholder were to redeem the "tax" by paying its capitalized value, the state (although the value had not increased) would be entitled to continue to levy it and so on *ad infinitum*.

(2) A is entitled to unimproved land worth so much, and to ships of the same value. He divides his estate equally between two sons, B and C, giving the land to B and the ships to C. Then the single tax is made law and the state takes away B's share but leaves C's untouched. Surely they ought to bring their portions into hotchpot. Their father would have left it so had he foreseen the land tax.

(3) One man spends his money on land, another on goods. Why should the whole weight of rectifying a public wrong fall exclusively on the former ?

(4) A buys unimproved land for a trifle. Its value greatly increases and he then sells to B who pays the value of the increase. Afterwards the single tax becomes law, and the state forces B to pay a second time for the land value, but allows A, who alone is possessed of the land value, to retain it.

(5) A buys land as above but lets it lie waste. B desires to cultivate it. A will not allow him to do so unless he pays the

increased land value. B refuses and proceeds to utilize the land. A appeals to the law and the state puts B in jail. Under compulsion of the state B pays A the land value. The state then passes the single tax act and makes B pay over again but lets A go free.

Shortly the single tax *hits the wrong man.*

But besides its injustice the principle of confiscation reaches even on Georgian principles much beyond land values. On Georgian principles the landholder holds the unearned increment upon trust for the state. Now whatever a trustee purchases with the proceeds of his trust fund is itself affected with the trust. Thus, if he sells the trust estate and buys a ship or a factory with the money, the beneficiary may claim it. If, therefore, a landholder sells the land, the money (so far as it represents the unearned increment) belongs, if George's principles be sound, to the state, and whatever he purchases with the money belongs to the state. And as almost all wealth originally consisted in land it may safely be averred that almost all wealth might on this principle be confiscated to the public. To work out this principle would require more time and space than I have at my disposal. The answer generally by single-taxers to the proposal that the landholder should be compensated is this: "Landholding is a crime deserving of punishment," a reason which entirely ignores the maxim "*Non est reus nisi mens rea,*" and besides implies that land cultivation is also a crime, since this is not permitted to those who will not also purchase the "land value." A more specious answer would be that the state, paying by bonds rather than by cash, would pay an annuity equal to that which it would receive, but this would not be so, for the amount which the state would pay would be interest on the fixed amount of the purchase money, while that which it would receive would be interest on the fluctuating amount of the land value.

VII. I must now explain my reason for objecting to call the ground rent a "tax." A *tax* is a sum levied for the protection of person and property. Consequently person and property (of all kinds) ought to contribute to it. Some persons might indeed

be exempted on account of poverty, and some species of property on account of the difficulty of assessing or levying the tax, but nothing could be more unreasonable than to use ground rents for this purpose, for the land in respect of which they are levied is not in need of protection. The ground rent, therefore, if levied, should be applied to some other purpose. The most fitting would be to enable the state to engage in remunerative enterprises, but this subject is too wide for the present essay.

VIII. It is implied rather than expressed in George's work that in the event of a "land tax" being imposed the so-called owner (or holder of the land in fee simple) should be responsible for the "tax" rather than the occupier (or holder for a limited period). But nothing could be more unreasonable than to make this a universal rule. Whoever receives the unearned increment should pay the value of it to the state. If land be let at will, and the landlord be accustomed to raise the rent every time the unearned increment increases, the tax should fall on the landlord; but if the land be leased at a fixed rent, then, if the unearned increment has increased during the currency of the lease, the "tax," so far as it represents this increase, should fall on the tenant.

On the whole, then, I cannot but think that the theories of George are apt, if tried, to be found inadequate to the object proposed to be realized. If the attention of reformers be concentrated on them they will only block other and more effectual measures. At best, only a small percentage of the "land value" will be levied, and many a long and bitter struggle will be required in successive parliaments before the full amount of the unearned increment can be obtained. In these struggles years, perhaps generations, will be wasted, and it is not too much to say that a better scheme could not be devised for securing the indefinite postponement of socialistic legislation.

H. W. BOYD MACKAY.

SHALL THE UNITED STATES LEAD OR BE LED IN THE MATTER OF BIMETALLISM?

BY F. J. SCOTT.

SOME able heads of great journals are beginning to see the absurdity of postponing a return to honest bimetallism until some foreign governments shall be induced to join the United States to do so. It is rather late to come to a realizing sense of the humiliating position in which our country has placed itself during the last twenty years; but not too late to get out of it, and to get once more on firm ground for a national currency.

I take issue with a current opinion which supposes a necessity for such joint action. I think it not so much an intelligent opinion as an infinitely multiplied echo. It is like the reverberations that come from a single pistol shot in the middle of the *König See* in Tyrol; echoing in thunderous tones back from one mountain wall after another of its shores and rolling away up the deep valleys between until it seems a thunder that pervades all nature—yet it is but the infinitely multiplied report of a single pistol. The great money lending powers of the world, to whom governments and all sorts of corporations, as well as individuals, are in debt, have skillfully chosen the points at which to fire, and keep firing their artillery to make public opinion for a higher value money, until they have made all this great land echo opinions which it has every reason in honesty and in defense of its own safety and prosperity not to echo. I hold that the United States can resume bimetallism and can lift silver back to its old value without any assistance from other governments, without the slightest injury to the great body of its own people, and with vast benefits.

I have followed the initiatory steps and the actual proceedings

of each of the four great monetary conferences. The first, held in Paris in 1867, on the invitation of France, "to discuss simply the unification of coinage throughout the world," etc. At this conference Samuel B. Ruggles of New York was the leading United States delegate, and in conjunction with Senator John Sherman, who was then in Paris, as representatives of the United States took it upon themselves to initiate and to support the gold-unit propaganda. It thus became an American movement—one purely theoretical, and not then supposed to be a war on silver, or a means of lessening its value, or of scaling up all credits by increasing the value of the gold units. Gold had for several years before that time been a cheapening metal. Just then, however, gold production was diminishing and silver increasing. It did not take the great loaning classes long to see that their profits would be great by making only one metal the universal unit. If gold production had passed its maximum, and silver production was on the increase relatively, gold might soon become the dearer metal. The United States voluntarily began to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the money-lenders of Europe. Agitation begun in 1867 was continued by the gold propaganda, until the unnecessary and suicidal revolution was consummated by the act of Congress of 1873, subverting the silver and adopting the gold unit, and eliminating the silver dollar from American coinage. There has not been a time since that action was taken when a reversal by our Congress of that revolutionary legislation against silver might not have carried up the price of silver and diminished the inflated value of gold to their standard parity.

The writer has been an attentive reader of the discussions in the great monetary conferences of 1878, 1889 and 1892, and in all of them the discussions have revealed a singular preponderance of opinion among the learned delegates towards the justice of an absolute return to bimetallism. But there has always been a turning of the eyes of foreign representatives to the American delegates to ask, in substance, if not in form, "What has your government authorized you to say, or to guarantee, in that direction? Your country is the great silver producer. Your

government put aside the silver standard, and substituted the gold. Now what do you propose to do?"

Each time these questions in one form or another were put to the American delegates, they were powerless to make any definite answer for their government. It has been evident in every one of these great conferences, that representatives of great loaning houses have been in them as delegates of European nations, and have been conspicuous in advocating the single gold standard. But it has seemed plain from the utterances of the more prominent statesmen in those conferences that they would have been glad to have the United States take the lead back to the safe ground from which she had departed; she alone being in a safe position to take the lead so that the rest might safely follow.

While silver has steadily declined in value through the policy of our own government, the evils attendant on the decline have assumed alarming proportions. The absolute necessity of maintaining bimetallism which a dozen years ago was only appreciated by those who had given the subject study, has now become a part of popular conviction all round the world. The gripe of hard times has forced the thoughtless to think. The monstrous effects of contraction to a single gold standard are permeating the minds of business men of all countries. Public opinion everywhere is more ripe for a return to bimetallism than ever before. It needs only a leader. The United States is in a position to lead successfully. It seems to me that we have been as a nation, and are now in a humiliating position on this question; asking other nations to help us to do what we have full power to do alone, and the greatest interest in doing. Shall we hear again that echo—from the blank wall of ignorance—"Would you have the silver of all the earth dumped into our mints?" It reminds me of the question the old so-called "conservatives" always put to the man who favored freedom to the black race: "Would you have your daughter marry a nigger?" One is as pertinent as the other.

In the first place there is no nation in the world that has any silver to spare. France has more coined silver than any other

nation. What she uses in her daily trade she cannot do without. Her domestic trade is largely on the cash basis, for which only silver is convenient. Her paper issues are based on gold or silver, at the option of the government, which must be held to redeem them, and the other reserves in the government and bank vaults cannot be removed without undermining the whole structure of her money system. The silver franc is her unit of value. But let us suppose a case. Let us suppose that a Frenchman has purchased, no matter where, a thousand pounds of silver for a hundred thousand dollars, or five hundred thousand francs. That would be twenty-nine per cent less than its coined value in the United States. Let him have it coined into silver dollars. That would give him a profit, if coinage were free, of \$29,000. Good. But where can he spend it? Only in the United States. He will be like any other immigrant who brings to our shores \$100,000, or \$129,000 to add to our wealth. We keep the wealth; another country has lost it.

If silver or wheat or pork goes down in price, it is the home producer that loses. If they go up, the home producer has the gain. Shall we legislate to abase or to increase the value of our own products?

Free coinage of silver and gold at the established ratio cannot be entered upon too quickly. Eight great mountain states would again echo to the spur of industries now stagnant. Every state in the Union would feel the new life of a sound currency, subject to no corners, and not growing in value so as to promote hoarding and business paralysis.

Not foreign conferences, but United States leadership in defense of its own products and its own money, is what the times demand.

F. J. SCOTT.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

BY WM. H. JEFFREY.

“ Find out the cause of this effect :
Or rather say, the cause of this defect ;
For this effect defective, comes by cause.”

—*Shakespeare.*

THERE is no question that confronts the government of the United States that requires more serious and prompt consideration than the matter of immigration.

As we stand at that Great American gateway—Castle Garden—and see thousands of ignorant and filthy persons landed on our fair shores, we feel a thrill of alarm and ask ourselves, can the vital system of our beloved country receive these ship loads of filthy humanity with safety ? To be sure it is a fundamental principle of this government to welcome the oppressed to our shores ; but are we not endangering republican form of government as well as the health and prosperity of our people ? If so, then we should place a suitable restriction upon this evil.

Let us analyze this great question from its various standpoints, and if evil be found let us courageously handle it and determine what remedy should be applied.

There are two classes of immigrants with which I propose to deal, the desirable and the undesirable. From among those of the former class we find many of our best citizens ; but from the latter class we find the ignorant, the pauper, the diseased, and the criminal. It is the rapid arrival of the large numbers of this undesirable class that causes us to look upon the situation with great alarm.

To exclude the people of any nation would be a blot upon the fair page of civilization, as is the miserable Chinese-Exclusion act. It has always been the pride of our people to say to the weak and oppressed of despotic Europe “Come to America, the

land of the free and the home of the brave." But for us to open wide our arms to welcome the pauper, the ignorant, the diseased and the criminal, is radically wrong. And a restriction should be placed upon this growing evil, or we shall soon find our fair America in a most deplorable condition.

That we are receiving a greater number of the undesirable than we are of the desirable class, can readily be seen from the fact that England, Ireland and France—the countries from which the most desirable class comes—sent us from 1871 to 1880, 958,851; and from 1881 to 1890, they sent us, 1,354,893—or an increase of 41 per cent for the decade. While on the other hand those countries from which we receive our most undesirable, viz.: Poland, Russia, Italy and Hungary, sent us from 1871 to 1880, 128,911; and from 1881 to 1890 we received 689,837—or an increase of 435 per cent for the decade. It is also a fact that 60 per cent of these last named could not read or write. That the importation of such a large per cent of ignorant persons into this country is directly responsible for a large amount of the crimes committed, is certain, for while only 29 per cent of our population is foreign, a glance at the bulletins issued by the census office on "pauperism and crime" will furnish food for thought for those interested in the welfare of our country.

The total number of convicts in penitentiaries in the United States in 1890 was 45,233. Of this number there were 15,598 of foreign birth or parentage. Omitting the 14,687 colored persons, we find that $51\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of our penitentiary population was of foreign element.

The number of inmates of juvenile reformatories in 1890 was 14,846. The nativity of 3,325 was not known. Six thousand three hundred and thirty-three were of foreign birth or parentage. Omitting the 1,943 colored persons, and we find that 66 per cent of those of known nativity was of foreign element; and of the 77,045 almshouse paupers in the United States, June 30, 1890, 32,177 were of foreign birth or parentage; 6,467 were colored persons. The nativity of 2,274 was unknown, as was the nativity of the parents of 10,608. Omitting the colored

persons, and those whose nativity was not known, we find that 59½ per cent of our paupers was of foreign element.

It must be evident to the statistical student, as well as to the thoughtful observer of his environments, that we are now not only taking in faster than we are assimilating, but that the kind and quality of our food is becoming more difficult to digest. The arrival of such large numbers whose habits, customs, and prejudices so vastly differ from those of this country, renders educational advancement and transformation exceedingly difficult.

It has been frequently asserted that foreign nations have released or suspended sentence of many criminals under promise from them that they would emigrate to America; and a careful review of the eleventh census to some extent confirms the truth of this assertion. For we find an alarming increase of crime in this country, while in Europe the number of convictions is steadily on the decrease. In 1850 we had only one criminal for each 3,500 supposed-to-be law-abiding citizens; while in 1890 we had one criminal for each 760 persons—an increase of 460 per cent, while our population had increased only 70 per cent. That this is a very serious question there can be no doubt, and that the present unsatisfactory immigration laws are largely responsible for this condition is equally certain.

There is another class which can be called emigrants for revenue only. They come to this country with no thought of becoming citizens, but simply to earn a few hundred dollars, which, in the parent nation, would be regarded as a competence, and then return to their native land, having acquired the money, not by demanding and receiving the American working-man's wages, but by living in filth, saving every dollar, and contributing nothing to the support and prosperity of the people that have enriched them.

That the American people have a duty to perform there is no question. But what shall be the method? We have seen those deadly diseases—cholera and smallpox—brought to our shores; we have seen the anarchist and Mafia societies slay our guardians of the peace; we have seen ignorance—by force of numbers—

overthrow intelligence, and we have seen the American wage-earners dismissed to make room for the ignorant Hun, the Dago, and the Pole.

The only satisfactory and just restriction that can be placed on immigration is to fix a moral, physical and intellectual standard by which proposed immigrants must be rated or refused admission to this country. This, and this alone, will give us a better and more desirable class of immigrants.

Congress should pass an act requiring all persons who desire to emigrate to the United States to provide themselves with a certificate of character from the chief executive of their city or town, stating that the person named in the certificate is of good moral character, and the number of years he has been a resident of the city or town. The law should require that the certificate have three indorsements; first, by the chief of police stating that the person named has not been brought before the courts on any criminal charge for a period of not less than five years, and that no charges are now pending against the said person. Second, by the chief health-officer, stating that the person named is in good health, and that no contagious diseases have been reported in his household for a period of not less than one year. Third, by the chief officer of the poor, stating that the person named has not received any assistance from the poor authorities for a period of not less than five years.

This certificate should be signed by the proposed immigrant and witnessed by the chief executive officer of the town when issued as an evidence of the applicant's ability to read and write, and upon his arrival at the port of sailing the certificate should again be signed by the person holding it, in the presence of the duly accredited agent of the United States, as a means of identification; after which it should be countersigned by said agent. Upon the immigrant's arrival in this country the immigration authorities should take up the certificate of character, and issue a certificate of admission which should contain a general description of the person together with the statements contained in the certificate of character.

This certificate should be deposited with the board of registers

located in the city or town where the immigrant desires to locate, and if prior to the expiration of the five years' residence necessary for naturalization the immigrant desires to locate in still some other town, the board of registers shall issue a permit containing all the statements that were in the original certificate of character and the certificate of admission. This system once in full operation would result first, in giving us a better class of immigrants. Second, it would make it possible to exclude all undesirable persons. Third, it would prevent illegal naturalization as the various certificates would show the exact time the proposed had been in this country. Fourth, it would make it possible for the police authorities to keep full and complete records of all foreign law-breakers, as each time any offense was committed it would cause an indorsement to be made on the deposited certificate of admission. The certificate of admission simply being a conditional admission—an admission on probation—if the criminal record became bad enough the immigrant could be forced to return to his native country.

An objection has been raised to this system because it would prevent immigrants from leaving their own country when the government wished to detain them for military service. It is true that this would affect the Germans, who are among our best immigrants; but Senator Chandler, chairman of the committee on immigration, in writing on this point in the *North American Review*, answered this objection. He says: "This objection raises the question whether the United States really wishes to take as its citizens, away from foreign countries, any citizen of the latter, whom their governments are unwilling to allow to depart. The soundest answer is the negative."

The whole question centers on this one point. Do we want to receive immigrants who cannot read or write? Do we want those who have been continually a burden to the institutions of charity and poor of their native land? Do we want persons who have been convicted of criminal offenses or who have had sentence suspended under promise of leaving the country? Do we want those who now have, or who have recently had, contagious diseases in their family? Do we want such persons as

these made citizens of the United States? persons who do not and cannot understand republican institutions?

If we do not want this class then let us urge the passage of a law requiring the use of the consular or character certificate, and the amending of our naturalization laws; requiring all persons not only to be residents of this country for a period of not less than five years, but to be able to read and write and to pass a fair examination on the Constitution of the United States.

This system perfected, much good would result, as it would prevent those persons who are born diseased, cradled in filth, reared in ignorance and living in crime from emigrating to the United States and filling our almshouses, jails, and asylums, and thus becoming public charges.

It would purify the ballot, illegal naturalization would be unknown, our voters would be more intelligent, the American workingman would not be forced to compete with so filthy a class and the life and health of the people would be more secure. The importation of diseases like cholera and smallpox would be reduced to the minimum, crime would be greatly reduced and greater peace and prosperity would generally prevail.

In conclusion let us amend our present immigration laws so as to prevent the objectionable classes of all nations from coming to America.

WILLIAM H. JEFFREY.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

BY E. L. RECTOR.

IN AN able article on the tariff question written by Lawrence Irwell, of Toronto, Canada, and which appeared in the October number, 1892, of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*, the startling proposition is announced, that there is no such thing as a balance of trade, either in favor of or against a country. This author says: "In the United States a desire appears to exist that the exports should exceed the imports. This means that more produce and merchandise should be sent out than is brought in." He goes on to say: "For the year ending June 30, 1891, there was an excess of exports of about forty million dollars, but this is not necessarily a sign of prosperity as the advocates of a high tariff seem to believe. The United States sends the greater part of its produce abroad in foreign ships, and the payment to vessel owners for services rendered is made by export of goods. Further, many European countries have capital invested in the land of the stars and stripes, the amount belonging to British capitalists being very large. The interest upon these investments is paid at least twice a year and is remitted in the form of exports of raw material and food supplies. It is therefore evident that before asserting that the United States has a balance of trade in her favor, our protectionist friends would do well to deduct from the total exports, the amount of the two above-mentioned items as well as the profits made by foreign firms having branch establishments in the states. When this has been done, it will then be found that the amount of the imports is exactly the same as that of the exports, a balance of trade either in favor of or against a country being an impossibility."

Before accepting this broad proposition thus unqualifiedly

stated by the writer quoted from, we are led to inquire what is meant by and comprehended in the terms, international trade and commerce. If they mean nothing more than an exchange or barter of products between different countries, then in every case the surplus of exchange is virtually sold on a credit. The nation in whose favor is the balance of trade, occupies the position of creditor to the balance of the commercial world, who are its debtors. Supposing this to be a favorable position, and that the nation continues to prosper, and that the balance of trade remains in her favor for an indefinite length of time, it is evident she would be accumulating an ever increasing debt against the balance of the commercial world, with an ever diminishing prospect of its final payment. There could in fact be no payment until the conditions of trade were reversed, and the balance of trade should be against the nation who owned the debt. The balance against her could then be offset against the accumulated balances in her favor and this operation would have to be repeated until the balances against her should equal those in her favor. In other words the final balance, if in favor of a nation, would represent virtually a donation of that amount to the commercial world, and if against her it would represent a clear gain of the amount required to balance. If a breeder should raise a horse worth one hundred dollars, and should export him from his premises to a neighboring village, and there trade him for a horse worth two hundred dollars, he would naturally think, when he got home, that the balance of the trade was in his favor. Why do we apply a different criterion to international trade? It can only be because we think that it involves something more than an exchange of products or barter of commodities.

There is a sort of vague indefinite idea prevalent that it is a mixed process of barter and sale, and the nation that can't deliver the goods in exchange for what she wants, must buy it and pay her money for it, and that the nation that has the surplus goods and gets the money for them is the better off. Right here we need to use a little circumspection to avoid being entangled in the intricacies of finance. This foreign money received in exchange for goods does not circulate as a medium of

exchange in the country receiving it. Considered strictly as money or a medium of exchange or measure of values, it is as worthless in a foreign country as a New York street car ticket would be in St. Louis. Considered without reference to the material of which it is composed, its value is measured by its purchasing power in the country where it circulates, and when received by a foreign country in exchange for her surplus products, it can only be laid away and held as an unproductive pledge, until the conditions of trade are reversed, and the purchasing nation shall have a surplus of exchangeable products to sell when her circulating medium will find its way home, and by going into circulation again acquire a positive productive value. If the above reasoning is correct then international trade is the same in its essential character and conditions, as trade between individuals. And the nation that succeeds in keeping the balance of trade in her favor is the exact counterpart of the miser, who is forever exchanging values for the mere symbols of values, and who by hoarding his money deprives it of its actual productive value, which is derived alone from circulation.

In the foregoing argument I have considered foreign money strictly as money or a medium of exchange. This foreign money is usually coined from the precious metals, and has an intrinsic commercial value independent of the stamp of the foreign mint, and it can be melted into bullion and recoinced in denominations of our own money or used in the arts—in this view of it, it is nothing more than a commodity and must be classed with other products. Viewing the subject from this standpoint, the argument narrows itself down to this question : Is the nation exchanging its products for the precious metals necessarily more fortunate than the one that exchanges its products for something else ?—and if so, why so ?

Let us assume, for the purposes of the argument, that our author is mistaken in supposing that the forty million dollars, balance of trade in our favor in 1891, represented the cost of transportation and the interest and revenue derived from foreign capital invested in this country—let us suppose that it was a net balance

in cash, paid and delivered in foreign coin. In estimating the advantage and profits of this transaction, by which we received forty million dollars worth of gold and silver in exchange for our agricultural products and raw materials, we must take into consideration that this is one of the greatest mining countries of the world, that our mines produce more gold and silver than we need or can use either in the arts or as a circulating medium of exchange, and hence they are articles of export. In this view of the question, our balance of trade represents a return of our own products. Our ingenuity is equal to that of the old-time mill boy, who put his corn in one end of the bag and a rock in the other end, to make it balance across the back of his mule ; our bullion serves the same useful purpose in preserving our balance of trade—and like the boy's rock, it is as good when it gets home as when it started, and no better, the only difference being that we pay foreign vessels to take it abroad and bring it back, while the mill boy rode his father's mule.

E. L. RECTOR.

REPUDIATION.

BY E. M. BURCHARD.

THIS long, obnoxious word is placed at the head of this paper because it has become necessary to make its more intimate acquaintance. The meaning of the word is to put away, to refuse, to reject; and as some things must be put away, others refused, and still others rejected, all are repudiators at times; the moral quality of the act depending wholly upon what we repudiate. The use of the word is, however, largely confined to the rejection or neglect of pecuniary obligations; and we shall here consider it only as it is applicable to debt.

We affirm, first, that the repudiation of debt is sometimes inevitable, frequently necessary, and often justifiable, all our prejudices to the contrary notwithstanding.

The popular notion that a pecuniary obligation cannot be repudiated without dishonor is a mistaken one, for pecuniary obligations are among the least sacred of any that may be assumed by man. The promise to pay money is not a natural obligation like that to support aged parents, nurture young children, or bury the dead; it is a purely artificial matter of convenience and profit.

Borrowing and lending are two halves of a transaction which, when equity is observed, is equally beneficial to borrower and lender. The lender is not more necessary to the borrower than is the borrower to the lender. Surplus wealth would be a useless and dangerous possession but for the borrower who relieves us of its care and returns it enlarged, or enriches us while he keeps it. Rightly viewed, the borrower is much the more important and essential factor of the two. Without the lender there would be no surplus wealth or special privilege; all would be free to engage in the creation of wealth as best they could, on

equal terms. Without the borrower, however, warehouses and ships would equally rot, and the millionaire would enjoy but a temporary elevation above the beggar. The borrower is the creator of wealth, the lender but the absorber of it. The borrowers are the life of the state; they are the young, the energetic, the industrious. The lenders have mostly got beyond these things. Were a nation deprived of its borrowers, the loss would be irreparable; but the lenders—well, they are a part of the team that has escaped the harness and now rides upon the load.

The equity of borrowing and lending is contained in the word interest. If one has good title to the enjoyment of a thing desired by another, he may part with it for a consideration, and that consideration is rent or interest. It must be remembered that the option of ceasing to pay interest or rent and of returning the thing borrowed, belongs to the borrower; it is his way to freedom, which none may bar. It is not desirable to the lender, however, that the principal of a loan be returned, for this throws upon him the burden and loss of reinvestment—the finding of another faithful bondman to replace the one he has lost. The obligation to pay interest is always in direct proportion to the fairness of the rate of interest. Excessive rate is an insurance against loss; and to justify the insurance there must be loss, or else there will be robbery.

By common consent of the world, the just rate of interest is from two to three per cent per annum, for the best securities with indefinitely deferred payment of the principal command wealth without limit at that rate. Universal experience justifies this rate, because it is one that a borrower may pay and still, with diligence, prosper. This is a generalization from the widest ascertainment of fact and may hardly be called in question.

That borrowers may justly claim an advantage from their borrowing equal to that derived by lenders from their lending is a truth rather understated than otherwise; by right the larger share should be theirs, for they create the whole of the net gain. It follows that there can hardly be a just repudiation of a three

per cent obligation ; and it follows also that the justification of, and the necessity for repudiation increases with the increase of the rate of interest, and the *fact* soon becomes inevitable. This is about as solemn and interesting a fact as is often brought to the attention of investors. The lenders of the United States have habitually charged the borrowers a rate of interest twice as great as equity allows. They have exacted in advance compensation for a general repudiation which has been rendered inevitable by the exaction. However high the balloon may soar or the cannon ball be projected, the ultimate return of both to the earth's surface is assured. However much the borrower may strive or the lender urge, the interest which cannot be paid in wealth must be discharged by repudiation.

There is much to lament in this inevitable sequence ; a multitude of minor equities will be buried under the major equity. The making of an artificial lake drowns out equally the man and the moles who chance to inhabit the spot, and so also does the return of a river to its ancient and long abandoned channel.

The repudiation that is to come will be a public, not a private one. Private repudiation can no more be tolerated than private revenge. The ground of public repudiation will be considerations of public policy. No individual interest can be tolerated that is contrary to the public welfare. It is of paramount importance to the state that the citizen should be free. It was discovered some thousands of years ago that "the borrower is servant unto the lender," and nothing contrary to this has been discovered since ; and the meaning of the word servant in this connection is identical with that of slave.

To borrow at a fair rate of interest, which we have seen to be not above three per cent, is a permissible bondage because it is not a hopeless one ; it does not impair the energy or blight the prospects of the borrower ; but just as we rise above this point is humanity sacrificed to greed, is degradation created by selfishness, is avarice fed, not upon the products of toil, but upon human blood.

The coming repudiation will be forced upon us by necessity

which already appears inevitable ; afterwards it will be recognized as just ; and, if humanity does not retrograde from the hour of this revolution ; if it shall advance taught by the stern logic of events, the chiefest of human interests will not be left to the doubtful struggle of human need against human greed ; the general utilization of all human labor with its accompaniment of abundant subsistence will abolish all necessity to borrow and a well defined public policy will establish equity between borrower and lender so that repudiation both as word and deed may become in reality what it is now in popular thought—the symbol and the fact of moral degradation.

E. M. BURCHARD.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

The United States. By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L. 12mo, cloth, pages 312. New York and London : Macmillan & Co.

This is an outline of our political history from the discovery of the continent by Columbus in 1492 down to the year 1871, and the high character of the author predisposes one favorably toward the book before beginning its perusal. Anyone who understands how easily and how strongly the average mind is prejudiced and biased by the influences of birth and education will make due allowance for the fact that Prof. Smith is an Englishman both by birth and allegiance ; and the American reader may expect to hear some unpleasant historical truths made still more unpleasant, and some of the idols that he has been accustomed to look upon with a feeling akin to devotion he may find held up in a very unfavorable light. He should remember, however, as a fair minded man, that his own prejudices are just as likely to lie as far away from the truth in one direction as do those of the author in the other. One particular value of the book in fact lies in this, that we are enabled to see ourselves—not as we usually do from our own self-satisfied standpoint—but as we are seen by others. Prof. Smith is so much of an American as to

urge the annexation of Canada to the United States, and declares that the American Commonwealth is the great achievement of his race; hence it may be taken for granted that his prejudices will not lead him so far wrong as to invalidate his history of this country.

He devotes less than two pages to Columbus, but these two pages stand out in strong contrast compared with the panegyrics we so lavishly bestowed upon this same Columbus last year. On this point Mr. Smith's account, no doubt, has more of the elements of history : while ours contains more of sentiment. He more correctly represents Columbus as a man without reference to the outcome of his effort, while we are naturally inclined to estimate him by the results of his discovery, and overlook what might otherwise be considered serious blemishes of character.

The Jamestown Colony is discussed in a page, but the Plymouth Colony is treated at considerable length. He recognizes the stern virtues of the Puritans, but has not failed to discover their *strong* weaknesses. The other colonies are briefly described, giving the peculiar characteristics of each.

Among other things he says of Pennsylvania that toleration made of her a religious museum, made up of Quakers, Anglicans, Lutherans, Scotch Presbyterians, Palatines, Ridge Hermits, Dunkers and Pretists ; Roman Catholics here as elsewhere being under the ban of suspicion.

He regards the relation between the mother country and the colonies as false, and thinks that from the very nature of the case separation was sure to come sooner or later, and was delayed by the struggles between England and France which extended to the colonies. He inclines to the opinion that the advice of Dean Tucker, Tory though he was, was well worth heeding. He declared that the colonies were of no real use commercially since the mother country could trade with an independent colony just as well as with a dependency, a truth not yet learned by many of our own people.

He quotes from Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and even Washington, to show that the colonists had no settled ideas of independence even up to 1875—that their object seemed to be to have all unjust restrictions removed on the part of the mother country ; yet Professor Smith regards separation as inevitable, and laments only because it could not come peaceably, rather

than through the cost of blood and treasure. He pronounces woe upon those by whom the offense of war came, which made two great families of our race enemies instead of friends. Among those whom he holds responsible for war are "the arbitrary and bigoted king," the narrow, pedantic Lord Grenville, Lords North and Mansfield, the Tory squires who shouted for war and the Tory bishops who voted for it in the House of Lords, the agitators and preachers of Boston, and "all on either side who, under the influence of passion, interest, or selfish ambition, fomented the quarrel which rent asunder the English race."

Among the American agitators he classes Samuel Adams in the North and Patrick Henry in the South as the principals and their biographies as written by him differ very widely from the orthodox American versions.

He criticises the colonists at the close of the war for the spirit of vengeance displayed toward the vanquished. He believes that civil war should always be followed by amnesty and cites our late Civil War, among others, as example of the creditable practice. He regrets, however, that the War of the Revolution was followed by an outpouring of vengeance of the victors upon the defeated. Many were despoiled of all they possessed and driven from the country, while others who remained suffered virulent persecution. He gives the number banished from the different colonies and the common punishment prescribed.

The latter half of the book dealing with the republic is given in a most interesting style. No matter how much the reader may differ either with or without reason from the positions assumed by the author, he can hardly fail to be captivated by his interesting descriptions of the different administrations and the different prominent men who took part in public affairs.

Primer of Philosophy. By Dr. Paul Carus. Cloth, 12mo, 232 pages. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Price, \$1.00.

The learned author in writing this book seems to have been animated by a praiseworthy desire to state his case in the plainest possible language, and has thereby made it a work that may be studied with profit by the beginner, while not detracting from its value to the more advanced student of philosophy. He seems to think that the philosophy of the latter days is like a

stranded vessel whose pilots have declared themselves unable to make further headway, and his desire is to reconcile the rival philosophies of Kant and Mill and set the good vessel so long aground again on her way into the stream of progress.

The introduction clearly defines Positivism and Monism, the terms used to express the principles which dominate modern thought. While, as the author says, these terms may not represent any new-fangled philosophy, the standpoint from which he discusses the subject gives it almost the same effect as something new. The first part of the book treats of experience as the basis of philosophy, and the latter discusses the ability of philosophy to solve the problems of experience.

The last chapter is devoted to a discussion of religion and most ably does the learned author handle the subject. He says :

"There are two kinds of Christianity ; the one is the spirit of the lesson taught mankind in the life and death of Christ ; the other is a church organization which historically originated with Jesus and claims that the acceptance of certain dogmas is the indispensable condition of salvation. The former Christianity is the very soul of our civilization, the latter an embarrassing dead weight on the feet of mankind, obstructing all progress and higher development."

Here is a paragraph from his discussion of idolatry : "The most primitive kind of idolatry is fetishism, as practised among savages ; the most modern kind is that which substitutes ideas for stone or wood figures. These modern ideas, however, are sometimes incomparably more wretched than the carved idols of the African savage ; where the latter are ill-shaped and ugly, the former are ill-conceived and erroneous. Both are alike the products of poorest workmanship ; both are treated with a ridiculous awe ; both are made the recipients of religious honors which are paid with the more scrupulous attention, to the fetish images the more rotten and hideous they are, to the fetish ideas the more errors they contain.

"We look upon the bigoted dogmatist who places his particular man-shaped creed above God's universal revelation in nature, as a man deeply entangled in paganism. Christianity has become a fetish to him ; he finds it easier to worship Christ than to follow Him and he must be regarded as much an idolater as the many pagans before him."

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

APRIL, 1894.

AN ORDER OF AMERICAN KNIGHTHOOD.

BY W. H. SMITH.

“Was it base, Nelson’s cry for a place
In Westminster Abbey?”

AN ORDER of American knighthood. Why not? It is the fashion for the editors of certain newspapers to gibe and sneer, and of certain demagogue politicians to rail and rant when such a thing as an order of American knighthood is mentioned, and its proposers or advocates are denounced as desiring to ape foreign monarchies and establish on republican soil a nobility or privileged class. It sounds well, on the Fourth of July to orate in frenzied style about our democratic institutions, where the people are the sovereigns and all are equal, the poor and the rich, the lowly and the great. It sounds well to refer to the clause in the Constitution which declares that no titles of nobility shall be granted by the United States, but after all is said there ought to be an order of American knighthood and there will be some day in spite of carping editors and ranting politicians. When the clause against titles of nobility was inserted in the organic law of the land it was perhaps wise, for the nobility of Europe in those days was made up almost wholly of oppressors of the people, and titles of nobility, carrying with the titles class privileges would be out of place in a republic, but an order of American knighthood does not necessarily imply that those who win a membership in the order shall have any special privileges over their fellow-citizens. It would not be in keeping with our institutions or mode of thought to establish an order of nobility in this country, but why not an order of knighthood that would be

a distinction without special privileges? An order of knighthood based solely on merit, and given as a reward for distinguished services on the lines which make the world wiser and better; an order something after the Legion of Honor of France. Before the time of Napoleon France had its orders, but their decorations were only obtainable by those whose blood was of the purest blue, or by some unworthy favorite, such as a court barber or court tailor. No plebeian could win such decorations by merit. He might perform the loftiest actions of heroism, he might astonish the world by his powers of learning or genius, but the cross of St. Louis was not for him.

Napoleon understood human nature, and that even a simple ribbon when given as a token of worthy action and only worn by those who had earned it by distinguished bravery on the field of battle, or by some equally distinguished triumph in science, literature, or art, would stir men's blood and be an incentive to nobler deeds, especially if it was to be bestowed only as a mark of merit, and was open to all ranks and conditions of society, so he established the Legion of Honor, and so endeared did it become to the people of France that even the Bourbons who so cordially hated everything connected with the Empire did not dare, on their restoration, to destroy it. Who now cares for the order of St. Louis? How many thousands have dared death to win the little knot of ribbon, the badge of the true nobility of France. Ney, the bravest of the brave, was prouder of his grand cross of the Legion Honor than he was of his ducal title, though both had been won on the field of battle.

England has its three orders, the Garter, Bath, and Victoria, yet the last, though youngest in years, is much more popular than the other two. England has also her Westminster Abbey, and to win a place in that venerable pile for his dust was one of the ambitions of Nelson. Who visits England without making more than one pilgrimage to that grand mausoleum where so many of the great of England have found a final resting-place, and spending considerable time in calling to mind the lives of those who lie hidden there awaiting the final resurrection? It is a grand object lesson ever before the people of that country.

No patent of nobility ever exalted an Englishman as did the consciousness that he had won for himself a grave in that hallowed place. It was not base in Nelson to cry for a place in Westminster. It was the simple outcropping of his heart, a desire for a place for his dust among the great of ages.

France has its Academy, a membership in which is a distinction eagerly sought after by the learned. It is true that not every one who is worthy a membership obtains it, but the desire to do something worthy of such a distinction is inherent in every Frenchman of learning and genius. France also has its Louvre where is gathered the choicest works of art collected from all climes. Its store of wealth in art is a living inspiration to every Frenchman, and it is the pride of all the people. It has been said that music in a household is the greatest of all civilizing agencies; that it will do more to soften the rough outlines of human nature, refine the coarse, and elevate the mind than any other one thing. If that is so, art is music's twin sister. An art gallery in a city, open to the public, is a wonderful refining agent, and that nation which does what it can to encourage musical and art culture is the one that in the end will be the most blessed by a happy and contented people.

America has no Westminster Abbey, no Louvre, no Legion of Honor. In years our country is still young, but it is old in heroic deeds, in grand achievements. In its short life of little more than a century it has enriched the world by its contributions to science, its discoveries and inventions to lessen human ills and promote the welfare of the race. On land and sea its heroes have made the name of America immortal. Its triumphs in literature have been no less marked than its victories in science. Morse wore on his honored breast the decorations received from the monarchs of nearly all the civilized nations of the world, but none from his native land. Had Motley, Bancroft, or Prescott lived in England they would have received some distinctive marks of honor from the government, or had they been Frenchmen instead of Americans, they would have been decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor.

It is true that during the late war it was decreed that medals

should be given for conspicuous acts of bravery, but those medals were only given to those who had won them on the field of battle in that war alone. It is also true that we have a system of giving medals for saving lives imperiled on our coast or lakes, but are not lives saved in other ways? Are not deeds of heroism done at places other than fields of battle? What was ever done by our government to specially distinguish the discovery of ether? That discovery has saved more lives—to say nothing of the lessened pain and agony to the human frame—than have been saved from shipwrecks since ships first plowed the oceans. Other triumphs in surgery equally as useful to man have been counted among the glories of America. In other departments of science we have been no less successful.

With what pride do men wear the button of the Grand Army of the Republic, or of the Loyal Legion! The greatest in our land are proud to wear one of those simple emblems telling that they served the country in its great hour of peril. No man laughs at the wearers. Newspapers have no gibes for them. Nothing is said in their presence of aping the institutions of monarchies. There is gold and tinsel connected with the orders of the old countries, but what of that? Even the most vehement of the American mockers would be proud to wear the gold and tinsel of the order of the Golden Fleece, of Bath, of the Garter, and above all would his heart swell with pride could he but win the knot of ribbon designating a membership in the Legion of Honor. Is it not time carping ceased and America took some steps to distinctively honor its own great?

It is not necessary to create an aristocracy. The Legion of Honor has made no aristocratic class in France, save the aristocracy of merit, and merit should always have an aristocracy of its own. The cross of the Legion of Honor is not given alone to those who have won distinction on the battle field, but the scientist, the skilful artisan, the sage, the bold mariner, the generous philanthropist, the distinguished educator, the painter, the sculptor, each and all have won and may yet win the decoration. War has often shed honor and glory on a nation, but peace has its triumphs no less renowned but far more beneficial. War brings

sorrow and desolation in its train, both to victor and vanquished, but did sorrow and desolation follow in the train of the inventor of the sewing machine? Instead of sorrow and desolation he has brought light, gladness, life to multitudes of working, toiling women throughout the whole world.

Cynics may gibe and demagogue politicians carp, but the fact remains that human nature is stirred to emulation even by such simple things as a ribbon when given to merit by a great government. The decoration does not ennoble the wearer, does not make his genius shine brighter, or increase the power of his intellect, but it makes his blood run faster, and he walks before his fellow-man with a more conscious pride. The carper will ask, Would Longfellow's songs have sounded any sweeter, or would Irving or Hawthorne have written any purer English or told their stories in any more fascinating manner had they been decorated with a ribbon or even with the diamonds of the Garter? No, perhaps not, nor would such decorations have made them greater or more lovable in any sense, but it doubtless would have been a delight to them had their government honored them by some such distinction. Recur again to war, that great example of heroic deeds. Imagine glorious Phil Kearney, or the impetuous Custer charging at the head of their men like a tornado of war, wearing upon their breasts a ribbon or other decoration that had been given them for conspicuous bravery, and every man of those who followed knowing that he, too, could win such a mark of appreciation, what heroes it would have made of every one who charged on such a field. Napoleon, of all men, rightly understood such things, and when he took from his own breast on the field of Jena, the cross of the Legion of Honor and pinned it to that of a simple sergeant who had distinguished himself above others for bravery on that bloody day, he made heroes who won for him half a hundred fields of blood.

Let us go to humbler walks of life. Take the story of the brave engineer on one of the great trunk lines of the country, who a few years ago, while lying crushed beneath the wreck of his locomotive, and his comrades were trying to rescue him before the escaping steam should end his life, forgot his own pain

and peril for a moment, and directed them to leave him and "flag No. 7," that was then due. The others in the awful moment that was present before them forgot that No. 7 was rushing on to destruction, and unless stopped would add other and greater horrors to those already experienced, but the heroic engineer, with a mind all intent on the safety of others, did not forget, and his cry, "Jim, never mind me, but flag No. 7," was as grandly heroic as that of Lawrence when he was carried bleeding below the deck of his ship he had fought so well, and ought to have won for him the proudest decoration the government could give. He lived, but except to a few his story has been forgotten.

Take that slender but heroic country girl, who, hearing a railroad bridge near her father's house fall one night in the midst of a terrible storm of wind and rain, and knowing that in a very short time a passenger train would be due, crossed on the wreck that swollen stream in the darkness and tempest, with no light but that shed from a common farm lantern, and hurried down the track to save scores of lives and to make her little lantern a signal of danger, tore from her shivering form her red flannel petticoat and with it shrouded her light. There she stood while the minutes rolled away, freezing, but with no thought of abandoning her self-sought post. When the train at last arrived she was only able to gasp out the horrifying facts, and then fell into the arms of the engineer, numbed and almost dead from cold and exposure. No medal was bestowed upon her by the government. Had she not earned a decoration?

Who that ever heard it does not remember with a thrill of pride the story of young Holland, who, when that fearful calamity overtook the Atlantic steamer, Arctic, calmly remained on the vessel until she sunk, firing the signal gun in the faint hope that some other steamer might hear the signal of distress and save some if not all of his comrades who were floating in small boats, on pieces of spars or other parts of the wreck? "Scarcely for a righteous man would one die," yet young Holland gave his chance of life that he might possibly save others.

Yes, the history of the country is full of grand, heroic deeds,

in all the walks of life. Take that brave colored man who so often, at risk of his own life, saved others, on that terrible day when Ford's Theater fell in Washington. Take Kennedy, the Mississippi pilot, who stood at his post holding the bow of his burning vessel to the bank while the flames were all around him, until all the passengers and crew were safely ashore, and then, when his captain called to him that all were off, scorched, burned, and bleeding, plunged through the flames to the side of the vessel and leaped into the water. Take those heroic physicians and nurses who devoted themselves to the care of those stricken by that dread scourge, the yellow fever.

One other story comes to my mind of heroism in the discharge of duty that ought to have entitled the performer to the thanks of the nation. A few years ago the yellow fever became a fearful epidemic at Jacksonville, Florida. All the country quarantined against the fated city and would receive no mail sent from there. At that time Major Mansfield was chief clerk of the railway mail service, stationed at Charleston, S. C. At his suggestion a fumigating station was established a few miles from Jacksonville, and he volunteered to take charge of it. Four postal clerks volunteered to assist him. As they were not permitted to enter the town, they nearly starved for a time, and had no beds on which to sleep except the bags of infected mail. They remained on duty for over one hundred consecutive days, and in that time handled and fumigated about three million pieces of mail. Did the government reward them with a decoration? No. But instead, one day, while still on duty, Major Mansfield received a letter addressed to him by the superintendent of railway mail service, to the effect that "the interests of the railway mail service would be promoted" by the tender of his resignation as chief clerk to take effect at once. The letter also requested him to remain in the infected district in charge of the fumigating station until the need of his presence at that station had passed, when he would be assigned to duty on the line at a reduction of his salary. That was the way of the politician in distributing rewards for heroic devotion to duty.

Were not they, one and all of those I have mentioned, worthy

of knighthood? Pages, yes volumes, might be filled with the stories of heroic deeds, of grand achievements in science, literature, and art. The world has been made richer and better, and humanity ennobled by these triumphs and achievements. Why then, should not America, in some way, as a nation, acknowledge all this?

We have no Westminster Abbey, but why not have one? We need no massive building filled with storied urns containing the ashes of those we would honor, but why not add to the uses for which Arlington has been dedicated? On the banks of the Potomac, overlooking the capital of the nation, the government owns a magnificent site for a national cemetery. Why not make it in very truth a national cemetery? It has been dedicated for the interment of those who fought on the side of the Union during the late struggle, but its purpose could be enlarged. Sheridan, Porter, and other heroes of the war are already buried there, but Grant lies in New York, and Sherman at St. Louis, Thomas on the Pacific coast, Canby at Indianapolis, Meade in Pennsylvania, Logan at the Soldiers' Home, Reno and Stanton at Oak Hill, Georgetown, and almost every state has buried within its limits some hero of that dire struggle. Why should they not all be gathered at Arlington? Go further and gather the dust of Decatur, McDonough, Perry, the elder Porter, Farragut, Foote, John Paul Jones, Scott, Washington, Knox, Greene, Morgan, Ward, Warren, John and Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Morris, Franklin, Hancock, Clinton, Hamilton, Schuyler, Jay; and there, too, should be Bancroft and Prescott, Motley and Irving, Hawthorne and Emerson and Longfellow, Whitney and Fulton, Elias Howe and Morse, Doctors Jackson, Wells, and Morton, and Cyrus Field should have a place. The list might be swelled indefinitely, but what country in the short space of a hundred and fifty years has furnished so long a list of heroes, statesmen, and sages? If the dust of all those heroes, sages, statesmen, and humanitarians were gathered at one place, what a resort it would be for pilgrimages! It is estimated that over one hundred thousand pilgrims annually visit Mount Vernon to gaze on the tomb of Washington. Make Arlington

an outdoor Westminster, and a million pilgrims would visit it every year, and it would be the one great object lesson of the country. The country is rich enough in material wealth to decorate and beautify such a spot beyond all conception and make it the pride of the country. All foreigners who visit this country go to Washington, and Arlington, if dedicated to the uses suggested, would be to them a republican Mecca, for in its precincts would be entombed the noblest and best of the land. Let it no longer be said that republics are ungrateful, and that when its faithful servants are once dead they are forgotten. The United States has been generous in some things, but in the way of reward for faithful services it has always been extremely niggardly.

Even in commendation for gallant action it has never been profuse. I call to mind a little incident that took place a few years before the breaking out of the late war. A Lieutenant Pegram was in command of one of the United States vessels in the Chinese waters. At that time the coast of China swarmed with piratical junks which preyed on commerce. Lieutenant Pegram, in conjunction with a captain in the British service, conceived a plan to break up one nest of the pirates. They received information that at the mouth of a river a large number of junks, carrying something over 100 guns and more than a thousand men, were concealed. They determined upon an attack. Pegram took one hundred men from his vessel while the British officer took about sixty. With this small force they attacked the pirates, destroying many of their boats and utterly breaking up the piratical rendezvous. The British officer was promptly promoted by his government, but our secretary of the navy contented himself by writing to Lieutenant Pegram that the correspondence which had taken place in regard to the affair between the British admiral and himself would be placed on file.

Once upon a time Congress did get a streak of ambition, and passing strange to say, it was tinged with generosity. When the House of Representatives moved into the new wing, the question arose what was to be done with the old hall. It could

not be closed up, and to leave it bare would be too great a contrast to the rich coloring in the rotunda on one side and the House corridors on the other, so some bright genius conceived the idea of turning it into a statuary hall. The notion was eagerly seized upon, no doubt each member conceiving that his statue would be one of those to find a place therein. To give rent free a place for the exhibition of the works of art was generous enough upon the part of our Congress, and there was no thought of paying out of the public funds any part of the cost of filling the hall with statuary, so it was arranged that each state should be given the privilege of placing there one or more statues of their own distinguished dead. It was not to be a Louvre wherein would be gathered the choicest works of art of all lands, but it was to be peculiarly American, and statuary alone was to be given room. What has been the result? Statuary Hall looks to-day like the junk-shop of some second-hand dealer in tombstones. Not one of the statues it contains would ever be given a place at any first-class art exhibition.

Even in selecting subjects for these cheap affairs, the petty spirit of American politics had to creep out in a number of instances. It is singular that Americans, broad-minded as they are in so many things, have to be guided by political prejudices in nearly everything. Take the great state of Ohio, rich in material for statuary honors. With such a list of great names as Return J. Meigs, the war governor of 1812; John McLean, who was successively offered by President Jackson nearly every portfolio in his administration, and for more than thirty years gave such lustre to the Supreme Court of the United States; Thomas Ewing, the great advocate who as cabinet minister and senator displayed such wise statesmanship and profound learning; Salmon P. Chase, governor, senator, financial minister during the greatest crisis of the nation's history, and jurist; Morrison R. Waite, who as chief justice sustained so long the reputation of that greatest of judicial tribunals; and such generals as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and MacPherson, and last but not least, that peerless orator and heroic soldier, James A. Garfield. What a galaxy of statesmen, soldiers, and jurists to

select from! Every one of them worthy the highest honor—but Ohio turned away from all these except Garfield, and chose as one of the two it most delighted to honor, William Allen. William Allen no doubt was an honest man and worthy citizen, who twice represented the state in the United States Senate, and was once governor, but he was not in any sense a great man, nor has he left his impress in any way on his state or nation.

Turn to Illinois. Not so rich as its neighbor (Ohio) in great names, yet rich enough to adorn the gallery of any nation. It can claim a Lincoln, a Douglas, a Grant, a Trumbull, a Davis, a Logan, a McClernand, a Lovejoy, and yet it selected General Shields. I would say nothing to detract from whatever honor is due to General Shields, for he was a gallant soldier, and by a strange concatenation of circumstances represented three states in the United States Senate for short terms, two of them being less than three months each, but he was not a great man. Compare him and his life work with that of Douglas, or Trumbull, or Logan, or poor Dick Yates, the war governor, or Lincoln, and who would think of selecting him for a niche in the Capitol of the nation?

The truth is that the whole lot should be relegated to some subterranean vault to be hidden forever from the sight of man, and Statuary Hall be left barren and barn-like unless some better use for it can be found than to exhibit such patchwork. Filled with plants and flowers it would be a thing of beauty. As it is, it makes America the laughing stock of every educated foreigner who visits the Capitol. Let the government erect a building devoted to art. Let none but the choicest works of art be given a place. Set apart a portion of it for statues of our great, but let them be statues and not travesties.

Let us have an American Order of Knighthood, open to merit in all ranks, whose badge will be one of distinction and honor. Let us convert Arlington into an American Westminster. Let us build for ourselves an American Louvre. Let us move up abreast of other nations in all that honors and cites to emulation in that which ennobles and dignifies man.

W. H. SMITH.

OUR HOUSE OF LORDS.

BY JOHN F. HUME.

BUT for our familiarity with the arrangement, the existence of a duplex Congress, or rather of two bodies representing the same constituencies and possessing equal powers, would strike us as remarkable, if not ludicrous. Why should we not as well have two presidents, charged with the duty of reviewing each other's acts, and whose coöperation should be essential to any authoritative conclusion? Why not as well have two United States Supreme Courts, of equal dignity, holding each other in check or sustaining each other's hands? Anything more awkward in the line of legislative machinery could not well be conceived of. All the work has to be gone over twice, at greatly increased cost of time, labor, and money, and with a likelihood, as experience has shown, that it will be injured rather than improved upon after leaving first hands. Greater deliberation in making laws was the ostensible object at the bottom of the system; but everyone acquainted with the operations of the twin chambers knows that at the end of each Congressional session, when the work is practically performed by conference committees, there is produced a mass of hasty, crude, and often dishonest legislation that no single body would be guilty of. The framers of the Constitution could not, in that regard, have constructed machinery better calculated to frustrate the purpose they professed to have in view.

Of course to anyone familiar with the country's history there is nothing mysterious in the origin of the two Houses. The idea was copied from the British Parliament at a time when our government was very weak and afraid to walk wholly by its own lights. Nor is there anything curious about the English system. Great Britain had two great and jealous classes to be consulted

in the making of her laws, each of which was too powerful to be ignored, while they would no more mix than oil and water. The only way to reconcile the nobility and the common people to the laws of the land was to give each a hand, entirely independent of the other, in the making of them. Hence the House of Lords and the House of Commons. So with other European nations possessing double-chambered diets: they have populations graduated to match them. One country has a legislature made up of four distinct houses, representing the nobility, the clergy, the tradesmen, and the peasantry. We adopted the English system, but without having the English reason for it. We have no Lords and we have no Commons. We are equals, one with another. Nevertheless, we went further than the English after the English pattern; for we not only created the two Houses of Congress, with coördinate legislative functions, but we gave a veto to the president—thus introducing a third potential element. And this, strangely enough, was done after we had freed ourselves from English rule. All through the revolutionary period our Congress was single-bodied, as were many of the general assemblies of the states while they were British colonies.

To understand the true significance of the Senate as a factor in our institutions, and the better to enable us to judge of its utility, and necessity, we should have before us the main facts that led to its establishment. In the convention that framed our National Constitution, assembling on May 14, 1787, two leading plans were discussed. A feature in one was the double Congress; in the other, of which Paterson, of New Jersey, was the author, provision was made for a single chamber. Among the advocates of the latter was the intensely practical and common-sense Franklin, who, in his quaint and humorous way, insisted that there was no more need for two legislative houses to guard the public interests than there would be for two dogs to watch over a beefsteak. The warmest, as well as the ablest, champion of the two chambers was Hamilton, whose proposition was to have the senators endowed with a life tenure of office. Hamilton was really a monarchist, and he made no concealment of his

admiration for the English governmental system. He said, in debating the question of the two Houses: "The best form of government, not attainable by us, but the model to which we should approach as near as possible, is the British Constitution. . . . Its House of Lords is a noble institution. . . . It forms a permanent barrier against pernicious innovations on the part of both crown and commons. . . . The English model is the only good one."

In the end, the organization of the Senate became the pivotal question on which the entire work of the convention turned. Representation in Congress was the absorbing issue. The states, still independent sovereignties—nations, in fact—were jealous of each other, and especially the smaller ones of those that were stronger. They—the smaller ones—insisted that representation in the proposed Congress should be by states, all having an equal voice, and not according to population or wealth. The stronger commonwealths naturally combated this view. Here was a rock on which the incipient union of the states came near breaking in pieces. So hot and angry grew the debate on this proposition at one time that Franklin suggested a resort to prayer as a means of assuaging the stormy passions of the disputants. Indeed, at one time it looked as if the difficulty were too great to be overcome. The convention, finding it useless to proceed with its regular sessions, came to a halt for three days, and the subject was referred to a committee of one from each state, to arrange, if possible, an acceptable compromise. The scheme of the two Houses, as at present arranged, the members of the lower branch being apportioned according to population, and those of the upper according to states, was the result. The smaller states, as will be seen, carried their point, having in effect secured the principle for which they contended; for as long as a small state has the same voice with a large one in either branch of Congress, it has an equal control over legislation. Hence it is that Nevada to-day, with a population of only 60,000 souls, has as much constitutional power in shaping the laws of the land as New York, with 5,000,000 of inhabitants. Here we have a parallel to the English parliament-

ary system in its most odious feature—that of rotten boroughs. Here, as in nearly all public compromises, an important permanent principle was sacrificed to the urgency of a passing crisis. The Senate became the occasion and the means of a great national wrong.

Convenient as the Senate was as a basis for compromise between conflicting interests, the inconsistency, if not uselessness, of having two distinct houses of legislation to represent the same elements and constituencies and go over the same ground, could not but be manifest to the framers of the Constitution; and hence, with an eye to appearances they sought to create distinctions between the two bodies and give them certain independent functions that would answer as apologies for their separate existence. It was assumed that the House was to represent the people of the states, while the Senate was to represent the states themselves, which was, of course, a distinction without a difference. To add to its dignity, the Senate was charged with certain separate duties, which might quite as well have been given to its legislative double. It was to examine and revise treaties with foreign powers, review appointments to office by the president, and act as a court to try impeachments in certain cases. It was also made to furnish the vice-president with something to do. By a happy conception, the two members of the government that came nearest being superfluous were thus brought together, that they might give countenance and occupation to each other.

The Constitution, when submitted, encountered decided opposition, giving rise to the first formation of political parties in this country. Indeed, it had a marvellously narrow escape from defeat. In the convention of Virginia, then the most populous of the states, the final vote was eighty-nine in its favor to seventy-nine against. In Massachusetts' convention the vote was 187 to 168. In the New York convention the majority was but three. The instrument would doubtless have been rejected but for the timely appearance in its advocacy of that series of remarkably able papers, from the pens of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, which were afterwards collected and published under the

title of the "Federalist." Five of those papers, of which Hamilton was the author, were devoted to the Senate, and in them we have a picture of what that body was expected to be. It is needless to say that the colors were brilliant, and that the sketch, as a whole, was decidedly enticing. The selection of the members, being taken from the vulgar herd and confided to state legislatures that would naturally be composed of men picked for their abilities and virtues, would be free from the excitements and intrigues incident to popular elections, insuring the choice of the purest and wisest of citizens. Secure in their offices for long terms, and thus lifted above the necessity of comingling in ordinary politics, the senators would occupy a lofty platform, and would labor for the common weal wholly free from the contamination of partisan motives. As judges in impeachment cases they would be absolutely impartial and severely just. As censors of the president's appointments, while critical and exacting, they would be always courteous, conciliatory, and above partisan and selfish considerations. In short, Hamilton and his contemporaries saw in the coming Senate a body of grave and stately sages and patriots, serene and dignified under all circumstances, to whom office had come unsought, indifferent to the struggles and bickerings of party managers and deaf to appeals of conscienceless patronage hunters, stern watchmen of the treasury, and resolute champions of honest government, the confidants and unselfish advisers of the president, worthy examples to the less experienced members of the more popular branch of the national legislature, against whose hasty and inconsiderate acts they would interpose an enduring barrier, and, in all times of tempest and danger, of partisan temper and popular strife, in their collective capacity being to the nation what the anchor is to the ship.

Such was the dream of a hundred years ago. It was what the people of 1787 saw. What do we see? A striking exhibition of senatorial conduct has just been given us. A vacancy in the highest court of the nation was to be filled, the president appointing, the Senate confirming or rejecting. In supplying such an exalted station, after the president had named the can-

didate, it would be inferred that, in a body like the Senate, no personal or ignoble motive would be allowed any place or weight whatever ; and yet, according to the popular understanding, appointees of the purest character and highest qualifications were kept from the bench which they would have adorned because, as citizens, in exercising the freemen's right to vote according to their consciences, they had offended some senators, while other senators opposed them alone from a desire to promote discord among their political opponents. It would be difficult to conceive of incentives more unbecoming to high officials. Not only by that transaction was the Supreme Court, a co-ordinate branch of the government, attacked and degraded, but the Senate, in executing that peculiar policy, made itself the coadjutor and backer of the most notorious, if not the most unsavory, of all our political organizations, whose revenges and those of its leading supporters, were through its action being executed. We thus see the Senate, through its own act, on a level with Tammany Hall, and engaged in doing its work.

But the Senate of to-day, in other respects, gives evidence of positive deterioration. It is only a little while ago that there sat in that body a man who was publicly accused of having purchased his seat with money paid to legislators of his state, and neither he nor his associates apparently pay any attention to the charge. All the members from one broad section of the country are, in general terms, branded with holding their places by purchase, more or less direct ; and certain it is that the legislators of that section, while there may be no absolute proof of their venality, have shown a wonderful preference for well-filled pocket-books. No business of the country has been so prolific of scandals and intrigues, of disreputable quarrels and profitless agitations, as the selection of senators. No road pursued by men ambitious of political advancement has been so tortuous as that which leads to the Senate, and many traveling it have shown themselves quite as ready to crawl as to walk. Nearly every species of chicanery known to unscrupulous politicians has marked their way. The result has been a constant recurrence of unseemly controversies. From the rural town

caucus to the legislative chamber, state after state has been distracted by the struggles and machinations of senatorial candidates. It would be strange if the personnel of the Senate did not suffer in consequence of such events and practices. One result has been the too frequent promotion of politicians instead of statesmen—of men who have been given the office as a reward for party services, and services not always the cleanest. A worse result, however, has been the choice at times of men who were positively disqualified by their business connections from properly caring for the common welfare, being the representatives—sometimes the paid attorneys, it is alleged—of great and wealthy corporations, whose interests were in direct conflict with those of the general public.

Many great and noble men have gone to the Senate, and their abilities and virtues have dictated their selection; but seated beside them have been many unworthy of the position. Some have been professional politicians with all the infirmities of their species; some have been rich men and nothing more; some have been adventurers of a speculative turn, using their position for personal benefit; some have been "dark horses," profiting by the quarrels of stronger and better men; some have been accidents, pure and simple. Many have been persons who, upon their individual merits, and in the face of that scrutiny which the voting masses, however rustic, as a rule always manage to apply to those who appeal for their suffrages, would have sought in vain for seats in the lower house of Congress. On the whole, it is not too much to say that the average level of the Senate, spite of all the provision that has been made to give it a superior membership, is rather below than above that of the House of Representatives, made up of men assigned to their places by the sifting operations of the democratic ballot-box. Certain it is that, when it comes to the practical work of a legislative body, the Senate has exhibited no superiority over its coadjutor, either in conception or in execution. While its proceedings have been marked with more stateliness and volubility of debate, we look to it in vain for exceptional manifestations of statesmanship or patriotism.

What especially recommended the Senate to the men of 1787 was its anticipated conservatism. The people of that day were afraid of themselves. Their experience in self-government was so limited that they had not yet acquired confidence in their own collective capacity and integrity. They walked with the uncertain steps of children, and felt like leaning in part upon some older form of government. Hence they naturally distrusted a Congress wholly of their own selection, fearing that it might prove to be, like Frankenstein's invention, a demon that would turn upon its creator. They saw in the senators of whom Hamilton wrote in the "*Federalist*," that "the Constitution has taken the utmost care that they shall be men of talents and integrity," a body of statesmen who could be trusted in emergencies. The popular representatives might lose their heads in times of business and political trouble, might plunge into hasty legislation, and threaten bankruptcy to the treasury by extravagant appropriations; but the more independent, better balanced, as well as more capable senators would be their country's safeguard. They would particularly see that the treasury was not despoiled. The representatives were to originate appropriation bills, but the senators were to review them. They would take care that the public land, that great reservoir of national wealth, was not squandered. They would consist of stuff stern enough to resist the demands and allurements of covetous and conscienceless corporations. Above all, they would care little or nothing for party, and act upon their own independent and intelligent judgments.

A hundred years have tested these forecastings. How many river and harbor and other appropriation bills has the Senate abridged? The truth is that the House of Representatives has been the economic body, the Senate the prodigal one. How many "land grabs" has the Senate defeated? How many pension monstrosities has it strangled? With how many Standard Oil and other giant monopolies has it successfully wrestled as the people's champion? And where, in all the broad land, has there been concentrated more of the spirit of an intense and bitter partisanship? The very atmosphere of its chamber

is charged with it as with electricity. It flashes and crackles at every touch. At no time do the members appear to be able to forget that they belong to parties, and are under obligations to them. They neglect no partisan advantage; they spare no partisan foe.

Nor is there anything in the situation, as just described, to excite wonderment. The senators, as a rule, have not been unambitious and guileless men. They were politicians before they were senators. They have reached their positions by the devious paths of party policy. What they do not know about practical politics is not worth knowing. Nor is the dream of political preferment quenched by the elevation to which they have attained. Beyond the Senate lies the presidency—another step in the stairway to fame and power; and few are the gentlemen of the upper House that wholly escape the hope of reaching the higher dignity. The Senate might, in fact, not inaptly be described as a school for presidential candidates, never lacking a goodly number of eager and industrious students on both sides of the party line.

It would indeed be difficult, remembering what human nature is, to see how the Senate could be anything else than a partisan body, in view of its share in dividing the patronage of the government. It makes and it unmakes officials. As the authority that supervises the president's nominations, it wields an immense political power. Nor has its exercise been a wholly uncongenial task. Senators have shown themselves by no means adverse to the "spoils system" in its most comprehensive ramifications. "The courtesy of the Senate"—which means simply, "I will help to put your friends in office if you will do the same service for mine"—is far from being a meaningless phrase. If common report is not to be wholly discredited, the privacy of the senatorial executive session—an arrangement tenaciously adhered to—has covered many a "deal" embracing the disposal of extensive patronage. The Constitution meant that the Senate should be merely a reviewing board, but the senators have so violently strained their constitutional prerogative that they have virtually made themselves an ap-

pointing power. No set of men were ever more tenacious of their "privileges." Patronage has come to be regarded by them as a perquisite, and is demanded as a right. The privilege of dictating nominations upon which they were afterward to pass judgment has been boldly asserted. It was only a little while ago that one of their number, because the president, in the exercise of a function with which he, as a senator, had no more to do than with the ukases of Russia's master, refused to appoint as he had insisted, resigned his place in a huff, and marched home to his constituents to ask redress for his grievances. Nor was the attitude of the Senate toward the executive ever more aggressive than it is to-day. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the Senate should have become what it unquestionably now is, the national center of political intrigue? The more recent history of the country clearly assigns it that position. The presidential incident of 1877, involving the boldest defiance of the popular will yet witnessed in this country, was due to the instigations of men of senatorial training; and a little further back the movement to dismember the country found in the Senate chamber its most skilful and aggressive promoters. Should there be, at any time in the country's future, a conspiracy on the part of public officers against the liberties of the people, there is little reason to doubt that its source and principal seat will be in the Senate, should the Senate remain.

In view of what has already been said, it is hardly necessary to inquire as to the qualifications of the Senate for the special business assigned it of reviewing the president's appointments to office—a most delicate duty, calling for the exercise of great equanimity of temper, strict impartiality of judgment, and freedom from all partisan bias; and what must be thought of its fitness for that other most responsible work committed to it, of acting as a court to try the president of the nation and other prominent officials when charged with high crimes and misdemeanors? To this question we have a sufficient answer in the history of the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson, when the members belonging to one political party were found solidly arrayed on one side of the case, more like

advocates than judges, and the few of the other party that dared to follow their own private convictions rather than partisan instructions were at once unmercifully ostracized by their fellows and driven into political exile. There could be no clearer proof of misplaced responsibility.

What is the conclusion of the whole matter? Not, as declared by one of our eminent historians, that "the Senate is the crowning glory of our constitutional system," but rather that its adoption was a radical mistake. As a basis of compromise at a critical juncture in our affairs, it served a useful purpose; but for all that, has it not been practically an excrescence upon the body politic? It is an exotic among our institutions, foreign in policy and superfluous in fact—a relic of Old-World dynasties. It is the one anti-republican feature of our system, and the weakest spot in it. Any advantages to the country from its possible and casual contributions to legislative efficiency can hardly compensate for the demoralization produced by the constantly recurring scandals and disturbances unavoidably incident to its perpetuation under the existing system of legislative elections. The surprising thing is that the country has so long and patiently borne with the evils of that system.

It is the growing impression that the English House of Lords, to which, as already explained, we owe the conception of our Senate, must go at no very distant day, although its roots reach down to the bed-rock of the British Constitution. No-where is experience a more merciless iconoclast than in civil science; and surely the teachings of our national history have been ample to convince us that a second and duplicate body in ordinary legislation is a cumbersome and wasteful piece of machinery.

As we pass from the centennial anniversary of the formation of the Constitution, the time is appropriate for reviewing its workings and correcting such infirmities as may have appeared. It was not to the discredit of those who formed it, largely experimental as it was, that imperfections should come to light. The discredit will be ours if we fail to remove or reform them.

JOHN F. HUME.

WHAT DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE READ?

BY CARL SNYDER.

IT HAS so long and so often been asserted that we of the United States are the greatest reading people on the face of the earth, that we have come to accept the statement as a truism, and to flatter ourselves thereon, without inquiring particularly what it means or what is the character of the reading we do. The fact is owing, doubtless, to the difficulty of obtaining any statistics which will really illuminate the subject. The extent of the "newspaper habit," and its effect upon public taste; the production of the "penny dreadful," and other crime-producing literature; the standards of popular intelligence evidenced in the books we buy, and, indeed, the general results accruing from the immense cheapening of all forms of printed matter—these constitute to the sociologist an interesting field for inquiry. But beyond some inadequate and almost irrelevant statistics from the larger public libraries, we have little or nothing; and the general census which has given attention to so many topics, has let this entirely alone.

It comes with the force of a surprise, therefore, to learn that the general reading of the people is almost wholly confined to periodical literature. The production of the latter in the United States includes rather more than half the entire production of the world. There are printed in this country upwards of 20,000 different papers and magazines, and in all the rest of the world besides, only 28,000. England has about 7,500; Canada and Australia less than 1,000; Germany has some 6,000, and France but 4,300. The United States, then, has more than two fifths of all printed, and when we consider the aggregate circulation, more than one half. This aggregate circulation reaches such an enormous total that the figures are

difficult of comprehension. The combined periodical issue in this country last year amounted to over four thousand million, or in American notation, four billion, copies—an average of 300 copies of some periodical for each of the 13,000,000 families which make up our population.

If now we estimate the annual production of books, paper and otherwise, we shall find that it falls far short of 10,000,000 copies. Even allowing a twentyfold circulation of the average book over the average paper or magazine—certainly far out of proportion to the fact—it appears that books do not constitute above five per cent of the general reading of the country. They probably actually constitute not over three per cent. We see, therefore, that the facts reported by librarians and library committees as to the class of books taken out, offer too slight a basis on which to found any conceptions of popular intelligence and taste. Neither our libraries nor our books are the educators of the people. If we seek the formulative influences of literature upon American life, we shall find them in our daily and weekly newspapers. For, if we pursue our inquiry further, we shall find that of the total production of periodicals, 94 per cent is made up of those of daily and weekly issue, leaving but a bare 6 per cent to be filled up by the monthly magazines, quarterlies, and the like.

It will be interesting to examine further and ascertain what types of journals obtain the strongest hold upon popular favor. There are printed in the United States some 1,850 daily papers, whose issue aggregates over seven and a half million copies per diem. In other words, there is a daily paper printed for every other family in the country. The total number of weeklies reaches 14,000, of which some 26,000,000 are issued each week, or an average of two papers for every family. Viewing the total issues for the year, it appears that the daily absorbs nearly 60 per cent of entire periodical production, and the weekly about 35 per cent. The daily paper is, therefore, by reason of its frequency of issue and its wider distribution among all classes, by far the strongest single influence of popular reading. Day after day, week in and week out, it gives its incessant and uninterrupted

stroke. Like the fall of the water drop upon the stone, nothing can stand before it, and whatever may be said to the contrary, such a standard of intelligence and taste as obtains in the daily newspaper must be the ultimate standard of the whole people. No stream may rise higher than its source, and the chief source of the ideas, impressions, and conceptions of all that lies beyond individual spheres of activity for the American public of to-day is the daily paper; for not only does it dominate directly through its own wide circulation, but indirectly by its formative influence on what is known as the country weekly.

Probing one degree deeper, it will be found that the dominant type of this dominant force is the sensational daily. By the term "sensational," I mean those papers which make crimes, scandals, and highly colored pictures the principal features of their "news." Taking the circulation of this class of papers in the seven largest newspaper centers of the country (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, San Francisco, and Cincinnati) we find that their combined issue is considerably more than half the total daily issue of the country. It reaches upwards of three and a half million copies. To make a forcible comparison, there are more of this single class of papers printed every day than all the books published in cloth bindings in a year. It may be urged in defense of the public's taste for the "big dailies" and their immensely greater circulation, compared with those of a more conservative type, that they publish more news, are far more interesting and "enterprising." Nevertheless, it is but too apparent that the daily paper of the larger cities succeeds in direct proportion to the latitude it allows itself as to what is printable matter; in short, as the moral and intellectual standards of its news columns go down, its sales go up.

I leave to others to estimate the effect of this absorbing "newspaper habit"; its vitiation of the taste for higher forms of literature, its destructive influence on the mind, and on both the capacity and inclination for sustained thought, and more especially the baneful effects which must follow from the widespread and growing appetite for highly spiced or sensational

news. I have here merely to point out that upwards of 95 per cent of all our reading is confined to the least valuable form of literature we have—the newspaper; that of this, the bulk is absorbed by the most hastily prepared and the most worthless—the daily; and that the successful dailies are those which pander to a low order of intelligence. It is not my purpose to consider whether, in spite of all this, present conditions indicate a higher or lower level than obtained in time past—that is, beside the scope of this article—but I shall touch, shortly, upon that old and familiar hobby, that it is better that people should read something, than nothing at all.

However we may regard the newspaper in general, or the sensational papers in particular, there is one class of popular literature that will be set down without dissent as not only baneful, but in many cases directly a crime-producer. That includes what was once known as the “dime novel,” the blood-and-thunder detective story, and the illustrated journals of crime. How great are its proportions and how wide must be its influence, I doubt if many are informed. From a careful personal investigation, I am convinced that the literature of a criminal or debasing tendency reaches, in this country, an average of more than 1,200,000 copies per week, or upwards of 60,000,000 copies per year; that is to say, an average of about five copies for every family in the country. Lest this may be deemed extravagant, I give briefly the results of my investigations.

There are published three prominent journals exclusively devoted to the illustration of crime and the general dissemination of criminal or “police” news. Their combined circulation exceeds 200,000 copies weekly. As they circulate chiefly in barber shops and saloons, the average of readers per copy is unusually large—I think it safe to place it at twenty, since a single copy is frequently read by a hundred or more persons. Taking it at this rate, some four million men and boys read these journals of depravity each week. To all this must be added a type of ultra-sensational papers, which exists in many of the larger cities and fattens upon scandal and gossip. Some of them have a circulation of between one and two

hundred thousand weekly. An accurate total is not obtainable, but I have fixed it in my estimate at 300,000 copies. Still another form is the detective story weekly. It would be unfair to group all such as these under the head of criminal or debasing, but I have selected five for inclusion that are unmistakably vicious; and while they cannot be suppressed—they are in no way immoral, as that phrase is used—they constitute a reprehensible class, whose influence is bad. These five have a circulation exceeding 400,000 copies weekly.

In an incursion into the field of the “penny dreadful,” however, one encounters his chief surprise. The old “dime novel” has largely disappeared, but “Red Ranger Dick” and his confrères are with us still. These books are now produced in five and ten cent “libraries,” and issued weekly. I find that an issue of 20,000 copies is required to make a number profitable, and experience readily teaches the publisher what will sell. The average edition ranges from 25,000 to 50,000 copies—an especially popular story will send this issue past the 100,000 mark. There are about a dozen of these libraries, all told, so that the weekly product exceeds 300,000 copies, and probably reaches 400,000. I take the lower figure, which yields a total of fifteen million copies per year! There are in the United States, according to the census, some eight or nine million Sunday School children regularly enrolled. Assuming an average attendance of 50 per cent, it appears that the dime novel has about three attacks on the rising generations, where the Sunday School has one; while for dynamic capacity, it would be safe to put a single well-organized “ten cent terror” against a round dozen of the best Sunday School lessons ever taught. To give the uninitiated an idea of the character of this pernicious trash, I subjoin a few sample titles, taken at random from a catalogue before me: “Tiger Dick, the Faro King, or, the Cashier’s Crime”; “Double Sight, the Death Shot”; “Captain Cool Blade, or, the Man-Shark of the Mississippi”; “Hercules Hotspur, the Velvet Hand, or, the Poker Queen’s Drop Game”; “The Crimson Coyotes, or, Nita, the Nemesis”; “Red Ralph, the River Rover”; “Lariat Lil, or, the Cast for a Life”;

"Broadway Billy's Death Racket"; "The Demon Doctor, or, Dead Hold, the Daisy"; "Ker-whoop, Ker-whoop! or, the Tarantula of the Taos on the War-path."

Now a word as to the theory that some kind of reading is better than none at all. I have talked, among others, with the editor of the oldest of these libraries, a very clear-headed man, and inquired particularly as to what sort of stories were salable and what were not. The editor said: "The tastes of the public to whom we cater are sharply defined. A novel that might be sold at twenty-five cents, put into our five or ten cent library would drop flat. We have to write down to our public, and if the literary excellence of a story is too high, we throw it out. We must guard very sharply against that. The paper novel to be found in the bookstands, in our library, would not sell at all." In other words, here is an immense reading public, consuming upwards of fifteen million copies of these stories annually, that has an established depravity of taste, and if offered better, would refuse it! Indeed, it is now possible to buy the novels of Dickens, Scott, or any of the standard authors, for five and ten cents in rather better print and paper than the average dime novel, but the admirer of "Hemlock Hank," "Flush Fred," or "Faro Sol," has little time for such anæmic creations as a Copperfield, or even an Ivanhoe. And what is true in this extreme case, is true of "flash" literature in general. So far from inculcating a "reading habit," and paving the way for something better when it is offered, it destroys whatever taste for better books may exist, and simply cultivates an avid appetite for this vicious rubbish.

And while I am upon this topic of the dime novel, it may be well to correct another prevalent impression. There is abroad an idea that stories of the sort I have described circulate very largely in criminal or semi-criminal classes of the larger cities; that the audience they appeal to is already more or less depraved and not likely to suffer seriously from the contamination of the society of "One-Eyed Pete" and his "pals"; and that therefore the stuff does not do a great deal of harm. The truth is very far from this. I find that the bulk of the consumption

lies outside the great cities; that the chief circulation is in the smaller towns the country over, and that probably the largest individual class of consumers is made up of boys and young men ranging from twelve to twenty-one. In the village, the small town, and on the farm, are the most of these novels read. In a word, my investigations lead me to believe that they circulate in the larger part where they are calculated to do the most, and not the least, harm. This is supplemented by the testimony of our prison wardens and superintendents of reform schools, that next to lack of proper home influences, evil literature is among the most active agents in the manufacture of youthful criminals.

The influence of this entire mass of novels, story papers, and police journals, is bad in every calculable way, and when we consider its enormous output, it assumes the proportions of a serious problem. The estimate of one million two hundred thousand copies is conservative—and at this rate, the total weekly issue exceeds the entire monthly output of our magazines and high-grade story papers. The sum annually spent on this unmitigated trash, or worse, cannot be less than four million dollars—a sum equaling, if it does not exceed, the entire amount paid out in this country for copyrighted books. It would be reassuring to feel that the demand is, in the face of the wonderful cheapness of good literature nowadays, steadily growing less, but there seems no warrant for so optimistic a view.

A turn in a widely different field discloses the growing popularity of the modern magazine. Nothing in the printing world has of late years kept pace with it. We have now a half dozen monthlies that are perhaps unequaled in any other country, and perhaps a score that offer a very good grade of popular reading. The six principal magazines have an aggregate monthly issue of over 700,000 copies, and all the rest perhaps as much more. There is one journal of remarkable popularity which puts out a half million copies per month, the largest issue of any single journal of any sort in America. Four others exceed 100,000 a month. But after all, the fifteen

or twenty million magazines printed annually do not count for much in the popular reading of the country when put against an annual turning out of thirteen hundred million weeklies or twenty-four hundred million dailies. And what is true of the magazines is true in a still greater degree of books.

Probably the sums annually expended on the various forms of reading matter, will provide a more accurate index of public taste than anything else. We shall find that the United States pays annually for its daily newspapers upwards of \$50,000,000, and for its weeklies an equal sum, or a total of \$100,000,000 for newspapers. That sum exceeds the present value of its annual output of gold and silver. It pays out some \$3,000,000 for the standard monthlies. It would be difficult to show that it pays more than four or five million dollars for all its books, cloth or paper, good, bad, or merely Elsmerean. There exist no statistics as to the annual book production, and I am compelled to rely on estimates furnished by several leading publishing houses. The most noteworthy fact reported is that the sale of the paper covered book to-day exceeds that of those bound in cloth. This is almost entirely the growth of the last ten or twelve years. Formerly the paper cover bore but a slight part of the total book production; to-day it constitutes more than one half. It is probable that the number of paper covered books (I am of course excluding the dime novel and all its kindred) exceeds five million copies a year. These, as is well known, are almost exclusively novels. The output of the cheap cloth series of uncopyrighted books is probably about one half the paper production, or in the neighborhood of three million a year. It is doubtful if the number of copyright books in cloth will reach more than a million or a million and a half. It is certainly safe to say that the combined book issue of the country falls short of ten million copies. Of this issue, the vast bulk of course is fiction. Of the round 5,000 new books and new editions recorded for the trade annually, twenty-five per cent of the titles are those of novels. It would be impossible to estimate what proportion of the total issue is fiction, but gauging the sales of three of the leading book stores of New York it may be

roughly put down at more than four-fifths. Of all the books sold in this country, it is probable that fully ninety per cent is stories.

It will be of interest to ascertain who rank as America's most popular authors, or in other words, who in the estimation of the whole people are regarded as the greatest writers. We have all of us heard more or less of a "native writer named Roe." It is more than evident that the late Matthew Arnold's literary tastes differed widely from ours, for this native writer named Roe, in the graphic parlance of the day unmistakably "has the call." Altogether, more than 2,000,000 of his books have been sold to date, and they continue to sell steadily at the rate of about 100,000 per year. But in point of immediate popularity, Roe is outranked by both L. B. Porter ("Albert Ross") and Laura Jean Libbey. Of the "Albatross" novels some 900,000 have been sold thus far, and the annual sale ranges from two to three hundred thousand. It is impossible to give any close figures on the sale of Laura Jean Libbey's works, but as single editions of 150,000 are frequently put out, and as the author is exceedingly fecund, she may fairly dispute the palm with the author of "Thou Shalt Not." Dickens, of course has an immense and steady sale, and next to him we probably place the novels grouped under the name of "Bertha M. Clay." The most popular book of the generation is "Ben-Hur," the edition of which has now reached 700,000 copies. Only "Robert Elsmere" can compare with it, though the career of the latter was brief. But while the fad lasted, the book sold as no other book that was ever issued. Upwards of half a million copies were printed in this country alone. "The Kreutzer Sonata" too, before Mr. Wanamaker got through booming it, enjoyed a wide distribution.

Of books of a heavier cast, Gen. Grant's autobiography is far in the lead, some 350,000 sets, or 700,000 volumes, having been issued to date. Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" has passed the 400,000 mark. Of poets, Will Carleton probably enjoys the widest favor.

Now if we turn to great writers like Mr. Howells and Mr.

James, George Meredith, Herbert Spencer, Swinburne, and others of a similar intellectual level, we shall find that with them an edition of forty or fifty thousand is an exceedingly rare affair, and that, even with some I have mentioned, an edition of 10,000, and perhaps less, is probably much nearer the average.

Summing up the results of the inquiry, we may say briefly, perhaps bluntly, that the American people read novels and newspapers, and these alone. What they read of anything else is viewed against the aggregate too little and of too slight consequence to be worth considering. I do not mean to say that books and periodicals of real worth are utterly without effect. Doubtless in a certain way they do exercise some effect, maintaining higher standards, and holding out in a not altogether ineffectual way against the deluge. But they have nothing of the influence our little literary world with such comic seriousness imagines. If we were to believe, and in some curious way we really have come to believe—what our critics and magazines and reviews tell us, the names of those who habitually cluster about the pens of Mr. Lang, Mr. Gosse, Mr. Howells, or Mr. Boyesen, are the dominating spirits of our literature. But in reality, viewing their influence upon the whole broad flood that rolls from the printing press, we shall see that they count for as little as some tributary streamlet pouring its limpid waters into the turbid currents of the Mississippi.

Nor have we any indications that our popular reading is improving in quality. On the contrary, it has within the present generation undergone a serious and unmistakable deterioration. No one can compare the clean and conservative newspaper of twelve or fifteen years ago, with the sensational daily of to-day, or can compute the enormous production of worthless and trashy literature, without perceiving that the tastes of the people have experienced a marked decline. In a word, the American public viewed in its entirety, not only reads merely newspapers and novels, but as a general rule the worse classes of each. And this it must be said is true not only as a fact, but also as a tendency.

CARL SNYDER.

THE SINGLE TAX AND TRANSPORTATION.

BY W. EDWIN BROKAW.

I HOLD that there is but one excuse for the existence of government, which excuse is at the same time the sole function of government, namely : to secure equity. I believe that in no stage of civilization above that of the nomadic, can equity be secured without government, for the reason that civilization cannot advance beyond that stage without men holding land in exclusive possession, which involves the necessity of adjusting man's relation to the earth by means of some system of land tenure that shall recognize the equal freedom of all men. I hold that for government to do less is for it to permit the infringement of equal freedom ; that for it to do more is for it to itself infringe upon the equal freedom of the individual.

From this standpoint every political question is merely a question of equity. In regard to transportation, then, "What method or methods will best secure equity?" is the question I am asked to discuss. Freedom is the absence of restrictions and special privileges. Equal freedom is the restriction of the freedom of each only by the like freedom of the rest, and the balancing of special privileges by equivalents. Equal freedom is equity.

In order to clear the way for a full understanding of the subject, it becomes necessary for me to briefly treat of the whole question of land-tenure.

There are two methods of using land—common use and exclusive use.

Wherever land is held in exclusive use, under all land-tenure systems, a price is paid for the privilege of such possession. Under our present system, the price is paid either in purchase money or rent, annually or otherwise. It is paid, however, to

the wrong parties. It does not require much education or very much reflection for anyone to see, when once it is pointed out to him, that what men pay for is not land, but the privilege of exclusive possession. The importance of this distinction cannot be overestimated. No one will pay another for the privilege of using land that is open to the use of all at any time. Undisturbed possession is what men want when they pay for land. That means the power to exclude all others. Where there are no others to desire possession, the power to exclude others is not a privilege and is not worth anything. The presence of population makes such power a privilege, the value of which increases as population does, until, in the heart of the large cities, men pay enormous sums per front foot for it. To those of you who reflect, it must be clear that the presence of each person in a community adds to the value of the privilege of exclusive possession of locations therein.

As no man has any natural right to exclude another from any portion of the earth, seeing that to do so is to deny the other equal freedom with himself, it necessarily follows that he who holds exclusive possession of any location can do so justly, only by compensating those whom he excludes for this denial of their freedom to use that location. In the nature of things, because of the continual shifting of population, such payment can be but for brief periods at a time. And as population not only causes the value of such privileges but also causes public expenses, to take the one to pay the other is the simplest and surest way to secure to each his share of the fund resulting from each compensating all for exclusion from valuable locations. This fund is known as land values and the single tax is the method, which I have just described, of collecting it.

The single tax is not only the best method of taxation yet devised, but it is, at the same time, the best method of securing equity in the use of the earth, where exclusive possession is resorted to. Under such a system, where one pays just as much for the privilege, whether he uses it or not, there will be no profit in holding such a privilege without using it, and the more and better it is used the more will be the profit of the holding.

For this reason, land holding will be limited to use by the personal interest of the holders.

Then there will always be plenty of opportunities for labor to employ itself, instead of, as now, competing for the privilege of working for another. A few hours work per day would then easily support anyone in what most people now consider luxury.

As the physical man is "a mode of motion," he is governed by the law of motion, which follows the line of least resistance; that is, he seeks to gratify his desires with the least exertion. His first desires are physical—for those things which sustain life—for food, clothing, shelter; in a word, wealth. So long as access to the earth—from which all wealth must be produced—is made difficult for most men, seeking to gratify the first desire will absorb the thought of most men.

The second desire is for the notice, attention, recognition or approval of fellow-men; in a word, esteem. So long as the acquisition of wealth is made hard for the masses, those who acquire it in largest amounts attract most attention, and thus is their second desire fed. But under conditions where the efforts of a few hours a day would enable everyone to live in luxury, the first desire would be easily gratified by all and the amassing of wealth would be considered foolish, so that the gratification of the second desire would be sought in other ways.

With the easy satisfaction of the first desire, the second would become dominant and could only be gratified by serving men—by meriting their esteem.

Under such conditions, the inventor would no more seek a pecuniary reward for his labors than the scientist does to-day. For he who gave to humanity the most useful invention or discovery would secure the highest esteem, and wealth being within easy reach of all, his comfort would not depend upon pecuniary returns for his invention. There would then be no excuse for patent laws, which, having for their object the securing to the inventor a temporary monopoly of his invention, in order to derive a pecuniary return, result usually in securing this monopoly to manufacturers who obtain control of inventions for little or nothing, because of the poverty of

inventors. These laws also result in retarding the adoption of the latest improvements, thousands of useful inventions being bought up and held out of use by monopolies like the Western Union Telegraph Company. When there are no patent laws, the public will receive the benefit of all inventions at once. Free competition in the manufacture of such things will place them within easy reach of everyone, and under free conditions the inventor could be the first to manufacture his inventions, if he chose to do so. Until the patent laws are abolished the transportation question cannot be settled, for a question is never settled until it is settled right.

Keeping in mind these facts regarding the direction of men's efforts under freedom, and the absence thereunder of all patent laws, let us see how to adjust the transportation problem to the law of equal freedom, which may be thus stated: That every person have freedom to do all that he wills, provided that in the doing thereof he infringe not the equal freedom of any other.

The primary freedom, upon which all other freedom rests, is freedom in the use of the earth. The transportation question relates to man's freedom to use those portions of the earth that are used in common. It is self-evident that such use cannot be in accord with equal freedom if anyone is allowed any exclusive privileges in it. Hence all charters to companies granting them the privilege of exclusive possession of highways deny to all others equal freedom in the use of such highways. The value of such a franchise is purely a value of exclusion—the privilege of keeping others off—and would not exist if all could have free access to that highway. The paved street that is free to all has no franchise value. But give me the privilege to exclude all vehicles from that street, that I choose to, and there will immediately be a street value which will be large or small in proportion to the population I am enabled to exclude. The old toll road, which still lingers in a few places in the United States, is the simplest form of street franchises. The modern railways and telegraph lines are more complex forms of the same thing.

Equity requires the abolition of such privileges not the taxation of them, for they are privileges in portions of

the earth that must be used in common, and equal freedom in such use cannot be secured by taxing franchises. It is only where locations are not used in common that both exclusive possession and equal freedom can be secured by taxing the privilege of exclusion. It must be remembered that the taxation of the values of land held in exclusive possession will secure equity (as to such land) by balancing the special privilege with an equivalent. The paying of the tax entitles the possessor to exclude all others. To apply that method to public highways is to empower those who pay the franchise-tax to exclude all others on such terms as they please. But, as the highways must be used in common, how can such a method secure equity in the use? For how can the holders of such a franchise charge for the use of the highway except according to use—so much a ride or trip? And thus would people be taxed for using the common highways—those portions of the earth where exclusive use is impossible. Yet we do not advocate taxing exclusive holdings according to use.

If society owned and operated all means of transportation, there would be two ways of defraying the expenses thereof; either by charging tolls or by the taxation of adjacent land values. The former would be a charge in proportion to use and would, therefore, be a tax upon effort. The latter can be the only method single taxers could consistently support, thus requiring the transportation to be free of all tolls.

For society to lease to private corporations the privilege of conducting the carrying trade, would simply be to farm out to them the power to tax the people, by means of tolls, for using highways, which would of course be according to use.

It is obvious that single taxers must choose between government ownership and operation, free of toll, and government maintenance of roadbeds, with the carrying trade left open to free competition. I hold that the latter is all that is necessary to secure equal freedom, and if it is, for society to do more would be for it to infringe upon the equal freedom of individuals.

But there are those who hold that land values would be more

than sufficient for all government expenses, when such expenses were reduced to an economical administration under single tax conditions, and that the government would be under the necessity of expending the balance in providing other public services. It seems to me that such persons leave several things out of consideration. While land is monopolized, the landlords can charge "all the traffic will bear" for the privilege of using land, which is all above that which men will consent to live on and work. There is where land values are to-day. And every saving of waste or increase of production only increases the landlord's power. But when the single tax has limited land-holding to use, the values will contain none of that speculative element—will absorb no one's wages. The privilege of excluding others from any location will then be determined by the benefits conferred by society and every public service will be reflected in increased land values. To say that free men will pay more for such benefits than they cost is absurd. It is evident, then, that public expenses and land values must either balance or there will forever be a surplus to perplex and corrupt the people. It should be remembered that land values and public expenses are both caused by population and should, therefore, balance.

Why cannot rail highways be maintained by society, open to all, free of toll, as are paved and graded highways? Some one says: "Everyone cannot own a train." Neither can everyone own a wagon; nor is it necessary. There is free competition between steamers on the water, because all are equally free to put on steamers. That fact prevents charges becoming high enough to induce others to put on steamers. The same is true of drays and busses—or would be if it were not for the local protective tariffs euphoniously called "licenses." And the same would be true of railways. "But there would be collisions," you may say. There are collisions now, and more than there would be under free conditions. What more reasons for accidents on rail than on water, under free competition? Do not steamers have to conform to a code of signals and rules in order to avoid accidents? So would trains. Time cards and train dis-

patchers, so long as necessary, would be a part of the maintenance of a free highway, as police are now supposed to be in a crowded city street. The fact that the smallest railway company in the United States could then run trains to any part of the country, free of toll, by simply conforming to time cards and train orders, would secure free competition. The power to charge "all the traffic will bear" is due to the privilege of exclusive possession of that particular highway, not to the control of the rolling stock. Were the highway free, any wholesale house could put on a train to deliver its goods to any point in the country, if the railway companies attempted to charge extortionate rates. They cannot do that now. Reflection upon this point will show that there is no force to the objection that "only large corporations could engage in the carrying trade" over such roads, and that combinations among corporations for the purpose of controlling the trade would be impossible so long as the smallest companies were free to run their trains over any track in the country.

But there are those who hold that it is the duty of society to maintain an "open market," and that in order to do so, it must transport men and products across the country without charge. I do not understand what such men mean by an "open market." But I contend that it is not the duty of society to furnish anything, whether free or not, but that its sole function is to secure and maintain equal freedom; and that consists chiefly in equal freedom in the use of the earth. To do either more or less is to secure unequal freedom—inequity. For, whenever a government does not allow individuals the freedom to perform any service for themselves that they choose to—the doing of which does not infringe the equal freedom of others—it is unnecessarily restricting their freedom. If such things were authorized by unanimous vote, it might do; but for a majority to authorize it (and democratic government is a matter of majorities), is for them to use the government machinery to prevent the minority from doing that which in no wise infringes upon equal freedom. That is not equity. Even if the government could do it better and cheaper, that would not make it equitable. I consider

government simply a collectivity of individuals, which can have no powers or duties not derived from the individuals, and that intelligent individuals will delegate no more to the collectivity than sufficient to secure them in equal freedom, as none desire the disadvantages of an unequal freedom. Such freedom no more requires the collectivity to carry my grain from Cornville to Chicago or Liverpool than from my field to my granaries. My distance from the Chicago market will be found registered in the value of the location I hold. Free transportation would shorten that distance, pecuniarily, only to increase the value of my location. And as I would have to pay for the transportation in increased land values, if the government carried it for me free, my freedom would be greater if I could pay any private firm I chose for transportation, such firms being under free competition in the use of free highways. And, in the absence of free transportation, those increased land values would also be absent. The idea that it would be all right for government to assume that function, because the increased land values would pay for it, leads to communism. Free drug stores and groceries would also increase land values and could be paid for by a land-value tax. The more the government furnishes, the higher will land values be, and *vice versa*. The question is not "How much government can we get by means of the single tax?" nor "How nearly can we equalize the possession of wealth?" but "How much freedom can we gain?" The object to be sought is not equality of possessions, but equality of freedom. Equal freedom is the highest freedom possible for all. It cannot be secured, in the use of highways, by private control, but can be by public maintenance of the roadbeds, free of toll, and leaving to individual competition the transportation thereon.

Moreover, true free trade is freedom of exchange and requires that my freedom to transport and be transported, by whomsoever I please, shall only be restricted where necessary to prevent me from invading the equal freedom of others. If public maintenance of roadbeds, with individual ownership and operation of vehicles, will secure equal freedom, then further restriction of individual competition is re-

striction of trade—an invasion of individual freedom that is unnecessary.

How the abolition of patent laws would make competition freer, by cheapening appliances used in transportation, may be readily seen by all. But the most noticeable benefit would be in relation to the transportation of intelligence by wire. The recent invention of Asa Gray, the telautograph, is probably destined to largely supplant both the telegraph and telephone. See what would be possible with such an invention, if there were no patents. Free competition in the manufacture would place the instruments within easy reach of all, especially when wealth was easily acquired by all. With the railroad system I advocate, the carrying of packages by the government would be inconsistent and would be abandoned to individual enterprise. For the monopoly of express companies is derived from the railway monopolies and consists in the exclusive privilege of doing business over those lines. With the plan I have outlined, there would be free competition between express companies, and that would mean the best of service at the least cost. The government could then construct and maintain the wire highways in the same manner as the rail highways. And, if all were free to connect instruments to the public wire, there would be equality of access. The postmasters could then become the managers of the central offices in each place, with duties similar to those of the manager of a central telephone station at present. Under such conditions, there would be very little letter mail, which could and should be left to express companies, the majority of communications being then carried on by means of the telautograph. This would secure equal freedom to all in the use of the wire and rail highways, without government operation. And as every intelligent person desires the largest possible freedom, and an intelligent people will not surrender to the collectivity anything more than absolutely necessary to secure and maintain equal freedom, it follows that the solution of the transportation problem is to be found in government maintenance of all highways, free of all tolls, and the leaving to individuals free competition in the use thereof.

W. E. BROKAW.

GREAT CITIES AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

BY C. E. PICKARD.

IT MAY be safely stated that along one line, at least, democratic institutions in the United States are a conspicuous, admitted, and—so far—disastrous failure. In an article published some time since in *The Forum*,* Mr. Andrew D. White made use of the following remarkable language: "Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt."

Strong as is that statement, it is fully borne out by the facts. Indeed, it may be said to be admitted on all hands, or at least generally recognized by those who have given the matter any thoughtful consideration, whether our own countrymen or foreign observers. So true is this that one is disposed to wonder, not at the strong language which Mr. White saw fit to use, but that he should suggest that there may be some "very few exceptions." He does not state where those exceptions are found, and a study of the facts will probably fail to disclose them. This is so generally admitted that, in his "American Commonwealth,"† Mr. Bryce says: "That adaptation of the institutions to the people and their conditions, which the judicious stranger admires in the United States and the consequent satisfaction of the people with their institutions, which contrasts so agreeably with the discontent of European nations, is wholly absent as regards municipal administration."

It would be a concession to attempt proof of what has been said to be generally admitted, and I shall not attempt it. Still

* *Forum*, Vol. 10, p. 357.

† "American Commonwealth," Vol. I., p. 618.

a few facts such as I have been able to gather from a mass of statistics, in the brief time at my disposal, may not prove without interest, and may even prove somewhat startling.

In 1887 the city government of New York* cost \$42.18 per capita; of Boston,* \$46 per capita; of Chicago,* not including special assessments, by which most improvements are made, or park and boulevard taxes, \$17 per capita; of London,† in 1881, \$14 per capita; of Paris,† \$23 per capita; and of Vienna,† \$10 per capita. Between 1860 and 1875, the fifteen largest cities of the United States, increasing in population 70.5 per cent, and in taxable valuation of the property in them 156.9 per cent, increased their municipal indebtedness 270.9 per cent, and their taxation 363.2 per cent.

From Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," published in 1883, I find that in London, with a fire brigade of thirteen men to one hundred thousand inhabitants, at an annual cost of ten cents per inhabitant, there was an annual loss by fires of \$1.32 per inhabitant; in Paris, with a brigade of sixty-eight per one hundred thousand inhabitants, at an annual cost of twenty-two cents per inhabitant, there was a fire loss of sixty-eight cents per inhabitant; while in New York, with a fire brigade of fifty-five to one hundred thousand inhabitants, at an annual cost of ninety-six cents per inhabitant, the loss was \$3 per inhabitant; in Philadelphia, with a fire brigade of forty-nine per one hundred thousand, costing fifty-eight cents per annum per inhabitant, the loss was \$2.44; in Chicago,‡ with forty firemen per one hundred thousand people, costing ninety-six cents per inhabitant, the loss was \$3.60, and in Boston, with one hundred and thirty-eight firemen per one hundred thousand people, costing annually \$1.58 per inhabitant, the loss was \$2.88.†

Referring to the police,|| I find that in London,† with a police costing \$485 per officer, per annum, each officer averages seven arrests per year; in Paris,† with a police force costing \$720 per

* Ely's "Taxation."

† Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" (1883).

‡ The increased expense in Chicago is probably largely due to the number of frame buildings.

|| See *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXX., p. 305, etc.

officer, each officer makes an average of twenty-nine arrests per annum; while in the cities of the United States, of over fifty thousand population,* the average annual cost per officer is \$1,000, and each officer makes forty arrests per year. This leads directly to the criminal statistics, which are even more startling—for it is not flattering to our national vanity to know how we stand as compared with European nations. In France, according to Mulhall, between the years 1871 and 1880, there were in penal servitude forty-five criminals for each one hundred thousand of population; in England, including state prisons and local jails and prisons, one hundred and eight per one hundred thousand; in Scotland, eighty-two per one hundred thousand; while in the United States the census of 1880 shows that there were in the prisons and jails one hundred and thirty-six criminals for every one hundred thousand people. Along one line of crime the showing is particularly bad.† Out of every million deaths, homicide is the cause, in England, of 711; in Ireland, of 883; in France, of 796; in Russia, of 970; in Austria, of 930; in Germany, of 837; in Italy, of 3,024; in Spain, of 3,200; and in the United States, of 2,460. But when we look into the nature of the homicides, the showing is far worse. Excluding infanticide and manslaughter, out of every million deaths, murder is the cause, in England, of 237; in Ireland, of 294; in France, of 265; in Russia, of 323; in Austria, of 310; in Germany, of 299; in Italy, of 504; in Spain, of 533; and in the United States, of 820. Now the special application of these figures to the matter in hand lies in the fact that by far the greater proportion of all the crime comes from our great cities. The census of 1880 shows, taking the entire country into consideration, one prisoner for every eight hundred and eighty-five inhabitants, or one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine to the million. But when we take into account the thirty-two cities of upwards of fifty thousand population each, the same census shows that with an aggregate population of 7,158,827, the number of prisoners is 19,143, one to each three hundred and seventy-three inhabitants, or 2.679 per million

* Reports of Prison Congress, 1890.

† Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" (1883).

—a ratio of more than two and one fourth times that of the entire country at large.*

I have given these figures, not with a view to prove the statement as to the comparative inefficiency and expense of our great cities, but only to illustrate it. Many more might be given, and in much greater detail, if I had the time to collect and digest them, and if you had the patience to listen. Some of those given may require some modification, which would make them, perhaps, not quite so unfavorable; others, perhaps, might be made still worse—but they illustrate, in part at least, a generally admitted fact.

Coming next to the comparative efficiency of our municipal government, which has indeed been touched upon already, I refer again to the article of Mr. White already quoted from. It was undoubtedly noted that the government of Paris was shown to be much more expensive than that of London or Vienna; but Paris is famous for its excellent municipal conditions. In speaking of Paris during the Exposition of 1889, Mr. White says,† in substance, that every street was well paved and kept clean; every house in good repair; all lines of communication carefully studied, and all obstacles removed; that the illumination was so perfect that in the principal streets a newspaper could be read at night; that there were no such high buildings as to cast a shade over the street and depress public health; no steam boilers where they could do injury; that the sewerage was as perfect as advanced science could make it; that there were subterranean ways and canals for the refuse, whereby it was carried to remote districts, where it became a blessing—and that these were so well kept that ladies traveled miles through them without discomfort; that when it became necessary to put in new lines of electric railways the subject was scientifically

* It will be noticed that the above figures are taken from the decade between 1880 and 1890. I have taken these figures for two reasons; first, because the reports from the census of 1890 are not yet in such shape as to be readily accessible to me in the limited time at my disposal; second, because I did not have at hand from European cities and countries, figures of a more recent date, which were necessary for purposes of comparison. It is fair to say that such more recent figures as I have been able to find have tended to still more strongly emphasize the comparison.

The amount collected in Chicago for municipal purposes, for instance, in 1893, was about \$30 per capita—the total sum being nearly one eleventh of the entire revenue of the United States port.—*Record*, February 16, 1894.

† *The Forum*, Vol. X., p. 357 et seq.

studied by men of known ability, and put into practice speedily, without disturbance and without jobbery—contrasting the last point with the method of dealing with the same matter in New York, where a commission was appointed solely upon “political lines” and composed of men no one of whom had the slightest knowledge of the subject.

The subject may be left without comment. There is no need of making comparisons in detail—they are too obvious. I will, however, make one quotation. In Chapter LII. of Bryce’s “American Commonwealth,”* Mr. Seth Low, of Brooklyn, speaking of the streets of American cities, says: “The comparison with cities of Europe in these respects is immensely to the disadvantage of the American city.” So true is this that Mr. White,† referring to the the general condition of New York, can find but one European city with which to compare it, and that one is Constantinople! From personal experience, I can say that Boston and Philadelphia are no better than New York, and that Chicago is much, very much, worse. Indeed, I need refer only to one fact to prove the contrast—to Cottage Grove Avenue, one of the great avenues of Chicago leading to the Fair. Its badly paved condition in general, with unpaved parts between 43d and 55th streets, and its entirely unpaved portion south of 55th street, save in the car tracks, causing a mass of mud in wet weather, and a blinding cloud of flying dust in dry, was simply a disgrace.

Coming to the corruption in the government of American cities, the facts are too well known and too obvious to need comment. The Democratic Tweed ring of New York, the Republican gas ring of Philadelphia, and the long and disgraceful hold which they kept upon the people, are facts familiar to all. I shall recur to them again. In general, it may be said that the council of our great cities, elected upon party lines, when it comes to a vote, divide only upon lines of boodlers and anti-boodlers, while “all the world wonders.” As to comparison, there is none. In an article in *The Forum*,‡ Mr. Amos Fiske,

* Vol. II., Chapter LII. (written by Mr. Low).

† Vol. III., p. 170.

‡ *The Forum*, Vol. X., p. 357 *et seq.*

in speaking of London, says : "The mere participation of one or two men of note in a piece of jobbery which in most of our American cities would have been thought too mild for notice, was considered so crying a scandal that it overturned the old system and led to the establishment of that under which the city is now conducted."

So much for the evils. Let us look at the general nature of the means by which attempts have been and are made to remedy them; and this is the point upon which this paper turns. These attempts at correction may be classed, roughly, into two general lines—the first, a taking of the government of the city, in a greater or less degree, from the citizens of the city and placing it in the general legislature of the state; the second, along the line of taking from the people the election of municipal executive officers, and centralizing the administrative function in a mayor of almost autocratic power, chosen for a term the length of which there is a growing tendency to increase.*

Along the first line instances are not far to seek. A conspicuous example is found in those constitutional regulations of many, if not most, states, forbidding the municipalities from contracting an indebtedness in excess of a certain fixed limit. Before such limits were fixed, the officials of our large cities, actuated by the laudable desire of keeping themselves in office, tried to gain popularity and votes by apparently keeping the taxes down, making up for the deficiency by borrowing large sums, about the payment of which they left it to their successors and to posterity to worry. These municipal debts grew to such vast proportions that it was found necessary to impose, by constitutional provisions, a limit which the cities could not be trusted to fix for themselves. Other instances may be found in the high license laws, which are attempts to regulate the liquor traffic, whose evil is most crying in large cities, and by which, by a state vote, are imposed license fees which cities, left to themselves, would in but few, if any, cases adopt; in the Australian ballot laws, which, framed it is true for the entire

* Bryce's "American Commonwealth," Vol. I., p. 616; Fiske's "Civil Government in United States," Chapter on Cities.

state, are directed against frauds against the ballot committed practically nowhere, and practically efficient nowhere save in the large cities; in the constitutional regulations forbidding the granting of special charters to the cities, compelling organization of new ones under "general laws"—and in the numerous general laws regulating the executive and administrative functions of the cities. These attempts to govern the cities by the legislature or by the state have gone still further. In Massachusetts,* the entire police force of Boston, and the matter of regulating, licensing, and prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating drinks, are taken from the city and placed in a board of three commissioners, appointed for five years by the governor and council. Somewhat the same, as to police, is true of New York, where this board is supposed to be made non-partisan by a regulation that an equal number of each "great party" shall be appointed—a regulation which makes it even more fully partisan and tends to perpetuate politics in municipal affairs. A more conspicuous instance is found in New York where, by a law passed in 1857, some of the departments of the city government were taken from the city and put into the hands of the legislature. The law was a failure as far as correcting abuses was concerned, and was finally much modified in 1869, when the Democrats gained control of both branches of the legislature and of the executive. The legislature was then appealed to, and passed a law which seemed, in the main, excellent; indeed it was generally advocated—only the *Tribune* and *Evening Post* seeing the dangers. Yet this law, devised by the New York ring and put into operation, was the law under which the Tweed ring grew, plundered, and flourished. Without going further into detail, the point which I wish to emphasize, as to all this class of legislation, is that it is thoroughly undemocratic.

It strikes at the root of local self-government, which is as necessary a support for the superstructure of our institutions as is national unity. This has been recognized by a number of

* Fiske's "Civil Government in United States."

writers,* who point out the danger and say that the cities must be allowed complete autonomy.

The trouble with leaving our cities to govern themselves, at least along purely democratic lines, lies in the fact that experience shows that they are utterly unworthy of the trust. It is possible, perhaps probable, that with a system of "proportional representation," coupled with the abolition of the idea of dividing the city into districts, each of which must choose as its representative a resident of the district, better men might be chosen. But this is doubtful. It seems to be generally recognized that until there can be an absolute divorce of "politics" from city government,† and a management of these cities upon a purely business basis, as is done in the case of the European cities to a large degree, there can be little, if any, hope for improvement. That any such divorce will ever be granted by the powers having jurisdiction of the marriage, or by any other power, seems to me unlikely in the extreme. Certainly the present tendency is to make the union more and more indissoluble. Occasionally an attempt is made which is successful for a time in producing a temporary separation, followed by an ultimate and generally speedy reconciliation. Philadelphia, in its Titanic struggles to rid itself of the gas ring Octopus, finally brought about a union of the Democratic party with the "committee of one hundred," and carried the elections for a time. But the "committee of one hundred" was looked upon askance, with a "who-set-thee-up-to-judge-over-us" air; the people wearied of well doing; the ring finally triumphed over its adversary, and party politics still rules the day. In New York, since the downfall of the Tweed ring, repeated attempts have been made to dislodge Tammany by non-partisan tickets—almost uniformly without success. In Chicago no such attempt has been successful since the fall of 1871, immediately after the fire. Indeed, it seems useless to hope for such a separation when that separation means a loss of party control of local offices, preventing

* F. P. Cranden in *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXX., p. 305-321; Amos Fiske in *The Forum*, Vol. III., p. 170, and others.

† See: A. D. White in *The Forum*, Vol. X.; Amos Fiske in *The Forum*, Vol. III. (above); F. P. Cranden in *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXX., p. 321; Fiske in "Civil Government in United States." Chapter on Cities.

their distribution among the ward "heelers" and "workers" as a reward for those services in the campaign and at the polls—without which "party" success is believed impossible. This tendency to unite local affairs with national politics I believe to be growing rather than decreasing, checked only occasionally by a sporadic outbreak. It seems useless, therefore, to hope for a change in this direction, and without such a change the administration of its own affairs cannot be safely left to the large city. With a professional gambler and faro dealer as one of the city members of the state board of equalization, comes, as I write, the announcement that a large and enthusiastic meeting has just been held in the First Ward of Chicago, for the purpose of bringing about the nomination, to succeed an alderman known as "Bath-house Johnny," of a professional gambler, whose only claim to public notice lies in his famous, or infamous, connection with a gambling "clock." Of the men whom the electorate of our large cities choose for the legislature, with some noticeable exceptions, it may in general be said that we should pay an unwarranted compliment to their honesty, ability, and decency, if we expressed a doubt as to their fitness to act as referees of a dog fight. Cities cannot be trusted with local autonomy.

Along the second line the attempts at correction are equally undemocratic in their tendencies. These efforts are well illustrated in the present city government of Brooklyn. The changes made over the old *régime* are (1) in the line of civil service reforms; (2) lengthening the term of the mayor, and diminishing both the frequency of elections and the number of elective offices, and (3) the giving to the mayor of almost autocratic power, leaving in the council nothing but legislative work and the voting of supplies, the appropriation for which they may diminish, but not increase. In Boston changes of the same general nature, but not so marked, have been made. Still more illustrative of this tendency are the remedies proposed by the New York committee on municipal reform of 1876, in which the power of the mayor was made almost absolute along executive lines, the mayor himself to be removable by the governor; careful limitations were thrown around the power to borrow

money, and, more marked than all, the finances of the city were to be managed wholly by a board of finance of fifteen, elected by those citizens only who possessed certain property qualifications. True, the plan, needing a Constitutional Amendment to put it into force, was voted down at the poles under the influence of party bosses; but though not adopted, its recommendation by the committee was significant as showing the tendency of the times.

The point to be noticed in this connection is the undemocratic nature of the changes,* and the marked departure from the ideas of our fathers. To them, a city, modeled somewhat to be sure upon the municipalities of Europe, was nevertheless a little state within the state. In his "Civil Government in America," Mr. Fiske says†: "The present is especially a period of experiment, yet in these experiments perhaps a general drift of public opinion may be discerned. People seem to be coming to regard cities more as if they were huge business corporations than as if they were little republics. The lesson has been learned that, in executive matters, too much limitation of power entails destruction of responsibility: the 'ring' is ever more dreaded than the 'one man power,' and there is a manifest tendency to assail the evil by concentrating power and responsibility in the mayor." Speaking of Brooklyn, he says‡: "Fifty years ago such a reduction of elective offices would have greatly shocked all good Americans." And Mr. Seth Low, in Bryce's "American Commonwealth,"‡ speaking of this entrusting of the entire responsibility of Brooklyn's government to the mayor, says that the charter "equips him fearlessly with the necessary power to discharge his trust." The word "fearlessly" in the above quotation is worthy of note. Without multiplying instances the fact is clear that these changes are undemocratic, in that they take from the people the election of officials and tend toward the establishment of the one man power in executive matters, at which, together with the tendency to lengthen

* Bryce's "American Commonwealth," Vol. I., pp. 605, 625.

† "Civil Government in America," p. 132.

‡ Bryce's "American Commonwealth," Chapter LII.

terms and diminish the frequency of elections, we are looking without fear or dread.

One further fact is to be noted, and that is the establishing of posts of the United States army in close proximity to our great cities. New York and Boston have had such posts near them for a long time, and the recent establishment of Fort Sheridan near Chicago is known to all. It is also well known that the secretly acknowledged, though not publicly avowed, reason for desiring that post near Chicago, was that the United States army might be near in case of disorder. It may be well, even necessary perhaps, to have the army near at hand, but a thing more undemocratic and more strongly tending to an overturning of democratic ideas could hardly be imagined.

Now let me not be misunderstood; I am not in any way attempting to decry the great cities, and do not claim that they are in any way detrimental to the best interest of humanity. I have endeavored to show, first, that our great cities, under our democratic institutions, are the worst governed in Christendom, a fact that is generally admitted; second, that the efforts which are being made to correct these abuses are made upon lines which are thoroughly undemocratic; and, third, that there is but little hope of any permanent correction of these abuses by purely local self-government.

Brought face to face with these facts, I see in them the germ of a force which threatens the permanency of democratic institutions in America.

Indeed, upon general principles the passing away of our institutions is to be expected. It is the merest truism to assert that if history teaches us one lesson more conclusively than another, it is the world-life lesson of growth and decay; that institutions and governments, passing from the scene like individuals, can hope only for a longer or shorter existence, according as they possess within them that elasticity which enables them to accommodate themselves to the constantly changing environment. Institutions apparently as firmly fixed as ours have endured for centuries; but as conditions shifted, some glacial epoch of time has overwhelmed them, and receding, has left to our view

only ruined fragments to show what those institutions were, and only scratches on the rocks to show the nature and course of the power that destroyed them. Our nation, government, and institutions must pass as others have passed. Whether the existence of those institutions—more or less modified, but still in substantially the same form—shall be co-extensive with those physical and geographical conditions which render life and national existence in their present form possible, or whether they are not likely to be overturned in the nearer future, is, however, a question which admits of debate and demands our serious consideration. By our institutions, I mean the principles of democracy as they now exist in this country—and in questioning their permanence, I mean such a permanence as will continue beyond the near future and extend into the coming centuries until destroyed by such natural changes as will render national life as it now exists impossible, or until overturned by the *vis major* of some external power.

Perhaps we, as a people, are somewhat too prone to look with complacency upon our virtues; to be impatient of any attempt, however honest and well meant, to show us our faults and failures; to attribute to our institutions, and therefore to the work of our own hands, those features of excellence which are largely, if not wholly, due to unsurpassed and unsurpassable conditions. At any rate, be that as it may, nothing can be gained by sitting Brahm-like, with eyes closed to all save our own virtues, "sole meditating in the night." I may, perhaps, be accused of pessimism when I say that I believe I see in our institutions forces which seem to indicate their destruction in a not so very remote future—facts which are little rifts in the dyke, and which, enlarging with the waters trickling through them, point to the ultimate destruction of the whole. Such, however, I believe to be the fact.

I must pass as briefly and rapidly as possible to the conclusion which I draw from the facts, and because of the brevity which the limits of this paper demand, shall be compelled to take much as proven, and may be unable to state these conclusions with all their necessary modifications.

While it is true that we have heretofore successfully met the greater crises in our history, these have been of such a nature that our very success in overcoming them points to our probable failure along the other lines. These crises have been upon the line of attack upon our national unity; and in triumphing over the forces tending to destroy that support of our nation, we have brought about a continually growing tendency toward centralization of power at the expense of local autonomy, together with a tendency to increase the powers and tenure of the executive. Numerous facts might be cited if I had the time. One straw shows the wind's direction. Fifty years ago a president would not have dared, even in so righteous a cause, to coerce a Senate—yet to-day such a coercion is looked upon with approval, or at least without fear, save by those who oppose the measure which it was the president's design to have passed.

Other crises we are sure to have, and that in the near future; they will not be attacks upon national union, but rather upon wealth and property, and incident to these, upon good order. The public lands are nearly gone. There is no longer a frontier. The streams from the East moving westward, meet the streams from the West moving back toward the East. To us who can remember the time when a man desiring good land had only to harness his team to a "prairie schooner" and go and take it, the mad rush to Oklahoma and the Cherokee Strip, with their concomitant fraud, force, and crime, is fraught with a dire significance. The growing scarcity of land is forcing a constantly greater number of men into our large cities, creating a rapidly enlarging and dangerous proletariat. From a percentage, in 1770, of 3.33 of our population in our cities of over four thousand inhabitants each, we have, in 1880, 32.5 per cent, and in 1890, 50 per cent. Ominous rumbles and an occasional earthquake shock, shaking certain of our fabrics to their foundation, point to the mighty heaving, fiery mass beneath our social soil that, unless it finds outlets through natural channels, will one day rend the whole. As all the land is taken, and as farms and homes become dear, we may look for such a crisis as the nation has never before known. Unless our institutions have

that elasticity which will enable them to yield to the strain, they must break. Along the lines in which there is the greatest strain, I have endeavored to show that there is already a growing tendency toward disruption. When the greater crises come, as come they must, can we believe that democratic ideas will be any more successful in dealing with them than they are in dealing with our municipalities? It is only to the ear of hope that an affirmative answer comes.

With a large and continually growing class of our people who see in socialism the only refuge from the ills that are present and from the dangers that threaten, there is, on the other hand, a growing class who see a remedy only in the strengthening of the executive, and in the greater centralization of power: who are learning to look with complacency, even with approval, upon the "one man power" so dreaded by our fathers; who see in the so much talked of "glory" of our republic only the rhetoric of the professional orator—who, when they hear the once dreaded word monarchy whispered down the wind, do not turn aside with a shiver of fear, but greet it with a shrug that says more loudly than words, "Well, what is the difference?—*Laissez faire*"; who say, "We will have protection for our interests, and if a democracy cannot give it, why, so much the worse for democracy!"

Whether that crisis will result in sudden and violent outbreak, and a forcible and destructive reign of terror, or whether it will result in a gradual, but none the less certain, overthrow of existing institutions, is not to my purpose in this paper to hazard a guess. But the signs of the times point to such an overthrow unless some unexpected remedy is found. Whether it be sudden and violent, or gradual and comparatively quiet, there will finally emerge a reorganization of the whole, either upon highly socialistic, or, at least as far as executive features are concerned, upon highly centralized and monarchical lines, according as one class or the other finally triumphs.

C. E. PICKARD.

IS TARIFF REVISION A NECESSITY?

BY LEWIS M. NEIFFER ESQ.

WE ARE all Americans, and I hope we have the spirit of the child of the celebrated artist, Hovenden, who was taken from America to Europe to be educated. The child became homesick. The artist father tried all devices to cure the homesickness, and make the child like England. He pointed out the beauties of the landscape; talked of its history and traditions; of the great and renowned educational institutions; and wound up by telling the little girl to listen to the sweet song of the nightingale, saying there are no nightingales in America. The child said, "Papa, I know you cannot understand how I feel about this, for you are not a native American, but I would sooner hear one little sparrow sing in Plymouth Square, than hear all the nightingales of England." It is to be hoped all of us, whether native-born or adopted Americans, have the spirit of that child. Discussion is wholesome, when indulged in moderately. The United States Senate is now giving us an overdose. Certain things are always right and others are always wrong, no matter what party rules. Ring rule leads to corruption, hence, it is always wrong. Not long ago one of the most corrupt politicians in our country said, "I am always opposed to ring rule—unless I am in the ring." He saw the evils of his system, but as long as he is benefited by it he will not expose its methods. Democratic New York and Republican Philadelphia are equally corrupt, for both are ring ruled.

We will all agree on this proposition—there is something radically wrong somewhere. If we only knew in all cases what caused them, wrongs would not long exist—for we would remove the cause, and wrong would cease.

Up to 1832 in the history of our country no nominations were

regularly made by assembled delegates for the presidency by any political party, and no platform was adopted by any party up to that time. In that year the Democratic party, in convention assembled at Baltimore, nominated Andrew Jackson for the presidency and adopted a platform containing exactly one hundred and thirty-one words (what glorious brevity), and then and there for the first time declared that protection to American industries is indispensable. I mention this to correct an error of partisan history that the Republican party and its lineal ancestry are father to the protection idea. Listen to the language of that platform: "*Resolved*, that an adequate protection to American industries is indispensable to the prosperity of our country; and, that an abandonment of the policy at this time would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation." On this platform Andrew Jackson was elected over Henry Clay by a vote of 219 to 49. The platform provided for an adequate protection and not for a monopolistic tariff, and it declared that to abandon the protective policy at that time would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation. Then our infant industries needed protection and the fostering care of the nation, if they ever needed it; but those infants have now grown to large sized manhood, and as well might you say to-day that James Corbett needs the protection of the nation from pigmy, as to say that our industries need protection against the insignificant industries of other nations. In 1836 the Whig (Republican) party adopted its first platform, but said not one word about protection; so at least give the Democratic party the credit for fostering the protective policy at a time when protection was needed—if ever needed. I visited the World's Fair and stood in wonder and awe and amazement—yea, in bewilderment—and gazed on the unsurpassable magnificence and immensity of the affair, and said to myself, "A country which is so great and so mighty that it can in two years construct such unspeakable splendor, surpassing everything of the kind ever before undertaken by any nation of the world, needs no protection. It is no longer an infant; it is the giant of the earth."

In 1840 the Democratic platform declared in substance exactly what it did in 1892, "*Resolved*, that justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another." The violation of this principle is to-day causing more hardship than all the free trade of all history. Let workingmen answer: Are all classes and all industries cared for alike? Protection is a nice sounding epithet and has seduced many a one unsuspectingly.

In 1844, 1848, and 1852 the Whig (Republican) party platform contained a tariff for revenue plank, with incidental protection to American industries; so, as matter of history, the Democrats of to-day changed positions with the Republicans of fifty years ago, and now advocate that which was Republican doctrine before the war.

Henry Clay is the idol of protectionists. In 1833, in the United States Senate, Mr. Clay said: "Now give us time; cease all fluctuations for nine years and the manufacturers in every branch will sustain themselves against foreign competition." He only asked for protection nine years, while the men who profess to be his followers, sixty years after that time, misrepresent their great leader by asking to have a much higher tariff than he advocated perpetually maintained. In 1833 his tariff averaged 32 per cent, which was gradually reduced until in 1842 it was less than 26 per cent. Clay's protective tariff of 1842, when the industries were in their infancy and needed protection if they ever needed it, ranged from 28 to 36 per cent, averaging probably 32 per cent; while the Mills bill of 1888, when the infants were forty-six years older, averaged 40 per cent, and yet the Republicans called the Mills bill a free trade measure. So, according to the reasoning of some, 32 per cent under Republican rule is protection when the infant is young, while 40 per cent under Democratic rule, when the infant is full grown, is free trade. The McKinley bill raised the tariff duties on an average to 50 per cent, the highest we have had. If we have hard times now, surely no one can say it is due to lack of tariff. The idol of Republicanism, James G. Blaine, said before the McKinley law passed, that it would not create a market

for "another bushel of wheat or a single barrel of pork," by which market employment would be secured for wage-earners and their distress changed to prosperity. High tariffs will not make high wages, as any one can now see. Tariff goes up, wages come down. Supply and demand regulate the price of labor, same as of any other commodity. When ten men are looking for one job, the competition will bring down wages. When ten jobs are looking for one man the man can dictate terms, and wages will be high. It is not what man can earn which makes him rich, but what he can save. You see it is not high wages alone that produce prosperity. But demand for labor and the relative purchasing power of the dollar will regulate it.

When reciprocal relations were established between the United States and Cuba, sugar came down one half. We paid eleven cents and twelve cents for granulated sugar before reciprocity; now we can buy it for six cents. If free trade works that way, there are plenty of workingmen who could stand a great deal more of it. If the Wilson bill is free trade, then we must admit that the most illustrious Republicans of our own age are free traders; for you remember how Garfield contended for a reduction of the tariff to a revenue standard and Judge Kelly of Pig Iron fame, urged the reduction of tariff duties when the average rate of duty was lower than it is under the McKinley bill. Even Henry Clay in 1842 asked at the highest for only a tariff of thirty-six per cent when it must be admitted more protection was needed than is needed now, if indeed any is needed.

Missionary Reis of New York wrote a little book on the condition of that city. He says that in New York there exist to-day more millionaires and more tramps, than ever before in its history. The book was written in 1891, before the present panic was thought of by the people. There are in that great city, according to his statement, 150,000 men, not children, but men, who earned, before this panic came, not over sixty cents a day, and this during the highest protection we ever knew. Does high tariff make high wages?

We are only little over one hundred years old, and yet we

have the richest men in the world. Twenty-five years ago we spoke of Girard as the rich man, and to-day he would be nowhere. Millionaires thirty years ago were few. To-day you could hardly count them, and indeed the billionaire is almost within sight. There is something wrong when millionaires and tramps go on increasing at such an enormous rate. We are fostering a monied aristocracy. Such tendencies are dangerous to all free institutions. We see the mischief. We must look for the cause among the existing circumstances, and remove the cause and the remedy will come.

It is unfair to compare the condition of the workingmen in the United States with the condition of the workingmen in England, and then conclude that a system of protective tariff is more beneficial to labor than free trade, so called, because the condition of our workingmen is better than the condition of the workingmen in England. It is unfair to compare our condition with the condition of England and conclude from that comparison that protective tariff is better than a low revenue tariff. In 1841 Mr. Baring was chancellor of the exchequer of England. The tariff of England at that time was so high that it prohibited importations to a great extent. Mr. Baring expended some millions of dollars more than the income of the government amounted to. He made report of his stewardship to the House of Commons. Of course his expenses created discussion. To supply this deficiency every one thought he would raise the tariff on imports or lay a direct tax. He did neither; he reduced the tariff. Now what was the result? Our Republican friends would say the country went to the dogs. No. The tariff was lowered; imports increased; exports also increased; business revived; labor was in demand; wages were increased, and the necessities of life became cheaper. Here is an instance where prosperity immediately followed the footsteps of a reduction of tariff. The way to test the value of a theory is to test it by itself in the same country, and note the effect before and after the change of tariff policy. Compare England before 1841 under a high protective tariff with England immediately after 1841 under a revenue tariff and the comparison is in favor of a

revenue tariff ten to one. A low tariff encouraged imports. The vessels did not return unladen. Increased exports followed and prosperity was the result. What we need is more markets, not more protection. We need a market for more bushels of wheat and more barrels of pork. Is the McKinley bill giving it to us? Mr. Blaine says, no. He said so before the bill passed, and experience shows the wisdom of his prediction. In 1842 Sir Robert Peel was prime minister to England. He continued the experiment of Mr. Baring on a larger scale and the experiments were so satisfactory that protective duties were eliminated from the statutes of that country and ever since they have had a revenue tariff policy there. But the condition of English workingmen is worse than that of our workingmen. True, but the difference is attributed to the wrong cause. We are prosperous in spite of the high tariff, not on account of it. Like England in 1842, with a revenue tariff, we would be more prosperous. Now let the protectionists answer this,—If a high tariff produces high wages, why is it that wages of Germany are much lower than the wages of England? The wages of free trade England are as much higher than those of protection France and Germany, as the wages of protection America are higher than those of free trade England. It will not do. It is not a rule that works both ways. If high tariff makes high wages in the United States, it should make high wages in France and Germany and other high tariff countries, but it does not do it. We must look to other sources than high tariff for our prosperity. In a pamphlet published by the American Protective Tariff League on August 4, the comparative rates of weekly wages paid in Europe and the United States are given as follows in selected industries :

	France.	Germany.	Great Britain.	New York.
Blacksmiths.....	\$5.45	\$3.55	\$7.04-8.12	\$10.00-14.00
Bookbinders.....	4.85	3.82	6.50-7.83	12.00-18.00
Bricklayers.....	4.00	3.60	7.58-9.03	12.00-15.00
Cabinet-makers.....	6.00	3.97	7.70-8.48	9.00-13.00
Carpenters and joiners	5.42	4.00	7.33-8.25	9.00-12.00
Painters.....	4.90	3.92	7.25-8.16	10.00-16.00
Plasterers.....	—	3.80	7.68-10.13	10.00-15.00
Plumbers.....	5.50	3.60	7.13-8.46	12.00-18.00
Printers.....	4.70	4.80	7.52-7.75	8.00-18.00
Shoemakers.....	4.75	3.12	—7.35	12.00-18.00
Tinsmiths.....	4.40	3.65	6.00-7.39	10.00-14.00

Look to our own country for a few comparisons. Governor McKinley says the last free trade tariff of our country was passed in 1846. Let us see. The tariff of 1846 was the same as the Clay tariff of 1842, excepting that in a few cases the rate was a little less than in 1842, and ad valorem duties were substituted for specific. McKinley says the panic of 1857 was the result of the low tariff of 1846. The truth is, the tariff of 1846 had nothing to do with the panic of 1857. It was not until the beneficiaries of high tariff wanted an excuse for their infamous legislation that they discovered that the panic of 1857 was the result of the tariff of 1846. The Whig party of 1848 in their national platform said not one word against the revenue tariff of 1846. In 1852 they declare in their platform that the "government should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof in times of peace ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports and not from direct taxes; and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination and when practicable by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equal to all classes and to all portions of the country."

Again, not one word appears against the revenue tariff of 1846; but if we read their platform of 1856, we will see the real cause of the panic of 1857, as they then viewed it. After deploring the disrupted condition of the Union in seven different resolutions, in none of which they say a single word about the tariff, they close their platform as follows: "*Resolved*, That in the present exigency of political affairs we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercising of the constitutional powers of the government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and that the Union is in peril; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the presidency will furnish the best, if not the only means of restoring peace."

Not one word in the whole platform against the existing tariff policy; but, war! that is the real cause of the panic. "It is enough to know that civil war is raging and that the Union is

in peril." This is from the Whig (Republican) platform of 1856 and is the forecast of the panic of 1857. Everything is unsettled. People are afraid to invest a dollar in anything. Money can't be had at any price and the panic is bound to follow. Now if the low tariff of 1846 has been the cause of 1857, as the protectionists say, will they please tell us what was the cause of the panic of 1873? This panic was one of the greatest we ever knew in our history, at a time, too, when a tariff was the highest that was ever imposed on our people up to that time. The truth is, panics have followed and will follow high tariffs and low tariffs when the circumstances combine to make a panic inevitable, but to say that low tariffs bring on panics, is unjust; it is untrue; it is not sustained by history.

Listen to two of our greatest statesmen. From President Cleveland's official message: "It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as a source of the government's income, and in the readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufactures. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant, and the persistent claim made in certain quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free traders is mischievous and far removed from any consideration of the public good."

From J. G. Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," Vol. I., page 196:—"The principles embodied in the tariff of 1846 seemed for a time to be so entirely vindicated and approved that resistance to it ceased, not only among the people but among the protective economists and even among the manufacturers to a large extent. So general was this acquiescence that in 1856 a protective tariff was not suggested or even hinted at by any one of the three parties which presented presidential candidates."

It is uncertainty of the revision of tariff that depresses business. True the tariff beneficiaries declare against this proposition, but it is to their interest to do so, and they are only continuing their long practiced greed. Carnegie would have

done well to have made one million in twenty years instead of making twenty or more millions. The Pennsylvania Steel Company, under a lower tariff had \$3,000,000 that they did not know what to do with. Under a higher tariff they failed. Major Bent, the president of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, said before the tariff commission:—"Give me free raw ore, and I will sell pig-iron in London." We have equal advantages and better workmen than any foreign country, hence we can compete on equal terms with the most favored of them.

James G. Blaine said, "Undoubtedly the inequalities in wages of English and American operators are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter, and their longer hours of labor." If Blaine is correct, our workingmen make more than the English; not because of the protective tariff, but because they are better workmen, and because they work longer hours.

The United States has a few infant industries. Mr. McClure, I believe, puts it at three, and calls them McKinley's triplets. They are tin, linens and billy goats. No special pretense of developing the linen or the billy goat industry is made, so we will pass them by, but we will give a little time to the tin-plate humbug, which is one of the triplets. Our official reports show our average yearly consumption of tin plate and terne plate is 678,000,000 pounds. The same report shows that for the nine months ending March 31, 1892, there were made in the United States, of tin and terne plate, 5,240,830 lbs. The official reports of last year show that the rate of production is on the decrease. At this rate of production, we must import 673,000,000 pounds, at a cost to the consumer of \$20,000,000 in protective duties. From a conservative estimate not over 6,000 hands of all kinds are employed in the United States in the manufacture of tin, and to give employment to these six thousand hands, we pay annually the enormous and outrageous sum of \$20,000,000 in tariff on tin alone. If every one of the 6,000 hands employed would average \$3 a day, in a year their aggregate wages counting 300 working days, would amount to \$5,400,000. So the people of the United States would be nearly \$15,000,000 in pocket if they would close every tin industry in the land; buy every

pound we use from Wales, and pay to each one of the tin employees \$3 a day, which is more than they could make. It is not good policy to advocate murder, but in this case it would at least be profitable to kill the infant and reduce the tariff. Tin plate is much higher than it was two years ago, and yet protectionists tell you a tariff is not a tax.

Protectionists contend that farmers are protected, and recent election returns indicate that many believe it. The McKinley bill increased the tariff on all farm products over the tariff of 1883 from fifty to two hundred per cent. In 1883 corn per bushel was ten cents. The McKinley tariff made it fifteen cents. Wheat was taxed twenty cents; McKinley made it twenty-five cents. Potatoes were fifteen cents per bushel; McKinley tariff made them twenty-five cents. Eggs under the old law were free; under the McKinley law they are taxed five cents. Last year we imported 1,600 bushels of corn and exported 17,600,000 bushels. We imported 432,000 bushels of wheat, and exported 51,420,000 bushels. We imported 363,000 dozen eggs and exported 8,200,000 dozen.

How under the sun can farmers be benefited by a high tariff on articles which they export? They want a better market for their produce. Prices are regulated by supply and demand, and not by the tariff. We exported a thousand times more flour than we imported. When we import woolens, we are bound to export something. When Cuba sends us sugar, she is bound to take something back. When Japan sends us teas, her ships will return laden from our shores with some of our products. The McKinley bill is restrictive. It closes many markets to you, and what is imported of such articles as are used by farmers, is taxed out of all proportion to the tax put on articles sold to the wealthy.

Look at the comparative rates of duty. In the McKinley bill luxuries are either free, or slightly taxed; while necessities are taxed some to nearly two hundred per cent. On the free list are engravings, antique relics, fashion-plates, down for beds, orchids, fancy cabinets, etc. Among the articles taxed at a low rate are :

Un-cut diamonds,.....	10	per cent ad valorum.
Coral,.....	25	" "
Pearls,.....	10	" "
Paintings and statuary,.....	15	" "
Silver-plated carriages and harness, 35	"	" "
Velvets and plushes,.....	50	" "
Patent leather,.....	20	" "

How many of these articles will the poor buy ?

Cloths, valued not over 30 cents per pound.....	150	per cent.
Cloths, valued above 80 cents per pound.....	86	" "
Shawls, valued not above 30 cents per pound.....	150	" "
Shawls, valued above 80 cents per pound.....	85	" "
Flannels, valued not above 30 cents per pound.....	108	" "
Flannels, valued above 80 cents per pound.....	80	" "
Knit goods, valued not above 30 cents per pound.....	166	" "
Knit goods, valued above 80 cents per pound.....	79	" "

Thus we see by a few extracts from the McKinley bill, luxuries and high priced articles are either free or taxed lightly, while the necessities of life, which the poor can and must buy, are taxed out of all proportion as compared with those articles purchased by the rich. Protectionists tell us protection cheapens commodities. Show me one that was cheapened by increasing tariff. Sugar was made half price by taking it off. What it has done for sugar, it will do for woolen and other necessities if given a chance.

If tariff keeps up wages, then why not keep it up alike all over the United States ?—which is not the case, as appears from the following table :

	For the year.	Per week.
Alabama.....	\$159	\$3.06
Arkansas.....	201	3.86
Ohio.....	242	4.05
Virginia.....	270	5.20
New Jersey.....	334	6.42
New York.....	336	6.46
Pennsylvania.....	355	6.83
Massachusetts.....	375	7.21
Oregon.....	436	8.40

The tariff on wool is a great imposition on the workingmen. Notice how the McKinley tariff discriminates in favor of the high priced articles which the rich buy. The population of Pennsylvania is about 5,300,000. We use annually over \$100,000,000 worth of woolens, or nearly \$20 worth for every man, woman, and child in the state. A conservative estimate shows we in Pennsylvania pay \$50,000,000 tax annually. This is a

tax of \$10 on the woolens of every man, woman, and child in Pennsylvania. Take a man with a wife and three children. He pays annually, if he wears his proportion of woolens, \$50 tariff on his woolens alone, for the sake of the dear tariff—while his wages go steadily marching down. Now what is this \$50,000,000 paid for? They tell us to protect our sheep. This is about as absurd as McClure's billy goat industry. We have only about 1,040,000 sheep in Pennsylvania—so we pay a tax of nearly \$50 on every sheep and lamb in the state, when the average price of sheep is not over \$4, sheep, wool, tallow, and bleat. Would it not pay better to kill the sheep and go out of the business? Surely no sane individual would carry on a business at such an enormous loss even if he could stand it, and no public servant ought to do anything with the money of the nation that he would not do with his own money. From the annual wool circular of Mauger & Avery, it appears that in October, 1891, fine wool was 31 cents; medium, 35 cents; and coarse, 30 cents, which is lower than fine or coarse wool was at any time since 1884, excepting in one instance, 1888, when fine wool was the same as in 1891—after the McKinley law had gone into effect. The tariff is not only an imposition on the people in general, but a bald fraud even on the wool grower himself.

The McKinley law is inequitable and unjust; and high protective duties proved a failure in Europe as well as in America. They do not keep up wages, nor do they cheapen necessities of life; neither do they insure steady employment to wage earners. Surely no one can successfully deny the necessity for a change. The Wilson bill is the proposed change. It aims mainly at reducing or abolishing the duty on raw materials and articles, the production of which is monopolized and the price controlled by trusts. It is not possible, for want of space, to discuss its provisions in this article. For some it is too radical, for others too conservative; but it undoubtedly deals a heavy blow to the system misnamed protection. Give it a fair trial, and it will do for the relief of distressed workingmen what similar measures elsewhere did for them.

LEWIS M. NEIFFER.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR POVERTY?

BY ELLEN BATELLE DIETRICK.

IF THERE is one class of society which more than another needs to keep cool-headed, it is the class which seeks to heal social evils. No physician is considered fit to diagnose cases and prescribe remedies until careful and exact study, long and patient experiment, and practice in controlling his emotions have qualified him for the exercise of his profession. Should a physician manifest rage against the fever which is consuming his patient, and passionately demand the enactment of laws against the existence of fever as the only hope of cure for the sufferer, society would doubtless pronounce such a physician either a quack or a lunatic, for society at last knows enough to recognize that a disease can only be permanently banished from a community by an improvement in social intelligence. When society advances a little farther in wisdom it will likewise comprehend that the social reformer, who declares that "law is the only effectual remedy, the ballot the effective weapon" to heal social fevers, is really no more fit to prescribe remedies than such a physician.

In an article entitled "Bread for the Hungry," Mrs. A. L. Cornwall has held up to public view a number of social evils which undoubtedly exist, and which are as great a disgrace to our nation as would be a permanent and widespread prevalence of typhus fever. But while it is easy to see evils, it is quite another thing to discover causes. In claiming that the evils which she justly deplures can be removed by law, Mrs. Cornwall is no wiser than the superstitious people of a century ago, who relied upon prayer as the only effectual mode of getting rid of smallpox. The six fallacious statements which constitute the groundwork of her argument reveal that she misapprehends the

natural laws which work inevitable results in social relations—laws which can no more be repealed by men's legislation than could the law of gravitation. These statements are, that "landlords and employers make immense fortunes, leaguering together to force rents up and wages down." That "the swarming dives, slums, jails, workhouses, and lunatic asylums, the steady increase of prostitution, suicide, and child murder, in New York, are the harvest reaped as a result of the scanty wages, bad housing, and dispossess warrants" served in New York city. That "the work of these industrial slaves is of immense value," but that "they themselves do not gather the fruits of their labor." That "the number of tenant farmers and the large proportion of farms mortgaged for more than they will bring on forced sale," are evils due to the "steady depressing of market prices below the money cost of production, and exorbitant interest and taxes." That the situations above referred to are attributable to the absorption of "the influx of gold and the multiplied currency by the monopolies of wealth and speculation." And, lastly, that "the brewers, the distillers, the traffickers in intoxicants" are "highway robbers," who are "directly or indirectly responsible for every crime in the calendar," and that "excessive wealth is proof presumptive of fraud"!

As these premises are all fallacious, the conclusions deduced from them are necessarily false, as follows: "The remedy is to confiscate this wall of stolen gold, and to give back to the toilers the money out of which they have been swindled. . . . It is the province of the ruling power to search the matter and repay the defrauded; to make an assessment on wealth to relieve the suffering poor, the per cent of levy to vary with the size of the fortune, the rapidity of its acquirement, and the condition of those who have contributed to its accumulation." Mrs. Cornwall naïvely admits that "it will be difficult to accomplish all this," but she considers the methods she proposes just and righteous, as, indeed, they might be were it true that excessive wealth really is a proof *per se* of fraud.

But let us take these assertions in order, and consider them a

little by the light of facts which any student of sociology may easily verify for herself or himself. In the first place, can landlords force up rents, and can employers force down wages for any length of time sufficient to make immense fortunes, if laborers choose to avail themselves of methods to avoid such action which science has done its best for the past fifty years to make plain to them? It can be shown that neither landlord nor employer possesses such power any more than he possesses power to force up, or force down, the tides of the great oceans. As the pilot who studies the tides and who knows how to wait until a high tide may be used to his advantage, will be more prosperous than an ignorant and less shrewd pilot, so a landlord who has judiciously invested in land, and patiently waited, may ride into prosperity when the wave of population demanding shelter has reached its maximum. So, likewise, the manufacturer who goes where laborers are most plentiful will profit by the redundant profusion of laborers. But as it is the laborers themselves who determine their own number at any one time in any given locality, it is plain that they fix their own rate of rent and their own rate of wages, gaining advantage just in proportion to their amount of intelligence, degree of skill, and numbers.

Why is it that while rents for comfortable houses are next to nothing in thousands of villages throughout the United States, they are enormously high in squalid city tenements? Is not the landlord in one place as anxious to get a high price as the other? Does not the law give him fully as much power to ask what price he will for his property in the village as for his tenements in the city? Wherein, then, lies the difference? Unmistakably in the fact that the shiftless poor who crowd into cities and clamor for house-room practically bid against one another and against all laborers, themselves forcing the rent up to the highest notch which they will promise to pay. In the same manner crowding together at one point and competing for the same kinds of work inevitably lowers wages. It is true that trades unions can temporarily exact an artificial rate of wages, that is, higher wages than such circumstances as those just referred to would naturally produce; but, in the long run, such artificial protection works

as much harm indirectly as it may have seemed to work direct good. By fixing a scale of wages regardless of the capacity of the individual workman, the trades unions establish a despotism of mediocrity; they discourage the talented in their own ranks, and unduly reward the incompetent. In attempting to exact equal wages for all printers, all weavers, etc., they are as foolish and short-sighted as the agricultural world would be if vegetables could forbid any vegetable to grow bigger than its fellows. The legitimate and natural mode of regulating wages, the trades unions entirely overlook, or reject with contumely. It involves more effort on the part of laborers than the unions will call for, until experience has shown them that their present methods are not improving the situation.

In spite of the artificial bolstering up of the weak, supplied by the trades unions, that which most largely determines the success or failure of each laborer is his parentage. Wherever a congested mass of unemployed and semi-starved humanity is found in a large city, there we have proof positive that thriftless parents have produced a horde of unintelligent, unskilled, shiftless hangers-on to society. For there is always work enough to be done in the world, at remunerative prices, for intelligent, skilled, and non-hampered (by trades unions) workers. Were competition really free, both among employers and the laborers, should public opinion make it impossible for employers to so manipulate legislation as to give themselves artificial prices, and were it thus made equally impossible for laborers to likewise manipulate legislation to give themselves artificial wages, we should have the natural, healthful play between social and industrial forces which reigns elsewhere in the natural world, and should have the nearest possible approach to justice. No power in the universe can make the child who is born of a long line of weak progenitors and who is reared without training in habits of self-control and industry, equal to the child born of sturdy stock and wisely educated for self-support. It would be unjust if such a thing could be done. Yet all legislation to equalize wages or to elevate prices is really an effort to make the naturally weak receive the reward which belongs to the naturally strong !

But to expose the folly of such waste effort does not argue that nothing can be done for the weak. Much is already done when the knowledge of what causes social weakness is once made so clear that the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein. When it is once seen that bad parentage is the fountain from which flow weakness, pauperism, idleness, and crime, the source of evil is discovered, and would-be reformers of society may then proceed to scientific work. The gospel that will then be taught is: Every laboring man and woman who saves enough to insure several years' subsistence for a family before uniting to create a helpless new set of human beings, will thus help to lower rent, help to raise wages, help promote the industrial independence of the entire laboring world, and there is no other earthly mode of improving their own industrial condition.

But, while Mrs. Cornwall is wrong in attributing high rents and low wages to the intrigues of landlords and employers, these two classes do have a responsibility which she totally overlooks, and that is, to stimulate the intelligence and help forward the self-supporting education of the children born in the slums. It is as much to the interest of landlords and employers as to the wage-earners that these children shall be trained to thrift and industry; for neglect of such training inevitably entails an enormous burden of jails, police, prisons, almshouses, criminal courts, hospitals, etc., etc., upon the honest and industrious portion of society, merely as a measure of self-protection. They are confronted with two alternatives—an ounce of prevention expended for the improvement of badly-born children, or a pound of cure for the morally maim, halt, and blind adults into which neglected children develop.

But it is pure socialistic cant to speak of the working people of this country as *industrial* slaves. Many of them are slaves of their own, and of their parents', ignorance; many are the slaves of bad habits; many are the slaves of their own despotic organizations. But none of them are the slaves of industry. The work of unskilled, unintelligent, weak-principled people is not of "immense value"; on the contrary, it is so wasteful

that it is one of the greatest difficulties employers have to contend with. It is a libel on the representative working-people of the United States to speak of them as industrial slaves, or to mention them in the same breath with vagrants, paupers, and criminals. Turn to the records of almost any state's prison in our country, and it will be found that the vast majority *have no trade knowledge*; look into asylum or hospital reports, and again the great majority will be found to have little education and *no industrial skill*.

Now it is true that evils do follow the skilled laborers of our country. I have indicated one great source of evil, *i. e.*, the despotism of trades unions in meddling with the laborer's right of individual contract. Another is found in the existence of a protective tariff, which, as wage-earners have the majority of votes, is kept alive by their own ballots. Here is one instance in which employers do get a disproportionate share of the fruits of the joint labor conducted by employers and wage-earners. But it is the only instance, and it is wholly maintained by the votes of the laborers themselves. If they vote for a tax upon everything they eat, drink, use, or wear, should employers be wholly blamed that laborers do not gather the fruits of their industry? It is true that while some employers are themselves really deluded in regard to the justice of the protective tariff, other employers have not this excuse, and consciously maintain the wrong by deluding the workingmen. But the remedy for this evil is simply to open the workingmen's eyes to the delusion. When that is done, everything is really accomplished. Laws have two characters, both equally powerless to create good new conditions, one is that of a barrier, or stumbling block, the other that of a guide-post. If they are the result of a desire to do good to society by chalking a line according to which every individual must shape his or her course, then laws become dreadful barriers to natural growth; if they are merely expressions of universal opinion, then they serve as guide posts indicating the roads over which society travels, but even in this useful capacity they are the last things that need be thought of, and need to be changed as often as roads

fall into disuse, or else they, too, work harm by misdirecting.

In speaking of tenant farmers, Mrs. Cornwall neglected to state whether they are increasing in proportion to the number of farmers who own their own farms, or whether tenant farmers are only increasing in proportion to population; and this is a very important distinction. From 1860 to 1880 the number of farms in the United States increased from two million to four million. Now if there were no tenant farmers whatever in 1860 and two million tenant farmers in 1880 that would not establish the charges she makes against landlords and creditors. In this country where good land may be had for a mere song, where wages are high, where coöperative banks stand ready to lend money on land, no industrious person need remain a tenant farmer if his mental ability be equal to his physical ability. But as long as men choose their location blindly, borrow money rashly, and raise products with little attention to public demand, what wonder is it that they come to grief?

Grangers are making a terrible outcry because there has been a fall in grain since 1860. But they do not consider that during this period the area under crops throughout the world has risen fifty-five per cent, while the world's population has increased only thirty-four per cent. Moreover, they pay little heed to the fact that they themselves have acted against their own interests in raising barriers between themselves and the foreign countries which want their grain. A country merchant who should try to favor potato growers in his own county by imposing a tax upon the potato growers in the next county when they brought their produce to his store, would soon find his business in a terrible muddle. Just such a silly course is pursued by every farmer who votes for a tariff against the entrance of foreign goods. They have damaged their own market, not only by growing the product of which there was the greatest quantity in cultivation, but also by laying an embargo on the customers who were seeking to exchange goods for their produce. Here again, we see how ignorance makes for itself evils. Were farmers better educated their difficulties would vanish. So long as large numbers scoff at scientific training for agriculture, and begrudge expend-

ing even a few dollars a year for the mental improvement which comes from wide reading and deep thinking, nothing can be done for them. It is this meagerly educated class which rashly puts its own neck into the halter of the money-lender, then, when the hour for reaping what was sowed comes, bursts into wild outcry against the "human vultures" who ask borrowers to fulfill their contracts. It is this class also which dissipates its energy by indulging in the fool's dream of growing rich by fiat money, or "greenbacks." Many of these know so little that they do not even know there is anything they do not know. If a "city man" comes to the farm and begins to give opinions, they laugh at his presumption. But, though themselves little educated, little equipped by reading, and utterly untrained by experience in financial affairs, thousands of American farmers assume that they are perfectly competent to settle every principle of finance.

Another popular piece of socialistic cant at the present time is denunciation of speculators. But who is there engaged in any industrial enterprise who is not a speculator? Edison, when a news-boy on a train, began his career by the purchase of a large stock of papers containing an important piece of news. He observed that the news was deeply interesting; he judged that people would gladly pay a good price to obtain it; he risked all the money he owned on this venture and made a great success. And that was speculation, pure and simple. No one was injured and many were benefited by the transaction. Thus, speculation in itself is not an evil any more than marriage in itself is an evil; both are often undertaken foolishly and develop results which prove that in certain cases the enterprise was foolish; but no sane person would condemn marriage or speculation, because many marriages and many speculations prove disastrous, not only to the individuals directly concerned but to a large portion of society.

A lesson of great value is learned when the people of a country thoroughly comprehend the nature and functions of money, but it is a difficult lesson to learn, chiefly because this useful instrument of trade has two separate functions, one of

which is very misleading. Mrs. Cornwall's statement that "the inflow of gold and the multiplied currency are absorbed by the monopolies of wealth and speculation," and that the remedy for the poor is to "confiscate this wall of stolen gold," is a striking example of the popular misconception of what money is, and of what it can and cannot do. The first thing to be learned in the kindergarten of finance is that money is not wealth in itself, and that, consequently, people are neither made rich nor poor by the mere possession of money. The second thing to learn in this elementary study is that the bulk of modern business is done without handling money, and that speculators do not absorb the "inflow of gold and multiplied currency" any more than a grain elevator absorbs weights and measures. The third lesson is that "the quantity of coin necessary in any country depends on neither population nor trade," and is no indication whatever of prosperity when it is proportionately large, nor of poverty when it is proportionately small. The fourth lesson is that the chief function of money is to serve as a measure of value precisely as weights and measures serve as measures of quantity. As the main thing in regard to weights and measures is that they shall be fixed in size and not one thing to-day and another to-morrow, so the main thing in regard to money is to agree upon some unit of value and keep it steadily to the standard agreed upon. As has been well said, "Something that has length (an inch) must be used as a standard of length, something that has capacity (a pint) must be used as a standard of capacity, and something that has value (a dollar) must be used as a standard of value," and it should be added that to have value it must be made of valuable material. Sand will not serve, nor will paper, to measure value, simply because in themselves they are not sufficiently valuable in the opinion of mankind. Now when these points are comprehended it will become plain that there need never be a scarcity of money at any point where people are honest, industrious, and reasonably intelligent. It is the backwoods theorists who claim that a wave of the legislative wand can make a piece of paper or a piece of silver precisely as valuable as a piece of gold (and not the mercantile "monopolists")

or the speculators) who create panics. It is the "greenback" and silver inflationists who shatter credit and frighten the masses into that hoarding of money which brings on disaster in trade. Almost the same industrial confusion would ensue should legislators and spread-eagle orators continually change, or even threaten to change, the standard of weights and measures. But when the people learn that gold is the standard of value merely because gold is a more valuable metal for the purpose than any other, and that the reason why it is more valuable is similar to the reason why wool is more valuable than cotton, and silk more valuable than wool, or diamonds more valuable than pearls, namely, because several thousand years of civilization have led men to appreciate one as of greater desirability than the other, then one of the greatest causes of social suffering will be completely removed. The only possible mode of producing a scarcity of money at the present stage of civilization is depreciation of the standard.

At another time I hope to be able to demonstrate that the liquor traffic is not a "cause," but an effect of a pre-existent cause, which must bear the blame for the liquor traffic's continuance.

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

BY F. L. GREENE.

THE prime requisite for intelligent discussion of any theme is a clear and accurate knowledge of the subject discussed. This is especially true of socialism, concerning which the vaguest and most misleading conceptions possess the public mind. It would seem to be eminently fair to accept as the basis of our discussion the definition of socialism as given by those who are recognized as the best leaders of the best factors of the movement, disregarding both the rash utterances of its advocates in the inchoate stages of its existence, and the inconsiderate avowals of the extremists among its adherents.

In our title we have the generic term socialism, and the specific appellation American. Let us first discover what are the characteristics of the genus, and then consider the reason for the variation of the species.

Schaeffle, the eminent German socialist, says: "The Alpha and Omega of socialism is the transmutation of private and competing capital into united collective capital." Prof. Ely thus defines it: "Socialism, I will define then, as the exclusive management of all production, and distribution by a single trust on behalf of the state." The Century Dictionary defines it in this manner: As, "any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which society rests, and substitute for it coöperative action, would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instrument and means of production—the joint possession of the community." The essence of the foregoing definition is that the end and aim of socialism is merely the state ownership of productive capital. These defi-

nitions apply, however, only to so-called constructive socialism ; i. e., to the concrete, material end of the ethical doctrines which form the basis of the system, if we may so term it.

It is important that the word state, as here used, be sharply differentiated from the term government. The state is not that of which Louis XIV. dreamed when he gave expression to his profound egotism in the words, "*L'etat ! c'est moi !*" "The state ! it is I !" but it is the whole body of people composing a political unit ; and the government is but the agent of the state or people.

Socialism is opposed to individualism, or the right of each individual to provide for himself to the best of his ability, and anarchy, which has been aptly described as "individualism gone mad." It has no connection whatever with nihilism, which is simply a destructive agent with neither plans nor prospects of rebuilding the social structure if its overthrow is once accomplished. It is opposed to capitalism, the system which affords the greatest play for individualism. On the other hand, it is distinct from communism, which aims at the collective ownership of products as well as capital.

Such is socialism. It is not confined to any one country. It has established itself in all the civilized world, but is modified in its different habitats by the national influences and characteristics of the people surrounding it in the same manner that climatic and soil differences affect vegetable and animal growths. The environment of American soil, ideas, and conceptions produces differences in its growth by which it may readily be distinguished from that developing in England or Germany.

It is, then, with the history, justification, claims, tendencies, and strength of the American branch of the social movement, which demands as its ultimate end the state ownership of productive and distributive capital, that we have to do ; and I shall endeavor to show that the movement has an ethical basis of justice, a scientific development of evolved growth, and a practical outcome of expedient fulfilment.

In one sense American socialism may be said to have had its beginning with the foundation of our public school system.

But as an organized, directive force whose aims and objects were distinctly formulated, it dates back but a score of years. To be sure, communism, which is socialism carried far beyond its limits, has been a favorite scheme and dream for years. But these movements, including such as the Brook Farm, the Oneida Community, and the Shaker settlements, have been only isolated, sporadic cases without great influence or results. Yet the successful economic existence of some of these communities in competition with the individualism of the present century, might seem to augur well for the possibility of successful productive coöperation on a grand scale. Again, the growth of labor organizations which had their birth during the early years of this century has exerted a widespread influence in promoting the extension of socialistic theories by their agitation in favor of shorter hours of labor, factory inspection, and other measures which tend to bring industry more or less under state control.

It was, however, in 1870 or thereabouts, according to so eminent an authority as Prof. Ely, that modern socialism assumed definite form on this continent. At that time the Socialistic Labor party was founded as a branch of the Internationalists by the followers of Karl Marx, the German socialist. Sections were quickly organized in various parts of the country, in most cases by Germans. The arrival of refugees from the defunct Paris commune of '71 added strength to the movement. The publication of "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, aroused the people to an interest in political economy and sociology. In 1889 appeared Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Whatever the origin, merits, or demerits, of this pseudo-novel, it had influence in drawing the people's attention still more closely to our industrial system. Mr. Bellamy, perceiving the interest awakened by his book, devoted himself to the attempt to realize his dream, and the formation of Nationalists' clubs and the Nationalist party has resulted.

The interest in social science and the evident necessity of reform in the industrial world, reached the church. Socialists claimed that their system could find its justification in the second

great commandment as given by Christ. Several prominent church leaders recognized the claim as just, and finally formed the Christian Social Union, of which Bishop Huntington was made the head. The purpose of this organization is to study "how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the times."

It is difficult to determine the present strength of socialism in the United States. Many who would indignantly disclaim the title are manifestly working in its direction. Judging from the utterances of their propaganda the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance are in sympathy with the movement. The Socialistic Labor party claims to have from 12,000 to 14,000 voters in New York State. The Nationalists are working for the same end.

Thus briefly and imperfectly have we outlined the history of this movement. Before examining the arguments by which socialism justifies its existence and the advantages it predicts from its realization, let us look at some of the causes which have made its growth possible.

About one hundred years ago the effects of the Renaissance from the darkness of the Middle Ages began to be felt in the realm of industrial pursuits. Architecture, painting, religion, literature, science and politics had each in turn experienced the reviving touch of its beneficent influence. Then it exerted its power in enabling man to subdue the forces of nature and compel machinery to perform his drudgery. Watts, Arkwright, and Stevenson were but pioneers in the vast fields of invention which they opened for the way of man. They have been followed by uncounted hosts of inventors until, at the present time, invention is classed as a profession.

What effect has this had upon labor? At first thought it might seem that it would tend to diminish the demand for that commodity. Experience has shown, however, that new inventions stimulate new wants and that, except for the time required for a particular body of laborers who are thrown out of employment by new machinery to find other work, the situation is not materially changed.

But capital is influenced. Machines are expensive ; hence more capital is required than when the work is performed by hand. The necessitated concentration of capital lodges increasing power in the hands of capitalists and *entrepreneurs*. At the same time the machine necessarily enforces the further operation of the principle of the division of labor. This degrades the individual workman, as less and less skilled labor is required. A machine is introduced which, with a woman or child to run it, can do more and better work than the skilled laborer ; to keep his position he is forced to compete with the low labor value of women and children which of course results in lower wages and its accompanying debasement.

Meanwhile, among the capitalists, the working, in conjunction with many other causes, of competition with its necessary outcome of the survival of the fittest, has resulted in our present system of periodical financial crises, the multitude of the unemployed, and the distress, suffering, and ignorance of large numbers of our citizens. These same conditions of ignorance and poverty, modified by circumstances, did not produce serious trouble two hundred years ago ; but to-day, owing to the dissemination of democratic ideas concerning liberty and equality, and the great extension of intelligence, the injustice of these conditions is perceived and lamented. In view of the defects of the capitalistic system, the socialist proposes the state ownership of productive capital as the remedy for the ills that beset our civilization.

They claim that labor is the source of all value. This, I think, we must admit, remembering that labor includes not only the labor of the hand but also that of the mind and heart ; that capital is but crystallized labor ; and that value is used in the sense of value of exchange. Hence, they say, since labor is the source of all value the products of labor should go to those who produce it. This seems to accord with our ideas of natural justice.

The socialist says that the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer, comparatively. Certain it is, that never before in the history of mankind did such contrasts of

condition exist side by side in a country which professed to be made up of free citizens as that presented by the Vanderbilts and the "Sweaters' " victims in New York City.

He claims also that the wages of labor furnish a bare subsistence. Granting the presence of an army of unemployed and the fact that freedom of contract and competition are maintained inviolate, it is seen that this condition must be true. Again, the socialist declares that all the remedies proposed for this state of affairs, such as coöperation, profit sharing, nationalization of land, etc., are in the direction of socialism. Space will not permit me to discuss this claim here, but it is based on sound arguments.

The principal advantages claimed for the socialistic state are as follows :

The worship of the Almighty Dollar will be overthrown. Money not being available as productive capital can then only represent its value in consumption ; not, as at present, in *power*. As the consumption limit of any one person is easily reached, the limiting value of money in this direction would be low. Moreover, except for the love of *power* of various kinds, the fear of want is the only great incentive to Mammon-worship ; in the socialistic state neither of these forces would exist.

Every one physically capable, within certain age limits, would be compelled to labor ; not necessarily manual labor, but labor of some kind. And honest labor, rightly conducted, is an unmixed blessing.

The liquor traffic would be done away with. That the liquor traffic is an evil all will admit ; that its power is due to the greed of gain none will deny. That is to say, if there was not a large profit in this traffic there would be no such inducements for the strenuous efforts to evade or defy prohibitory or restrictive laws as now exist. The manufacture and sale of liquor requires productive capital and would have to be carried on by the state. Hence there would be no incentive of gain to stimulate the amount of sales.

Overwork, with its attendant evils, would be abolished. Franklin estimated that four hours' work per day by each indi-

vidual would be sufficient to provide for the necessities of the world. Later scientists estimated it for our own day, with the improvements in machinery, etc., at three hours. However that may be, it is certain that overwork on the part of anyone would be needless.

Poverty and illiteracy would be done away with. The latter is an outgrowth of the former and can exist only with it under present circumstances. Poverty would be incompatible with compulsory labor, wages relation to products, and goods at cost prices.

Politics would be purified. The source of the present political corruption is the power represented by the possession of money. This element of power would not then exist. Again, it is admitted that corruption existent in our large cities, New York for instance, would be uprooted if the respectable citizens would but take the time and trouble to give a little attention to municipal affairs. In the socialistic state the pressure of private interests would be at a minimum; nay, the public interest would be the private interest, and the intelligent citizen, to whom improper municipal control meant *personal* privation, would take care that the officers of the government performed their duties.

Crime would be decreased. Reflection will show that a very large percentage of our crimes is due more or less directly either to the desire of increasing wealth or to the want of means of subsistence. The incentive to the pursuit of wealth removed and sustenance assured, property crimes would be practically unknown, while with the increase of intelligence and refinement the number of other crimes would be much lessened. A large amount of waste would be prevented. The consolidation of industry would greatly increase the economy of production. The losses arising from overproduction, from misplaced investments of capital, etc., would be at a minimum. Competition is extremely wasteful in its methods of distribution. Look at the cost of advertising alone, including as it does the maintenance of drummers and agents, as well as the vast quantity of printing, etc., for which the public pays at the present time. Then

consider how many stores exist side by side whose whole business could be done by half or less than half the number of clerks now employed. Or take the milk supply of cities. How much more cheaply it could be furnished if one dealer supplied the whole of a street or section instead of, as at present, going all over the city for his customers. All these leaks would be prevented under the socialistic *régime*.

Some of the objections to socialism will next be considered. One of the strongest of these is that it takes no account of individualism, and rewards labor irrespective of merit. The socialist replies to this charge as follows: Individualism is the right of each individual to look after his own interests in his own way. The recognition of this right has been the goal of centuries of effort, and it is justly considered to be one of the most sacred of human liberties. But it is and always has been held that the rights of individuals find their limit when they trespass upon the rights of other individuals. Capitalists, in the exercise of their right to get as much of this world's goods as their capabilities permit, overstep the bounds and disturb the rights of other people by the tax which they levy upon productive labor. Hence the limits of individualism are not respected in the present system, especially in the case of the unskilled laborer, whose liberty to do for himself according to his best ability, amounts to the right to work for a bare subsistence (if he be fortunate enough to have the chance) or beg or steal; his liberty to do the latter is sadly infringed upon by police laws. Thus individualism guarantees him the right to hard labor for meager sustenance, the living death of charity, or the glorious privilege of starvation, unless he be smart enough to steal undetected. Socialistic perversion of individual rights could hardly be much worse. That labor should be rewarded irrespective of merits is *not* a necessary concomitant of the socialistic state. Even if it were it has an ethical basis in the Great Teacher's statement that to whom much is given, of them much shall be required, as also in the deduction to be drawn from the parable of the vineyard.

Another objection to the system is that it offers no incentive

to exertion. But is money the only spur that urges men to work? If it were, there is the ultimatum of starvation to exert its power. But why is it that college men aspire to athletic honors? Is it for money? Why do scientists devote their lives to research? Is their motive gold? Why did hundreds of thousands of men volunteer to aid in suppressing the Rebellion? Was it wholly for the \$16 per month, rations and bounty? To those who claim that love of money and what it represents is alone the motive power of our civilization, I commend a careful study of the great movements which have advanced the race from the darkness of primeval savagery into the light of our present state of humanization, and I think they will find that, although selfishness has indeed been a prominent factor in this evolution, it has been neither the only nor the greatest of the forces which have combined to produce such results.

How could socialism destroy liberty? It would certainly take away the liberty of the few to live in luxury off the toil of the many; but is this liberty or license? The socialistic state would have a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, not the present imperfect development of the same.

It is claimed that socialism would increase the danger of political corruption. This argument has little foundation when we consider that socialism abolishes the very means which renders corruption profitable. If the socialistic state were in existence the objection would have very little weight. In considering the evolution of the socialistic state from the present conditions the argument is a strong one.

The last objection that I will consider, that of impracticability, is in many respects the strongest of those offered. The socialists aver that it is practicable in the not very distant future. Its basal principles are certainly true and just. Opposed to these principles comes the question as to whether the time for carrying them out has yet arrived. This I must beg to leave as an open question for each one to settle according to his judgment of present social conditions. But I will point out certain elements of our civilization which seem to me to indicate that men are less under the influence of individualistic motives than is

generally supposed. The nineteenth century has well been called the Age of Societies. If two or more men happen to stumble upon the fact that they have certain theories, ideas, or interests in common for the development of which action is essential, the tendency is to combination. Hence comes the multiplicity of societies and organizations. These serve the useful purpose of accustoming people to the idea of working for other than individual ends. Again, the successful operation of vast beneficiary organizations whose ramifications are world-wide and whose basis is the doctrine of universal brotherhood goes to show that people are not so wholly engrossed in self as might be supposed. The prevailing tendency of the age is toward organization. Who shall say that this force has reached its maximum or will ere it becomes socialism?

Modern socialism does not claim that capitalism has been without value as a factor of civilization, but that it has outlived its usefulness and must yield place to socialism in obedience to the inexorable laws of evolution. It believes that society is a living organism, that it possesses the vital characteristic of evolving growth, and that the next stage of its existence is to base its vital action on the principle of mutual coöperation instead of mutual warfare.

Trusting then to the working of natural laws for the fulfillment of its purposes, it does not favor revolution but bends its energies to the solution of present practical problems by socialistic methods. It lends its aid to all movements which tend to ameliorate the condition of the workingman and educate society to a conception of state duties. That it has good grounds for its faith in the ultimate destiny to which society is drifting may be evidenced by a hasty review of some of the strides which our own country has been making in the direction of the socialistic goal.

Let us start in this survey from the individualistic conception of state duties as confined to those incident to police service and see how far Massachusetts departs from that standard. We offer these facts not as evidence of deliberate socialistic intentions on the part of the legislators, for such they are not; but they do

serve to show the great change of opinion in regard to what are properly functions of the state that has taken place during the century.

It is almost universally recognized that the state or municipality should have control of the schools, libraries, and parks. Many cities successfully own and operate gas works, electric light plants, and waterworks. The state grants money to higher institutions of learning and secures a voice in their government. It establishes normal schools for the training of teachers of the ordinary branches and also for the training of art teachers. It renders attendance at school compulsory between certain ages; it regulates the hours of labor of women and minors; it requires weekly payment of wages to workingmen; it renders employers liable for injuries caused by their negligence; it regulates the erection of buildings in cities; it causes fire escapes to be provided for specified buildings; it regulates the manufacture and sale of many articles; causes physicians and apothecaries to exhibit diplomas or certificates of their attainments; passes homestead laws and mechanics' lien acts; in short, the extensions of its functions are so widespread and far-reaching that the restoration of its duties to the individualistic standard would revolutionize our political machinery.

The future of socialism has to a certain extent been already indicated in the foregoing. The present social movements are in that direction. Where the tendency will cease we cannot say. But do not understand that socialists believe or expect that the successful attainment of their material ends will herald the full glory of the millenium. Human nature is not wholly governed by environment. Neither will evil be annihilated by the overthrow of capitalism. But they do believe that with a social system founded upon truth and justice the final attainment of the goal of human perfection would be greatly hastened.

F. L. GREENE.

LEGAL OBSTACLES TO ASSOCIATED BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

BY FREDERICK H. COOKE.

THE common law of England (and, by consequence, of the United States) abounds with survivals from barbarous conditions of society. This is strikingly manifest in the law governing partnership liability.

Following back the stream of history until we pass even beyond the assistance of the light of tradition, we find mankind generally made up of warring groups. The individuals of one group had little or no knowledge of the individual members of another group. An injury done by a member of one group to a member of another was commonly avenged upon the group generally, each member being thus subjected to an "unlimited liability" for wrongs done by his fellows. As is said by Sir Henry Maine, in "the infancy of society, men are regarded and treated, not as individuals, but always as members of a particular group" ("Ancient Law," 12th edition, p. 183).

The results are traceable throughout history. An illustration is the old Anglo-Saxon custom of "frank-pledge," by which every man in a given community "was a security for the rest, pledging himself that all and every of them should demean himself orderly, and stand to the inquiries and awards of justice" (Reeves' "History of English Law," American Edition, p. 191). The incongruity between such survivals and the requirements of modern business methods had strongly impressed itself upon Mr. Henry C. Carey, when he wrote: "Unlimited liability is one of the characteristics of barbarism. On a plantation, if some of the negroes cannot do their task, the others must do it for them. In India, those who would work, and could pay their taxes, have always been obliged to make amends for those

who would, or could, do neither. Among the grievous oppressions of the *taille*, the solidarity of the people, one for the other, stood most conspicuous" ("Social Science," Vol. II., Chapter XXXIV., Sec. 15).

We need not be surprised to discover these prehistoric conceptions surviving in the common law of partnership. "By the common law of this country, every member of an ordinary partnership is liable to the utmost farthing of his property for the debts and engagements of the firm" (Lindley on the "Law of Partnership," p. 200).

While partnerships were composed of but a few members, say two or three, the evils flowing from this doctrine were comparatively insignificant, though one of two partners might, and sometimes did, through its operation, bring irretrievable ruin upon his associate. Still the evil was obviously small as compared with its extent when the doctrine came to be applied to large associations.

Nowadays, however, no considerable number of persons can be found so foolish as to associate themselves under the form of a trade partnership with all the evils of unlimited liability. To some extent a remedy has been discovered in laws providing for the formation of "limited liability" partnerships, or companies, but such laws have thus far been commonly found inadequate for the accomplishment of their purpose.

Hence, the business enterprise of the world has come at last to exert its activities mainly through the medium of corporations. But it is not altogether clear that, in escaping from the Scylla of unlimited liability partnerships, associated business enterprise has not encountered a Charybdis of ancient and medieval prejudice as manifested in the plan and scope of the mass of corporate legislation.

It is undeniable that the common law, as it has been expounded and is still being expounded, is, on the whole, hostile to associated business enterprise as manifested under the form of corporations. Until history has been searched for an explanation, it is extremely difficult for a dispassionate observer to discover any adequate ground for this hostility. Says Mr. Carey :

"Upon what ground a community can deny to its members the free exercise of the right of association and combination, it is exceedingly difficult to comprehend" ("Social Science," Vol. II., Chap. 34, Sec. 16). It is now pretty well understood in enlightened communities that business enterprises conducted by individuals, at least, are to be encouraged, and should be freed, as far as possible, from governmental regulation. He who clears land, opens a mine, builds a mill, constructs a road, is commonly regarded not merely as a benefactor to himself, but as a "public" benefactor.

But there is abroad a more or less distinctly formulated belief among our newspaper editors, our legislators, even, to some extent, among "business men" themselves, that although it is a "public" benefit that a solitary individual clear a farm, open a mine, build a mill, construct a road, yet, somehow or other, when any considerable number of men, say fifty or a hundred, undertake the same, they and their undertaking are public evils to be, if not absolutely prohibited, yet hampered with various prohibitions, with burdensome taxation, and so forth. That is to say, it has, after long and painful experience, been found that the form of a corporation is the one best adapted for the operations of a considerable number of persons engaged in a common business enterprise; but, strange to say, such persons, after taking such form, find themselves hampered in every direction in their efforts to carry out enterprises concededly beneficial to the community.

Illustrations of these statements will be found abundantly scattered throughout statutes, judicial opinions, and legal textbooks. It was recently declared by the United States Supreme Court that "it may be considered as the established doctrine of this court in regard to the powers of corporations, that they are such, and such only, as are conferred upon them by *the acts of the legislatures* of the several states under which they are organized" (130 U. S. 20). The tremendous amount of legislative corruption that has resulted from the existence of this doctrine, will be an interesting subject of study for some future student of politics. But we observe further that these privileges are

conferred grudgingly. It was said by the same court as applicable to corporations: "Every public grant of property or of privileges or franchises, if ambiguous, is to be construed against the grantee and in favor of the public. . . . This rule of construction is a wholesome safeguard of the interests of the public" (139 U. S. 49). That is to say, a rule of law is "a wholesome safeguard to the interests of the public" that operates to throw obstacles in the path of a body of men who, under the most suitable form, that of a corporation, are endeavoring to clear land, open mines, build mills, construct roads, and so on throughout the infinite list of industrial activities of the age.

We have said that until history is searched for an explanation it is extremely difficult for a dispassionate observer to discover any ground for this hostility on the part of law (as well as of public opinion). In our view, history does indeed furnish an explanation. It shows us that the law, as applied to purely business corporations, was from the beginning thrown into hopeless confusion by the failure to perceive the radical distinction between these *private* corporations and *public* corporations, such as towns, cities, etc., whose proper functions were purely political. It shows us that the logical result of the rules of law thus applied to business corporations, was the rise of powerful and oppressive monopolies—like the East India Company and the Bank of England. But while history thus accounts for existing law and public opinion as to business corporations, it also shows that such law and public opinion are largely obsolete survivals inapplicable to the business necessities of the day.

The preceding suggestions point clearly to what is, in our view, the appropriate remedy: *All legal restrictions upon the creation and powers of business corporations should be abolished.* The general trend of corporate legislation nowadays is, indeed, strongly in this direction: witness the laws of such states as New Jersey and West Virginia. It will of course be understood that we do not mean to suggest that associations of individuals should, any more than mere individuals, be exempt from the operation of the general laws of the land.

But, under such a system of freedom, would not many useless and hurtful corporations be formed? Certainly. And would not corporations frequently exercise their powers to the harm of themselves and others? Certainly. But has it not been time, for a hundred years, more or less, for us to be free from the belief that governmental restriction upon business enterprise is a good thing, simply because those engaging in such enterprises under conditions of freedom, cannot be trusted always to use their freedom wisely? In medieval times men were dominated by this belief. The manufacturer of cloth could not be trusted to regulate its width and quality; a government official should see to such width and quality. So it was, throughout the realm of industrial activity. But this faith in the efficiency of governmental supervision has, as to business operations conducted by individuals, had little vigor since the attacks made by Dr. Adam Smith and his French predecessors. We merely suggest here the application to enterprises carried on by *associations of individuals*, of the doctrine that they so successfully applied to enterprises carried on by *individuals*.

FREDERICK H. COOKE.

"CANADA AND POLITICAL REUNION."

BY LAWRENCE IRWELL.

IN READING Mr. W. Sanford Evans' article upon "Canada and Political Reunion," in your February issue, I notice two inaccurate statements regarding matters of fact. I have no desire to draw attention to any controversial question, and I admit that the statements to which I refer are of secondary importance; but both of them have been so persistently reiterated by Canadians that some persons may have persuaded themselves that these assertions are accurate.

Canadians claim to have the best banking system yet devised, and in the Bank of Montreal, with its paid up capital of \$12,000,000, and its reserve fund of \$6,000,000, to have not only the greatest financial institution in America, but the second or third largest joint stock bank in the world.—AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS, *Vol. IV., No. 2, p. 205.*

The Canadian banking system answers admirably in Canada, a large country with a comparatively small population; whether it would be satisfactory if the country were thickly peopled is a question which I am not competent to answer—perhaps Mr. W. Sanford Evans is.

The Bank of Montreal has a smaller capital and reserve fund than either the National Provincial Bank of England, or the London and Westminster Bank. The Bank of England and the Bank of France are both joint stock banks and are, in every sense, larger than the Bank of Montreal. But the size of a bank depends, in reality, upon the amount of its business, not upon its paid up capital. The Chemical National Bank of New York has a capital of only \$300,000; its reserve fund, however, is \$6,000,000, and the figures in its balance sheet amount to \$38,000,000. Its dividends are now over one hundred per cent per annum. National banks, of course, have no branches.

There are in England a number of banks with smaller capital than the Bank of Montreal doing a far larger business.

I take the one in which the figures seem to be the highest—the London and County Banking Company. Paid up capital, £2,000,000. Reserve fund, £1,000,000. Dividend and bonus for the year 1893, 21 per cent. (Shillings and pence are omitted in the following items.) Net profits for the half year ending December, 1893, £206,130.

LIABILITIES.

Due on current and deposit accounts.....	£33,886,873
Total liabilities.....	40,216,460

ASSETS.

Cash.....	£4,903,808
Loans at call and short notice.....	2,646,244
English government securities and bonds of Egypt and Turkey (guaranteed by Great Britain and Canadian bonds.....	6,950,268
Indian government stock and government rail- ways.....	905,127
English corporation stocks and railway debenture stocks.....	1,209,246
Other securities.....	10,232
Bills discounted and advances to customers, liabilities of customers for drafts accepted by bank (as per contra).....	23,138,874
Freehold and leasehold premises.....	452,661

Space does not admit of my giving the entire balance sheet; it will be found in *The Economist* of February 3, page 166.

The Bank of Montreal is a very large, powerful and safe institution, but neither it nor any colonial bank can show such figures as the above, and it is not, as stated by Mr. W. Sanford Evans, either "the second or third largest joint stock bank in the world," or indeed anywhere near it.

Turning to page 207, I find the following words—they have often been seen before: "The United States government granted more in money and land to the Union Pacific Railway to build its one thousand miles of road than was granted to the Canadian Pacific to build its three thousand miles."

Is this correct?

The Union Pacific Railway was chartered in 1862 and was granted 12,800 acres of public lands per mile of line, making a total of 13,222,400 acres. The subsidy for the 1,033 miles was \$27,226,512. But this subsidy was in the form of bonds and the

amount was not intended to be a gift, but a loan, as is proved by the provision that these subsidy bonds were to be a first mortgage on the road. By a subsequent act of Congress the company was allowed to issue an equal amount of its own bonds, the subsidy bonds becoming a second charge. For the repayment of the subsidy bonds the company was required to pay annually to the government five per cent of its net earnings and to allow the government to retain one half of the charges for transportation on its account.

In the case of the Canadian Pacific, no arrangement was made for repayment by the railway company to the government. The *grants* were *gifts*, viz., cash, \$25,000,000; 713 miles of railway constructed by the government at a cost of \$35,000,000, and 25,000,000 acres of land. Further, interest at three per cent per annum was guaranteed for ten years by the government upon \$65,000,000 of stock.

That Mr. W. Sanford Evans has tried to write an impartial article upon Canada is quite obvious; that he has written an interesting article is certain. I venture to point out two comparatively unimportant inaccuracies because I believe that statistical information concerning banks and railways is not always at hand.

LAWRENCE IRWELL.

POLITICAL EXIGENCIES.

A GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION AND ITS OUTCOME.

BY HON. CLARK WAGGONER.

WITHOUT here undertaking to discuss the question of proper relations of the public school systems and the churches of the several states, for so many years occupying a prominent place in the popular mind, it will not be without interest briefly to refer to one case in which that matter bore a part of more national importance than probably is generally understood. Reference is had to the circumstances attending and controlling the election of a governor, and incidentally that of president of the United States.

The story begins in 1875, and in Ohio. That being a year for choosing governor in that state, the matter of candidates early challenged attention. So far as the Democrats were concerned there was no question on that point, since Gov. Wm. Allen, a party leader of forty years' standing, was the only one thought of as his successor. Such understanding had special significance from the fact that that gentleman was generally recognized as the probable nominee of his party for president in 1876, in case his personal strength should command re-election as governor in 1875. This view was made the stronger by the fact that the so-called "Greenback" sentiment was then specially pervading, and virtually controlled, the Democratic party in the middle and western states, of which policy Gov. Allen was a leading champion.

With the Republicans the case was very different. As a result of divisions arising in different causes during President Grant's second term, the state elections had shown a tide of popular sentiment against that party by no means hopeful of success in 1876, Ohio being a conspicuous example in that con-

nection, as shown in the election of Gov. Allen and a Democratic legislature in 1873, and of the Democratic state ticket in 1874.

Such condition in Ohio, with much the same in many other states usually Republican, very naturally caused general anxiety with that party, and no little apprehension of disaster in the approaching national contest. The absolute necessity of redeeming Ohio in 1875, in order to hope for Republican success in 1876, presented a case not to be trifled with. Of course, under such conditions, the selection of a candidate for governor was a matter of prime concern. Different names were mentioned, first and most prominent among which was that of ex-Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, who had twice served in that capacity (elected in 1867 and 1869), and who, upon the mention of his name for a third term, promptly and positively declined the same. Soon after such declination by that gentleman, most of the leading Republican papers of the state (by what seemed preconcerted action), announced the name of Judge Alphonso Taft of Cincinnati. He was a gentleman of high standing, and at one time judge of the Superior Court of Hamilton county. Rarely does such suggestion meet with favor equal to that shown in this case, and the choice of Judge Taft for a time seemed a foregone conclusion. With few exceptions, the Republican daily papers of the state—especially of Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus and Cleveland—united in support of such nomination, their lead being largely accepted by the county papers of that party throughout the state. Dissent among the Republican press to such action was at first very limited, the proposed nomination being generally accepted as the best to be made. But as discussion progressed, opposition appeared, and soon assumed definite and positive ground. This arose, not in any question as to Judge Taft's fitness for the position, or his personal character, but in his declared views in connection with the public schools, and especially as to the proper relations between the state school system and the Catholic church. That gentleman, in the considerate form of an opinion from the bench of a Hamilton county court, had declared, that the state school laws, as then existing, imposed gross wrong upon the Catholics of the state,

who, to quote his language, were thereby "constrained every year to yield to others their right to one third of the school money—a sum averaging not less than \$200,000 every year—on conscientious grounds." "That is to say," said Judge Taft, "these people (the Catholics), are punished every year for believing as they do, to the extent of \$200,000, and to that extent, those of us who send our children to these excellent schools, become beneficiaries of Catholic money." Understanding such formal avowal to be an arraignment of the state school system, with demand for division of the school funds with the Catholic church, many Republicans were unwilling to make a party standard-bearer of one holding such views. In the same connection was the language of Bishop McQuaide of Rochester, New York, in a public address at Cincinnati, in which he distinctly recognized Judge Taft's position on the school question, and expressed the hope that such views "would not prevent that gentleman from securing the nomination for governor." The bishop's position was stated in these words: "My proposition is, that parents shall be at liberty to pay their school tax to the school to which they send their children, or the school in their districts most in harmony with their religious convictions." In the same connection, the Catholic press then denounced the Ohio school system as "pagan," and therefore intolerable.

The canvass for a Republican candidate for governor soon became very active, with strong probability of the nomination of Judge Taft, unless a much stronger competitor than any then in the field should be found, with almost certain defeat as the result. The more that gentleman's position on the school question was discussed, the more manifest was such outcome, in case of his nomination. Hence, the vital importance of a nomination which should avoid the issue thus raised, and thus unite the Republican party. In such emergency was proposed the nomination of ex-Governor Hayes, notwithstanding his formal and positive refusal to become a candidate. This was done on the ground of existing conditions, and was justified by the fact, that that gentleman having twice been made governor by the Republicans of Ohio, when he sought such honor at their hands, it

was not for him to say whether or not he should, on call, serve them in the same capacity. This view of the case met general acceptance, and ex-Governor Hayes soon became recognized as available as a candidate, especially outside the larger cities, though the Republican journals supporting Judge Taft still adhered to that gentleman.

The state convention met in June, when the names of Taft and Hayes were announced as candidates for nomination. The fact that the latter had positively refused to be a candidate was made specially prominent, emphasized by his unqualified statement that "under no circumstances would he accept a nomination as against Judge Taft," who had been named after he (Hayes) declined. The balloting proceeded, resulting in a vote of 151 for Taft and 393 for Hayes, when the latter was declared the nominee, and the secretary of the convention directed to advise him of such action and ask his acceptance. The convention proceeded with its other business. Some two hours passed without response from ex-Governor Hayes, when, that he might be relieved of any embarrassment as to Judge Taft's relation to the matter, that gentleman's son (Charles P. Taft, Esq., now a judge of the United States Court) arose in the convention and moved that the nomination of ex-Governor Hayes be declared unanimous, of which action the secretary was directed to advise the nominee. Very soon thereafter the matter was happily disposed of by an answer from ex-Governor Hayes accepting the nomination.

The result of such action is briefly stated. After an active campaign ex-Governor Hayes was elected over Governor Wm. Allen by some five thousand majority. The matter of the public schools bore no prominent part in the canvass, though at the outset it was declared upon supposed authority that the Catholics of the state would, as a body, support the Democratic ticket.

The effect of the Ohio state election was early seen in a manifestation of hope and life on the part of the Republicans of the country, unknown for some time, and the matter of the national campaign of 1876 very soon was invested with renewed interest.

So clearly was this the fact that the name of Governor Hayes at once became prominently associated with the presidential candidacy. His position in that respect was made stronger by the fact that in the state canvass special prominence had been given the matter of resumption of specie payment under act of Congress, as against continued irredeemable "Greenback" currency; that gentleman supporting the former, while Governor Allen favored the latter, policy. The result of that issue in Ohio, indirectly, no doubt, did more for the final success of resumption in 1879 than did any other one cause, and it seemed specially fitting that the one contributing so largely to such potent local support should, as president, have direction of the successful inauguration of the resumption policy in 1879, as provided by the law of 1875.

The story of the nomination and election of Governor Hayes as president need not be repeated here, the main purpose of the present writing being to present the circumstances and controlling causes of his election as governor of Ohio in 1875, which led to his elevation to the presidency the year following. But for the former, against his positive and repeated protest, there could have been no reason to expect the latter event; while, except for his nomination for governor (as afterwards so generally conceded), the Republicans would have been defeated in Ohio in 1875, and thus made the more hopeless for the national campaign of 1876, which even then was won only on the close vote of 185 to 184 in the electoral count.

It was stated at the time that with some, at least, of those active in the matter, the nomination of Judge Taft for governor in 1875 was not without contingent presidential bearings for 1876. However that may have been, there is no doubt that but for that gentleman's expressions on the school question he would have been the nominee for governor, and most probably elected; and if so, there appears no reason why such success would not have given him much of the personal prestige thereby inuring to Governor Hayes.

CLARK WAGGONER.

SOCIALISM IN ITS DIFFERENT FORMS.

BY HARRY C. AGER.

THE term socialism is little heard at the present time because the word has become unpopular : but socialism under other names was never more active than now. The social Democrats, the collectivists, and the nationalists, are more active in propagating their doctrines than the socialists ever were. Moreover, most of the reforms, real or imagined, that have been adopted during the past decade by the leading nations of the world, have been socialistic in their aim, and most of the proposed reforms are of the same nature. Thus, in the Australasian colonies the railroads, the city tramways, gas works, and irrigation works are under state control, and in New Zealand the government even manages the savings banks.

In Germany we find old age insurance, which has been adopted in a more or less modified form by many other European nations. In France the trades unions have secured so many privileges from the government that they are actually able to tax non-union workingmen. In England socialism has confined itself largely to the municipalities, but in them it has been exceedingly active. Even municipal laundries have been established, and the London county council has just decided to put up a municipal lodging house to be managed as a purely business enterprise.

The opponents of socialism find little difficulty in proving that these reforms have seldom if ever bettered the condition of the people ; and that the further proposed changes are even less likely to have beneficial results. But without attempting to review the arguments *pro* and *con*, we propose in this article to show that there are three ways in which the functions of government can be extended ; in other words, that there are three

kinds of socialism, (1) an increase of interference with individual liberty by the government; (2) its undertaking of business for a profit; (3) its furnishing commodities or facilities for enjoyment—either below cost or gratis. These three different kinds of socialism involve radically different considerations.

In discussing these three forms of socialism, it is most convenient for purposes of science to designate as socialistic all governmental activities outside of its police functions. Thus, we may take our sumptuary laws as an example of the first kind of socialism; the postoffice as an example of the second; and free public roads as an example of the third. But if more radically socialistic examples are required, we may place the temperance laws of many of our states under the first head, the municipalization of gas works under the second, and the free school book system in public schools under the third. But throughout the discussion it should be borne in mind that the police functions of government are not so limited as at first sight appears. It is true that under a government that exercised only police functions every man would be free so long as he did not interfere with his neighbor; but the ways in which he can encroach on his neighbor's freedom are manifold, and each of them calls for some form of governmental interference. Thus a purely individualistic government may prevent a man from erecting a dynamite factory in a public street, because it would endanger the lives and property of his neighbors; such a government may compel a parent to send his children to school, because every child has a right to a proper training.

With this proviso we may take up the first kind of socialism, namely, such interferences with human freedom as cannot be included under the head of police regulations. It is obvious that such interferences are evils, and can only be justified on the ground that they are necessary evils. For freedom in itself is a treasure, and, furthermore, the government is not so good a judge as the individual himself of what, under any given circumstances, is the best course for him to pursue. Laws of this

character are almost certain to be disregarded, because no one being interested in their enforcement, no one takes the trouble to see that they are enforced ; hence they breed a disregard for all law.

Another objection to this form of governmental interference is that those who are restricted discourage and hinder the enforcement of the law, often by corrupt means ; and this in turn demoralizes the police. If the government should prohibit the sale of tobacco, the tobacco dealers would bribe the police not to enforce the law, and all smokers would connive at its evasions. As a result conscientious men would rarely be found on a police force ; and such a police would be ready to protect other offenders as well as tobacco sellers, perhaps even criminals.

Still there are cases in which such interference may be justified. Thus the government may very properly require that a druggist or a physician shall give proof that he understands his calling by passing an examination, because it is impossible for a majority of men to judge of the proficiency of druggists or physicians, and because the functions they perform are so important, and the consequences of malpractice are so pernicious that public opinion upholds such interference. But it is exceedingly doubtful if anti-liquor and gambling laws can be defended on these or any other grounds ; and it is certain that they are open to all the objections enumerated above. The proposed laws to prohibit the manufacture of cigarettes and chewing-gum would have all the bad effects, and none of the good effects, of abnormal governmental interference.

Secondly, when the government undertakes any business for a profit, the fact has *per se* no effect upon the citizens. Both after and before the change he pays his money and obtains the return. A second Rip Van Winkle, returning after a twenty years' sleep to a country in which the government had meanwhile assumed control of all business, might not for many weeks discover the fact. But government management is at best inefficient ; especially so in the selection of business managers. In this respect the influence of natural selection, namely, competition, gives the private firm an advantage. Moreover, any extension

of governmental functions increases the number of government employees ; and such persons under almost any conditions will be more or less inclined to support the government in power, regardless of its merits, even against the interests of the community. Again, governments are generally corrupt and extravagant, and this means wasteful and expensive management. One frequent form of extravagance is the payment of abnormally high wages and salaries to employees ; and this is an inducement to all employees to use their votes and influence to increase their wages ; and also creates a class of idlers looking for government positions which is proportionate to the number of positions to be filled. This state of affairs is especially marked in the Australasian colonies. On the other hand, government management is management on a large scale, and the community receives any profits that may accrue. Thus when a business does not require special skill, or when it tends to become a monopoly, and especially when unification of management is essential to its efficiency, government control has many advantages. If the distribution of the mails were managed by private companies there would probably be three or four concerns dividing the country among them, which would necessarily increase the expense ; and if several concerns should cover the same territory we would have half a dozen letter carriers where we now have one. Moreover, the business would soon become a monopoly and demand exorbitant prices for its services. As such a business is mechanical, there is no special advantage to be derived from private management. It is difficult to see why government ownership of telegraphs and telephones is not equally desirable.

Many advocate government ownership of railroads, because they are the country's highways, and because they tend to become monopolies. But a little investigation shows that private management is here all but necessary to secure even fairly good results. The fixing of freight rates alone requires a skill that it would be practically impossible to secure from government officials. And the same is true of many other details of the business.

Thirdly, the supply of facilities of enjoyment by government agency merely takes with one hand what it gives with the other ; for the government has nothing except what it takes from the people, and either takes from one man to give to another, or it takes from all to give back to all. In either case the citizens, as a whole, get back less than they pay out, for it costs something to collect the taxes and to superintend their expenditure. Nevertheless there are occasions when it is expedient for the government to extend its functions in this direction. Thus an undertaking might not be profitable as a business, and yet be both useful and profitable to the community ; as, for example, the preservation of forests. Again, a certain instrumentality, like a public road, might be useful to only part of the community and yet it may be so difficult or expensive to collect the money from those who use it, that it is better to furnish it gratis, even at the expense of a slight injustice to some.

But it would be impossible to enumerate every case in which it is proper for the government to extend its functions in this direction. We care for the destitute and helpless from a feeling of humanity ; we furnish education free because it is better for the community that every man should be fairly well educated ; we furnish amusements free in order that every one may have some pleasure in his life and thus become a more useful citizen. But there must be in every case some good reason for the gifts of the government to its citizens, some proof that government action is better than private action, and that the free gift is better than taxation of the beneficiaries. Free breakfasts to workingmen, for example, cannot be defended on any grounds.

There are, then, three forms of socialism, the study of which involves radically different questions. Each form may in special instances be adopted with profit, but with these exceptions, they are all productive of pernicious results.

HARRY C. AGER.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

School Management. By Emerson E. White, A.M., LL.D. 12mo, cloth, 309 pages, with index. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: American Book Company. Price, \$1.00.

Though many excellent books have been published on the subject of home and school training, a work by so able and well known an educator as Dr. White will be welcomed by a large class of readers. He has been before the public as institute instructor, lecturer, college professor, school superintendent, and author, and is justly entitled to be ranked among the leading educators of the country. His "Elements of Pedagogy" has had a large sale, and he brings out this work with good prospects of its being a great success, not only as a help in the educational field, but in a financial way as well.

The book is divided into two parts, part one treating of school government and part second of moral training. Under the first part are discussed, "The Teacher as a Governor," "Conditions of Easy Control," and "Mechanical Devices." Under part second, "Will Training," "School Incentives," "Punishment," "Moral Instruction," "Material for Moral Lessons," and "Religion in School." The topics are all treated clearly, concisely, and ably. A most helpful feature to the teacher is the outlines of lessons in morals and manners. Likewise the large collection of short stories, containing material for moral lessons, will be found of great service to progressive teachers who are always on the alert for something valuable with which to interest and instruct their pupils.

If we find anything in this book to criticise it is that too much prominence is given to the subject of punishment. Punishment has always been and is still a sort of sacred fetich to parents, teachers, preachers, and legislators. Innocent children and timid adults from time immemorial have been kept in terror

with threats of eternal punishment if they should disobey the least command of the Creator who gave them existence. Millions of little ones are still cruelly abused both by parents and teachers, more because of the incompetence, weakness, and ignorance of these same teachers and parents than because the so-called punishment has the slightest tendency toward any good effect on those who are made to suffer. It is high time that distinguished educators who undertake to direct and enlighten those who teach children should use their ability in showing how not to punish instead of giving detailed directions as to the proper way of inflicting penalties.

It is morally certain that if the hateful term punishment were forever banished from the thoughts of both teachers and parents the world would be infinitely happier and better. Let the teacher enter the school, filled with an earnest desire to lead, direct, instruct, and guide, and be fully prepared to do this, and he will not be called on to play the part of a child beater—a term of reproach not second even to that of hangman. In too many schools discipline and punishment receive the lion's share of attention, while the true training that surely leads to right self-control comes in as a secondary or minor consideration.

Let one watch a group of school children playing "school," and he can soon discover what characteristics of school life have had most influence on their plastic minds. In every case of the many coming under the writer's notice, the rod, the threat, and the scolding have made up by far the larger part of the play. Where do they get these low, unworthy ideas of school except from the example set by the teacher? Should not every teacher feel a pang of shame and regret that the children he has taught should regard whipping, scolding, and threatening as the essential elements in a school of learning? How different is the play of a group of children who have been under the training of a skilful kindergartner! The game is carried on kindly and courteously, without scolding, whipping, or threatening. The children act in both cases simply as they have been taught.

We regret that Dr. White did not see his way clear to condemn the use of the rod both in home and school as an instru-

ment of degradation and danger unworthy to be longer tolerated, instead of instructing teachers and parents in its proper (?) use. The whip has but one certain inevitable tendency whether wielded by saint or sinner, at home or at school, on child or adult. It demoralizes, hardens, and degrades both the giver and receiver of the blows, and rouses those very feelings and passions that ought to be subdued and held in check. It makes but little difference whether the blows be on the head, which Dr. White solemnly assures us should never be struck, or whether they be on that part of the anatomy which we have been religiously taught to believe was created especially for the convenience of parents and teachers who believe in pain and fear as an antidote for bad thoughts and their natural result, bad actions. That part of the human form divine has not yet been discovered that can be wilfully struck or pinched or otherwise injured without the subject's justly considering it an indignity against his person, and rousing feelings that should be allowed to lie dormant.

Whipping is no longer tolerated even in prisons that make any pretensions to being reformatory in their work, and it is a disgrace to civilization, to religion, to humanity, that children are still subject to blows in most of our schools and homes. Good teachers do not need to whip in schools; and poor ones ought to be banished from the school room or at least have their power for doing harm curtailed so they cannot degrade and debase the pupils under their charge. We are glad that in one nation of the earth and in one state in the Union and in many cities and towns cloak rooms and principals' rooms are no longer permitted to be used as torture chambers; and God speed the day when it will everywhere be regarded as much of an outrage against decency, against propriety, and against the law to strike a little child as to strike a woman. Abuse of children is not confined by any means to the use of the rod. Parents and teachers by virtue of their duties and responsibilities which they mistake for rights and privileges, use language in dealing with children, which if applied to their physical equals, would be promptly resented by a blow. Those who abuse children are

guilty of the meanest cowardice, for they attack only the little ones instead of taking those of their own size. As soon as a boy grows strong enough and brave enough to resent a personal attack he is safe so far as whipping is concerned. If parents and teachers who believe in pain as a moral tonic would show as much discretion in managing children by a reasonable means as they display in picking out those that they can safely attack, children would improve much more in mind and suffer much less in body.

The Political Economy of Natural Law. By Henry Wood. Boston: Lee and Shepard. \$1.25.

This is a new book by Henry Wood, author of "Ideal Suggestions," "God's Image in Man," "Edward Burton," etc., under the above title. Its purpose is to outline a political economy which is practical and natural rather than theoretical and artificial, being a study of inherent laws and principles. In 1887 this author issued a volume entitled "Natural Law in the Business World," which was well received and passed through several editions. The present book is not a revised edition, but substantially a new book of double the size.

The titles of a few of the twenty-four chapters will give some idea of its contents. Among them are: The Law of Coöperation, The Law of Competition, Combinations of Capital, Combinations of Labor, Profit Sharing, Socialism, Economic Legislation, Can Capital and Labor be Harmonized? The Distribution of Wealth, Centralization of Business, Booms and Panics, Money and Coinage, Tariffs and Protection, Industrial Education, etc.

Political economy is interpreted from the standpoint of evolution and natural law. The idealism and optimism of this book strongly distinguish it from many of the pessimistic treatises of the present time.

Mr. Wood has the faculty of rendering this usually dry subject not only instructive but positively entertaining. He has given many years of careful study to the practical phases of social economics, in their relation to natural law, and each chapter is thoroughly original and telling in its special department.

The Psychic Factors of Civilization, By Lester F. Ward. 8vo. Cloth, 369 pages. Price \$2.00. Boston: Ginn & Company.

This work is an original contribution to both psychology and sociology, and is, in fact, a combination of these two departments of science. It is the first attempt that has been made to show in a systematic and fundamental way the workings of mind in social phenomena. It has hitherto been customary with those who recognize the operations of law in human affairs to compare them with those taking place under the dominion of vital forces. Sociology has been made a department of biology. Society has been treated as a living organism, and the laws of production, distribution, and consumption have been likened to the processes of nutrition, circulation, and assimilation. Political economy has thus gained the name of "the dismal science," because it has been treated as mindless and soulless. Over against this purely *physiological* economy we now have fully set forth in this book a *psychological* economy, a philosophy of mind as the primary motive power of the world in all things above the level of animal life.

The work is divided into three parts: (1) The subjective factors; (2) the objective factors; (3) the social synthesis of the factors. The first part is devoted to showing that the true forces of society are psychic, and make up the subjective side of mind, viz., *feeling*. The second part demonstrates that the directive agent which controls the social forces is psychic, and constitutes the objective side of mind, viz., *thought*. The third part points out how the social forces under the control of the directive agent have established society, raised it step by step to its present state, and are carrying it forward to its ultimate destiny.

The work appeals especially to the following classes of readers: (1) Psychologists and special students of mind in all its departments; (2) sociologists and students of social science from whatever standpoint; (3) economists, the general students of the conditions of wealth and laws of trade and industry, as well as the special students of the relations of the state to industrial action; (4) philosophers and thinkers who are inter-

ested in the broader problems of cosmology and evolution ; (5) biologists and naturalists who are familiar with the facts of animal and vegetable life ; (6) social and political reformers, socialists, nationalists, populists, and the thoughtful working-people of all trades and occupations.

All of these great fields are fearlessly entered by the author of this volume, with the confidence that comes of long familiarity with his entire subject. The scholars embraced under the first five of the above classes will all derive fresh inspiration and gain new light from the novel presentation of many topics in their respective fields. The earnest and honest thousands embraced in the sixth and last class will learn that political economy and social science, correctly understood, are not the enemies but the friends of true reform.

The Book of the Fair. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. Chicago : The Bancroft Publishing Company.

We have already noticed the first parts of this great work, and the later parts received fully meet the expectations raised by the first numbers. The work when complete will consist of twenty-five parts, each costing one dollar, and making in all 1000 imperial folio pages. The paper, type, press-work, and engraving are all of the highest class, and the text gives as clear and concise an account of our own great Columbian Exposition as is possible to be presented in the space at the disposal of the author, besides giving in brief a history of all the world's fairs previously held. Though this work involved an enormous outlay in its preparation, it is proving a success from a financial point of view, as well as from the standpoint of literature and art.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

MAY, 1894.

RESPONSIBILITY IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

BY FREDERICK W. KELLY.

A BETTER system of municipal government is to-day the most obvious need of nearly all the great cities of the United States. Admitting the truth of this proposition, how is the realization of it to be secured? Since the birthday of our national government, when the wise men of 1787 marshaled into form the specified duties of the nation as a body politic, leaving the general administration of justice to the state government, though in a limited and restricted sense, we have felt with ever increasing pressure the necessity of still further progress in the direction then indicated. If the nation can be made to move harmoniously under our national government, and the several states move harmoniously under their respective state governments, why cannot cities be made to move with equal harmony under their municipal governments?

There are many difficulties which beset the pathway of city government. Among them the most conspicuous are, self-interest on the part of citizens to the exclusion of loyalty to city interests, ending as it were in the *laissez faire* policy; the enthronement of politics over principles, thereby creating a lack of proper responsibility; and, last but by no means least, the rapid growth of the city itself; necessitating the collection and expenditure of large sums of money in municipal improvements with an eye to quick results. To observe the truth of our first proposition we have simply to go back to the early days of some of our now prominent and often sadly mismanaged cities, or better still, to observe the management of some of our prom-

inent country towns. In the country men have plenty of time for public affairs, time enough to select good officers and to see that they do their duty, abundant opportunity for good government; government of the people, for the people, and by the people. Candidates do not, like the fabled soldiers from the dragon's teeth, spring up in a single night and leap full armed into the political arena, but are usually men of good standing, sound principles, and known through and through by their fellow-men. Their merits and demerits are discussed at every fireside, and when at last they stand before their fellow townsmen for final approval, it is with no uncertainty or lack of interest that the latter cast their ballots for the men of their free choice. But in the city who has time for politics save the politician? Whoever stops to think of what is good for the city, when it seems so essential that he should think of what is good for himself? In the whirl of business, the mad rush for money, self and self alone is the prevailing thought; he who pauses even for an instant is overwhelmed by the tidal wave of competition and soon finds that what his better nature dictates his fellow-men will not permit.

To the average business and professional man every hour of the day has its particular use. He cannot give, or at least thinks he cannot, any time unless he receive an equivalent, and the consciousness of having done a public duty he does not regard as a proper equivalent. There is no money in it, it is not profitable. Let those who have the time attend to municipal government. Suppose for a moment this same citizen were to apply this theory to his own business or profession. How long would the wheel run smoothly, how long would his bank account show a balance in his favor, and, do you think his army of clerks and his retinue of clients would long remain with him? But is not the good government of the city a business; and where is there greater opportunity for the exercise of professional skill and business integrity than in the administration of the various offices of that same city government? Says a well known authority on this point, "The city is a great corporation, upon which is devolved not an abstract duty only of providing

for the public welfare, but the practical work of the city in administering its various departments and executing the public works committed to its care. No prudent individual or well-conducted business corporation would trust the management of important affairs to the care of inexperienced, incompetent, or inadequately paid agents. No good reason can be given for the adoption of a different policy by the city. The great object in providing for the performance of official services in behalf of the city should be to so regulate it that its servants should, as far as practicable, be trained by experience and practice, and be subject to proper control."

That one city of the civilized world is at least approaching this idea of municipal government is evident by the response of Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, when interrogated regarding his opinion of the city of Glasgow. "I had not expected to find in an English-speaking country," said Dr. Shaw, "so perfect an example of civic administration. The whole people through their elected representatives look after the affairs of the whole community with an ability and a vigilance and a public spirit that are simply admirable. This excellence lies in the energy with which the citizens, having at last wakened to a sense of the evils around them, have set themselves to abate those evils. The perfection of municipal machinery represents continuous and persistent effort to undo the evil which a long period of *laissez faire* and indifference had allowed to spring up."

As to the fixing of responsibility for municipal government or misgovernment, as the case may be, where it naturally belongs, there can be little doubt that the most effective way to accomplish this is by the appointment of a strong executive. As the city governments are the outgrowth of town governments, so we find many of the characteristics of their progenitors clinging to them. We find in many instances their legislative bodies given the most sweeping powers. Take for instance the city of Boston, which may be cited as fairly representative of our American municipalities, and, tracing back its history to the period of town government, we find almost from its inception a

strongly legislative type of government prevailing. Indeed it was not until 1815, when the population of the town had reached 36,000, and the voting population numbered nearly 6,000, that the old form of town meeting in which all the voters took active part was superseded by a municipal form of government, and not until 1822 was a petition for a city charter presented to the legislature. In this petition it was stated that it was impossible to carry on the government in the old form. "That there was no hall large enough to contain all the legal voters, and if such a room existed, the attendance would be too large to admit of proper deliberation." There we see with what tenacity the early citizens of Boston clung to their legislative privileges.

Under the new charter the mayor was declared to be the chief executive officer of the corporation, but had no power to act independently of the aldermen. The mayor and aldermen constituted one board, of which the mayor was, *ex officio*, the presiding officer. He had a vote in all questions, but not the veto power. In all cases in which appointment to office was directed to be made by the mayor and aldermen, the mayor had the exclusive power of nomination; but all important officers, except those of the police, were subject to annual election by the city council, some of them in convention of two branches—*e. g.*, the city clerk and the city treasurer—and others by concurrent vote. The mayor and the six aldermen formed the upper branch of the city council. The common council of forty-eight members (four from each ward) formed the lower branch of the city council, presided over by one of its own members elected for that purpose at the beginning of the municipal year. Except in the election of certain officers, determining the number of representatives for the corporation to send to the general court, and fixing the mayor's salary, the two branches were required to sit and act separately, each board having a negative upon the proceedings of the other. In general terms, the city council had all the powers formerly exercised by the inhabitants in town meeting. Under this system it can be readily seen that the mayor or chief executive was merely a figure head.

It was not long before the need of increasing the power of the

mayor was felt, and in 1854 this sentiment resulted in a complete revision of the charter. But even this was not successful as we shall see. The mayor was given a qualified right to veto all acts of the city council, and all acts of either branch involving an expenditure of money. However, the general executive powers of the corporation and the administration of the police rested with the board of aldermen, twelve in number. The mayor still presided over the board of aldermen, but without a vote. This plan resulted in diminishing the power of the chief executive instead of increasing it, though that was not the intention of the framers of the new charter. What they wanted was to increase the responsibility attaching to the office of mayor, and to make that official the actual as well as the theoretical head of the city government. Under this system, however, he still remained but little more than a tool for the councilmen. The council still controlled the election of the heads of city departments and the raising and appropriating of public money. As the expenditures of the city increased, the tax rate and debt of the same reached alarming proportions. The character and nationality of the population were also changing, and the influence of the foreign born population began to be felt as the tide of immigration increased. To escape the heavy taxes on their personal property it was not uncommon for the leading citizens to establish their legal homes beyond the city limits. Increased city expenditures necessitated increased municipal service by the council committee, and in the absence of any direct compensation an indirect compensation was sought by unscrupulous members, and a marked deterioration in the character of this governing body naturally resulted.

“But so long as the city council was permitted to exercise executive as well as legislative powers, to raise an unlimited amount of money by taxation, and also by borrowing on the city's credit, and to make its committees the real heads of the executive department which had the spending of the money so raised, it was impossible long to preserve a high standard of efficiency, economy, or even honesty. Under this vicious system of administration several of the principal executive departments

of the government were reduced to such a state of incompetence and corruption that the pressure of public opinion compelled a partial reform by substituting for the city council committees, commissioners appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the concurrent vote of the aldermen and councilmen."

In 1873 this reform movement was given a further impetus by the appointment of a commission of able and representative citizens to attend to the revision of the charter and other laws pertaining to the city. After two years of careful investigation this committee submitted its report touching upon every important feature of municipal government and reviewing most thoroughly the progress of the city to that date. Among the many reforms recommended was that of relieving the council of its executive duties by vesting said duties in the mayor. The principal reason assigned for this change was that by so doing the council would be relieved from the trouble incident to the selection of the subordinate executive officers, and its committees thus being free from executive duty, it will be possible for men of business, competent and trustworthy, who have, with all honest citizens, a common and personal interest in the public welfare, to take part in the legislative branch of the government.

The commission further recommended that, "In order to carry out the idea of separating the executive from the legislative department, it is necessary that the mayor should have the appointment of all heads of executive departments. There are also serious objections to placing the power of confirmation in the legislative branch. It is in violation of the principle which, as we have shown, lies at the foundation of responsible government. How, then, can we place a check upon the arbitrary exercise of power without unduly interfering with the executive power and responsibility? The only satisfactory solution of the problem appears to be the establishment of an executive council, composed of a small number of persons, elected from the citizens at large upon the minority-representation plan. We propose, therefore, that at the election of mayor and members of the city council each voter shall vote for three executive coun-

cilors, and that the five persons having the highest number of votes in the whole city shall be declared elected; that the persons so elected shall constitute an executive council to act upon the mayor's appointments of city officers; that they, with the mayor, shall exercise the power now vested in the street commissioners, and shall also perform certain duties now performed by the board of aldermen in relation to the inspection of persons and houses of detention, the payment of state aid, and the auditing of county accounts. The office being one of real power and importance, but one which will not require so much time as the present aldermanic office, with its executive and legislative duties, will call for, and be likely to attract public-spirited and substantial citizens, who, whether in the majority or minority, will be in a position to make their influence felt."

Another reason why the mayor should have the initiative in the appointment of the executive officers who have charge of the several city departments is, because, "It is contrary to the first principles of good government to give to the legislative body, which has control of the public power, the election or control—for the election carries with it the control, no matter what the laws and ordinances provide to the contrary—of the individuals by whom the money is to be expended." "The most we can demand of the organic law is that it shall give free play to the better social forces, make public servants responsible for their acts, and put the minority in a position to enforce that responsibility, and to detect, expose, and punish the betrayal of public trust."

Of course it could hardly be expected that the report of the above commission would be accepted, or even meet as a whole with the approval of the then existing city council, and such indeed was the case. But the citizens being thoroughly aroused took the matter into their own hands, and a citizens' municipal reform association was organized for the purpose of securing the necessary changes. The plan finally agreed upon by this association comprised many of the features of that proposed by the commission. In order to secure harmony and united support of the citizens, some of whom doubted the advisability of

reducing the legislative department of the government to one body, and also the expediency of giving the mayor the sole power of appointment, a compromise was effected by which "the two branches of the city council were retained in their original form, but without executive power, and the mayor was authorized to appoint all city officers, subject to confirmation by the aldermen, and to remove any of them for such cause as he might deem sufficient, a distinct statement of the cause being given in his order for removal. The mayor was also authorized to veto, subject to the usual qualifications, the separate items in any ordinance or order involving an appropriation or expenditure of money." The plan as agreed upon by the citizens' association went into effect without material alteration the same year, 1885.

Under the present system of municipal government in Boston "the mayor holds his office for one year, from the first Monday in January. His salary, as fixed by the city council, is \$10,000. The executive powers of the city are vested in him, 'to be exercised through the several officers and boards of the city in their respective departments, under his general supervision and control.' He appoints, subject to confirmation of the board of aldermen, all the principal officers and boards (except the board of police, the street commissioners, and the messengers and clerks in attendance upon the city council), and may remove any of them for such cause as he shall specify in the order for removal. He is required to call together the heads of departments once a month, or oftener, for consultation and advice upon the affairs of the city. Every ordinance, order, resolution, or vote of the city council, and every act of either branch, or of the school committee, involving an expenditure of money, must be presented to the mayor for his approval; and in case of orders, etc., involving the expenditure of money, if there are separate items, he may approve some of the items or sums, and disapprove others. Any ordinance, order, items, or sums disapproved shall not be in force unless reconsidered and approved by a two thirds vote of the members of the city council present when the vote is taken. The annual estimates of expenditures

required by the several departments are sent to the mayor for examination, and he is required to submit them, with his recommendation thereon, to the city council. All contracts in which the amount involved exceeds \$1,000 require the written approval of the mayor ; all drafts upon the city treasury, and all certificates of indebtedness, also require his approval ; and all conveyances, and leases of city land, and all other instruments under seal, executed in behalf of the city, must be signed and delivered by him."

"The city council is composed of two branches, viz.: the board of aldermen, and the common council. Neither the city council, nor either branch, nor any member or committee, is allowed to take part, either directly or indirectly, in the employment of labor, the making of contracts, the purchase of materials or supplies; or in the conduct of any of the executive or administrative business of the city; or in the expenditure of public money, except such as may be necessary for the contingent or incidental expenses of the city council or either branch. The powers conferred upon the city council by the charters of 1822 and 1854, namely, 'to make all such needful and salutary by-laws and ordinances, not inconsistent with the laws of this commonwealth, as towns by such laws have power to make and establish; to prescribe the duties and fix the compensation of city officers; to lay and assess taxes for all purposes for which towns are by law required or authorized to assess and grant money; to provide for the collection of such taxes, make appropriations of all public money, and take measures for a just and prompt account thereof'—are still in force. But there has now been placed a limit upon the rate of taxation and the amount of municipal indebtedness." *

What is true of the development of Boston's municipal system may be said to be measurably true of those of New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and many other large cities of the Union. The tendency is toward a concentration of the executive power coupled with a restricting and defining of the

* The writer desires to acknowledge an indebtedness to Mr. James M. Bugbee and his valuable treatise on the municipal government of Boston.

legislative power, particularly in the matter of raising and appropriating the public money.

Perhaps no better example of a strong executive municipal government can be found than that which was afforded by the city of Brooklyn, N. Y., under the administration of Mayor Seth Low. The doctrine of individual responsibility on the part of the chief executive to the people at large is here amply illustrated and its wisdom proven. One of the chief difficulties in the way of good municipal government to-day is, as we have stated, the irresponsibility of city officers. Officers are not elected because of individual merit and peculiar fitness for the responsibility imposed upon them, but are chosen rather for expediency or to placate party interests. Under this method errors are unavoidable, and when made each officer seeks to shift the responsibility on to the shoulder of another. In the largest cities of the country, where those evils are most severely felt, the present tendency is to lodge with the mayor the absolute power of appointment of all the executive officers of the city. This gives one of the first requisites of efficient administration, namely, power coupled with responsibility to a constituency which can readily call its beneficiary to account. This was substantially the policy adopted by Brooklyn. Its mayor was elected for a term of two years and took his office on the first of January. The great administrative departments of the city were carried on for him for one month by the appointees of his predecessors. On the first of February it became the duty of the mayor to appoint, without confirmation by the common council, all the heads of the executive departments. These appointments were for a term of two years, so that each newly elected mayor enjoyed the opportunity of creating an administration in harmony with himself, and for which he must be responsible. If under this form of administration there is poor municipal government there is certainly no difficulty in placing the responsibility for it, and the remedy at the polls is completely within the hands of the voting body of citizens and not subject to "bossism" and "ring rule." Until some such system of concentration is adopted, it is useless to expect in any

city a truly efficient city government. . To go a step further in this problem, each of the executive departments of a city should be committed to a single head. The principle of personal responsibility of each one of those heads of departments to his superior, must be thoroughly infused into every branch of municipal government, and the mayor ought to be given not only the right to appoint these various heads of departments, but also the right to remove them upon good cause shown, so that at all times he may be held directly responsible for efficient administration in all branches of the city government. This relation gives a city government exactly the element required, namely, a responsibility to a common head, who is in turn himself responsible to the people of the city. It also renders intelligent choice on the part of the people a comparatively easy matter, when they have become thoroughly imbued with the knowledge that efficient administration of their city's government depends almost wholly upon their selection of a capable mayor. This is a proposition which even the most ignorant cannot fail to comprehend.

We come now to the discussion of the last of the three principal difficulties which beset the pathway of city government, namely, the rapid growth of the city, and its relation to an expeditious and safe expenditure of funds in improvements, and general municipal administration.

One of the chief evils of municipal finance is the placing of the power to raise money by taxation and borrowing in the hands of the same department of city government which controls its expenditure. This subject we have already treated at some length in our previous investigations of the city government of Boston, and there a reasonable solution of the problem was reached by giving the mayor the power of appointing the officers who are to administer the city's finances, and vesting in the mayor a strong veto power over reckless expenditure of city funds. By the exercise of a wise foresight on the part of the chief executive, in a properly constituted system of municipal government, but little difficulty should be experienced in so directing municipal expenditures as to obtain for the munici-

pality the maximum benefit for the minimum outlay, and, by placing city contracts in the hands of responsible parties, regardless of patronage and so-called "political pull," to insure the faithful and thorough execution of all work. Thus, it will be obvious to every student of municipal reform, to every advocate of good municipal government, that the only method of city government which has proven and will continue to prove itself a thorough success, is that, which, while it fixes the element of responsibility upon the proper officers, brings to their aid the loyal support of the intelligent body of citizens.

FREDERICK W. KELLY.

THE REAL ESTATE LAW OF EGYPT IN THE TIME OF JOSEPH.

BY H. A. LOUNSBERRY.

WHEN Joseph was the second ruler of Egypt, he was instrumental in securing a law which made the king the owner of all the agricultural land in the kingdom, except the land owned by the priests. The question presents itself for our consideration, was this a wise and just law?

To understand the wisdom or the unwisdom, the equity or want of equity of this statute, it is necessary to know something of the people to whom the law was given, and something of the character of the government under which they lived. For this purpose I shall mention some of the characteristics of the people and shall describe the character of the government.

The people were separated from one another into classes, or castes. These classes are divided differently by the old historians—some giving a greater number and some a less; but they all unite in giving the precedence to the priestly class. "The priesthood formed the really privileged class of the Egyptian nation." It would not be far from the truth to say that they formed the only privileged class. They had the knowledge, the wealth, the influence. They were not only priests—they were also princes, attendants upon the sovereign, councilors, lords temporal, as well as spiritual, answering to the nobility of modern times.* In the early history of Egypt, the king had to belong to this class, or be admitted into it, before he assumed the sovereignty.† While they performed social duties and had social virtues, and did enjoin and practice a kind of morality, and by word and example did restrain the wicked—

* Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," Chaps. III. and XI. Hebrew Historical Researches.

† Wilkinson, Chap. III. Kenrick's "Ancient Egypt," Chap. XXIII.

ness of the people, they were, nevertheless, cunning, covetous, grasping, tenacious of their rights, given to fraud, trickery, deceit, living in ease and luxury, teaching the people as truths what they knew to be fables.* All other classes not only ranked below them, but were as completely cut off from them as though they belonged to another race. They held the key to learning, possessing all the secrets of religion (or what were conceived to be the secrets of religion), which they kept carefully concealed, hidden from the sight, and by this means acquired and retained the power and the pre-eminence over the people which such an advantage would give them.

Opposite to the priesthood in the social scale, the lowest class or classes were those who performed manual labor, including the great mass of all those who make the wealth and the prosperity of a country—the agriculturists, the herdsmen, the shepherds, the artisans. These, however well versed and capable in their several callings, were, outside their occupations, ignorant in the extreme, and as degraded as they were ignorant. They could never rise above the station in which they were born—at least it was not expected that they would.† Each man followed the occupation of his father. At the time of which we are speaking, darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people, and it is very certain that the dark places of the earth were full of the habitations of cruelty. Egypt was no exception to this; high as was the state of its civilization and of its enlightenment, it was the civilization and enlightenment of a heathen and of an idolatrous nation, having in it all the wickedness and vice and cruelty of heathenism. Even though exceptional instances may have appeared of men who were lifted into a higher region and breathed a purer air, we need make no mistake in judging of the character of the Egyptians—a few men, a few families among the highest and even among the poorest and the humblest, who, it may be, were seekers after God; the majority, debased, superstitious, false, corrupt, loving the darkness, choosing it rather than the light. But while heathenism reduces all the

* Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," Chap. XII.

† Herodotus, Book 6, Sec. 60; Book 2, Sec. 104. Note by J. G. Wilkinson.

highest and the lowest to a cruel bondage, it presses the heaviest and the hardest upon those who are the lowest in the social scale. For them it has no mercy, no pity. As it is to-day in the heathen world, so it was three thousand years ago. The laborer, answering to the modern fellah, was the most oppressed, the most helpless, and the least guilty of the people of Egypt. Praise of the beautiful mythology of the old pagan religions is mostly affectation; and all talk about the virtue, the humanity, and the refinement of the heathen, civilized or barbarous, ancient or modern, comes from those who are not brought in contact with them and who are at a safe distance from them.

As to the government under which they lived, it could, from the very necessity of the case, be little less than a despotism. They were fitted for only this kind of government. Such it had been for generations before this—a despotism, hard, cruel, in which the rights of the people were not esteemed of as much account as those of the beasts of the field. The construction of the pyramids and of other works as wonderful, could only have been accomplished by the servitude of the multitude, by burdensome taxation, by the forced and unpaid labor of millions, and by a reckless wastage of human life. Kings, who had the power to compel a people to build for themselves such tombs and monuments, must have been oppressors whom none dared to resist. That they were thought to be such is evident by the execration in which they were held by all after generations.

Now was the government any different in the time of Joseph? Were the people any the less an enslaved people? And by the people I mean the great body of the laborers. Was the power of the king over the people limited, or was it well nigh supreme? To answer such questions we must confine ourselves to the narrative in Genesis. The earliest profane history which makes mention of Egypt was written more than a thousand years after this date, and affords us but little help. Nor can the monuments of that olden age throw much light upon these questions. All our knowledge of the political state of the kingdom at this time must be gathered from the few incidental allusions in the life of Joseph. These references give us a few facts;

they make no pretension to furnish us any historical details; they are only side lights thrown upon the canvas in describing the fortunes of the children of Israel. From what we can learn from these few references to Pharaoh, he seems to have been as a monarch clothed with an authority little short of absolute. He imprisons the chief butler and the chief baker upon his own volition.* According to his own pleasure or caprice, he restored the chief butler to his office, and he beheaded or crucified the chief baker.† He made Joseph the chief ruler in the land, and gave him an unlimited authority, setting him above all the princes in the kingdom. "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh; and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt."‡ Such acts and such language become only an arbitrary sovereign.

The only exception to this full and complete sovereignty was in the case of the priesthood. Haughty and arrogant, they were a power above the state. The king did not dare to risk their opposition, or to incur their enmity; or to speak more considerably, it would not have been wise to have come into conflict with them. So when the king made Joseph the second ruler in the kingdom, "he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On."|| This could have been nothing less than an act of state policy to conciliate the priesthood to the appointment of a foreigner to be vizier, and to secure for him their favor. Later still, when Joseph bought all the land of Egypt and made the king the sole owner of it, the land of the priests was excepted. The rest of the people yielded; the priests were too strong to yield, and not only did they keep their land during the seven years of famine, but they were also supported at the public expense. "Only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their land."§ This incident reveals the ability of the priesthood to resist the king, and the fear of the king to offend

* Genesis 40: 1-3.

† Genesis 40: 20-22.

‡ Genesis 41: 44.

§ Genesis 41: 45.

|| Genesis 47: 22 and 46.

them. Despotic as the king was, his despotism was held in check by the power of the priesthood. His word was the only law ; he could govern all other classes except this. This class had rights and privileges denied to the rest of the people ; rights and privileges upon which it would not be prudent for the king to encroach.

This I believe to be a true statement of the condition of the people, and of the character of the government when this law went into effect.

Joseph was the author of the law which made the king the owner of the lands and also of the flocks and herds. What design could he have had in making it ? Was it made in the interest of the king to strengthen an irresponsible and arbitrary authority, and to bring the people under a more hopeless and abject bondage ? Sharpe, in his history of Egypt, says : " Whatever little political freedom Lower Egypt had before possessed, was then crushed, and Joseph assisted in reducing the whole of the people of the Delta to a more regular state of legal slavery." But the vesting of the title of all the land in Egypt in the name of the king, according to the provisions of this law, gave him no more control over the cultivators of the soil than he had before. There is no evidence that he could dispossess them of their land ; and if he did, he would gain nothing by so doing. It did not add to his revenues. Before this statute was enacted he had the power to collect one fifth of all the income of the land ; and how much more he could collect we do not know.* This one fifth was a special tax for a special purpose, and was a tax added to the other taxes. He could collect no more than one fifth after the statute was put in force. That was made the limit. As to those who owned the lands and worked them, the change in the title made no change in their situation. They were still holding the same land which they held before. The income from it was as secure to them as it had been. The flocks were still in their keeping, and all the income from the flocks belonged to them. They stood precisely upon the same footing as to the means of livelihood and the acquisition of property as they had always

* Genesis, 4:34.

stood. It does not appear that the law did any injustice by interfering with previously vested rights. As far as we can learn from the narrative, the lessees tilled the very fields which they had owned before the seven years' famine. There is no proof that there was anything revolutionary in the law or in its application. In the reassignment of the lands to the original owners there may have been some readjustments in the interests of equity—a kind of reapportionment which, without doing injustice, may have been wise and judicious. Long-continued wrongs may have been redressed; claims founded upon fraud and violence may have been set aside; old abuses connected with the ownership and cultivation of the land may have been swept away. This is only conjecture; we cannot prove that these things were done. But making all allowance for such changes, the natural and the legitimate inference is that each man, that each family, had the possessions that it had before the title passed to the king.

Supposing this to have been so, the question comes up, what would be the consequences, the effects of this law, if its provisions were carried out?

One effect of the law would be to give permanency, stability, to a man's possessions, both in land and flocks. The change of title did not take his land out of his hands; he still held it just the same as when the title was in his own name. It was still his to use as a husbandman. By the fiction of the law the king had become the owner; the cultivator had become the lessee; yet a lessee with certain fixed rights that the king could not disturb. The payment of the income tax from year to year made his land secure to him. It may be said that a failure to pay the income tax would be followed by dispossession. So it would; and were the title in his own name, the non-payment of the taxes would deprive him of his land, just the same. But under this new law, the failure to pay his taxes would be the only way in which he could lose his land. Debts, financial embarrassments, straitened circumstances, could not place a man in such a situation that he would have to give up either his land or his flocks. The unscrupulous, hard, ex-

acting man, loaning his money upon usury, could not take the land of his improvident neighbor, for the reason that it was held by the king, and so the title could not be transferred from one party to another. The lessee himself was denied all right of selling it or of disposing of it in any way, for the reason that it was not his to dispose of; but the income of the land, all the increase of the flocks, would be his to use as he saw fit. After his death, inasmuch as the sons followed the occupation of the father, it would seem to have gone to them by a natural law of inheritance, and thus be retained in the family from generation to generation.

Another effect of the law would be to prevent the accumulation of lands in the hands of a few individuals. The investment in lands is everywhere a passion among men. The safety and security of such an investment make it an object for capitalists to secure it. The adding of field to field has been an evil from which all countries have suffered. Was Egypt suffering from this evil? Were large parts of the land passing out of the hands of the cultivators and getting into the hands of the few? This law, while it could not reverse the acts of the past, could arrest the evil at its present standpoint, and stop all such accumulations in the future, which it did most effectually.

Another effect of this law would be to check any further appropriation of the lands of the people by the priesthood. In the time of Joseph the priesthood were the owners of extensive tracts of land. Later than his time, we know that they owned one third of all the land in the kingdom; and there is no reason to doubt that they owned not far from that in his day. How they became the owners of such landed possessions we cannot say. The obscurity which rests upon those early times forbids all knowledge of the manner in which such properties were obtained. But if we should assume that these lands were acquired by the use of all those arts and artifices which an educated and crafty priesthood knew how to employ upon men who were in subjection to them, and whom they kept purposely in darkness by working upon their ignorance, their credulity, and their superstition; by appealing to their fears in extreme moments of

life; by making them believe, when under the pressure of remorse for crimes committed, that a gift of lands to the gods would expiate such crimes and would atone for sin. If we assume that these lands were acquired by such means, we might not be assuming anything but the truth. In this way the Catholic Church, from age to age, got within its grasp the best and the most valuable lands in every country in which it was in the ascendant. The priesthood of Egypt had as much power over the people,* and could bring to bear upon them the same spiritual terrors which the Catholic clergy could.† Is it to be supposed that the Egyptian priesthood would be any the less scrupulous than the Catholic priesthood? It is true we cannot prove, as we can in the case of the Catholic Church, that they used the same means which that church found so successful. To say that they did this would be only an assumption, but, notwithstanding this, it may be a very reasonable and a very probable assumption, an assumption amounting almost to a certainty. This law would meet an evil of this kind; it would forever cut the priesthood off from alienating the lands of the people. While the law was in force the lessee of the land had no power to give it away, and the king, whatever his devotion to the priesthood might be, could not interfere with the rights of the lessee as long as he complied with the law in the payment of his taxes.

Another effect of the law was to establish a fixed rate of taxation and to set a limit to the taxation of the people. To a people under a government like that of Egypt, a rate of taxation that was both fixed and limited and graduated to their circumstances would be a boon. This boon the law of Joseph granted them. While it recognized the authority of the sovereign and the duty of the subjects to pay tribute, it also as equally recognized the rights of the people. To them it was a step in the right direction; it was wholly in their favor. It raised them from under the yoke; they were no longer abandoned to the rapacity of a monarch, or the exactions of his officers.

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Egyptians," Chap. XI.

† Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Book II., Sec. 37. Note by J. G. Wilkinson.

Oppressive taxes could not be laid upon them. They would have to pay to the limit which the law had set, but nothing more.

As a system of taxation, it was the most equitable that could be devised. The tax was to be upon the income of the land. The amount to be paid would be greater or less according to the production. It would be a less onerous tax than the tax as it now is with us upon the estimated value of the land. It could be more easily paid. In years of prosperity there would be no difficulty experienced in the payment of it; in years of depression it would press lighter, while with the total failure of income there would be nothing to pay.

This law with its one fifth rent continued to be the law as long as the Israelites were in Egypt, even to the time in which the book of Genesis was written. "And Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt *unto this day* that Pharaoh should have the fifth."* The truth of this declaration is attested by the course pursued toward the children of Israel by the Pharaoh "which knew not Joseph." When he would weaken, impoverish, and destroy them, he took a great number of them from their occupations and impressed them into the public service, making them "to serve with rigor,"† and in his determination to make a full end of them as a nation, he commanded every male child to be put to death at its birth,‡ a command which the associations of midwives failed to fulfill.|| But the most efficient means of accomplishing his object he did not use. He did not invalidate their title to their lands or take away their flocks or increase their taxes. The law appears to have been too firmly established for him to set it at naught. At least for some reason he did not do away with it or violate it. The Israelites complain of their hard bondage under task masters.§ But there is no complaint of eviction from their lands, or of the seizure of their flocks, or of illegal and exorbitant taxation, which shows that this law was a constitutional barrier to the exactions of the monarch, and that the property of subjects was protected

* Genesis 47: 26.
‡ Exodus 2: 23.

† Exodus 1: 14.

‡ Exodus 1: 15-16.

§ Exodus 1: 17.

when their greater and higher interests could not be. The king could devise and put into effect measures for the destruction of millions of his subjects, could arrest their persons, deprive them of their liberty, make them his bondmen, and under certain circumstances could take their lives, all which he did. But their lands, their herds, were beyond his grasp. Their income, their wealth, he could not touch. It was a sacred trust guarded by a legal warranty that he could not annul, and which he did not attempt to annul, certainly not from lack of disposition to do so. That the liberty and the lives of his subjects were so much at his disposal, while their property, real and personal, was so safe from his extortion, would not be believed if the history did not make it so clearly evident. A confirmation this, the strongest that can be given of the perpetuity of the possession of lands and flocks in a family in the line of descent from one generation to another.

This fact shows the direction in which this law was a benefit to the husbandman and the shepherd, and the degree to which it was promotive of their interests. It may have added still other benefits, but that was not its design. The help which it might give them in other respects would be only incidental and outside of its purpose. Whatever the public and private wrongs of Egypt may have been other than those connected with the agricultural and pastoral calling, it did not redress them. It was the same Egypt after the law that it was before. The king was none the less supreme; the priesthood had still its priority of rank and place; the position of the laborer was as degraded as ever. There is no intimation that the law brought about, or that it was given with the intention of bringing about, a change in the social condition of the people; though it may in an indirect manner have ameliorated the lot of all ranks, and especially of the humblest. Caste had lost none of its old strength; but it may have become less odious by giving to those in the lowest grade an increased wealth and prosperity. Slavery and serfdom continued; they were not brought to an end; but they may have been made more tolerable by lightening the burden of the master and the employer, and so taking from

them the necessity and the temptation to oppress. So in numberless instances there may have been an improvement in all the relations of life without the design of the law to produce it. All that is claimed for the law can be expressed in one word. It made those who were engaged in husbandry and in the keeping of cattle secure in the possession of their landed property and of their flocks and herds, and gave them a system of taxation uniform and proportioned to their income.

But waiving all that has been said of the benefits which this law conferred upon the people, the character of Joseph would lead us to believe that the design of the law was good, and that it was adapted to the exigencies of the times. The character of Joseph is delineated in the story of his life. This story has a unity in it. All the incidents told in it are like links in a chain. One link missing, the chain is incomplete, the story is unfinished. If its veracity can be impeached in one direction, it is untrustworthy in all directions. If parts of it are true, and parts of it are false, that which is false destroys the credibility of that which is true. Some accept as true Joseph's purchase of all the land in Egypt, to make out, as they suppose, a case against him, and relegate to the domain of myth Pharaoh's dream and its interpretation, the prediction of seven years of famine, and seven years of plenty, and the fulfillment of the prediction. They are guilty of inconsistency and are unsafe historical guides. We cannot play fast and loose with a history in which one event so depends upon another, and so grows out of another. We have to accept the whole as true, or be in doubt as to the truth of all parts of it. Accepting it as true from the beginning to the end, we get a perfect comprehension of Joseph's character. He stands before us an exceptional character in any age and in any state of society the world has yet seen. That such a man gave this law is a guarantee that it met a felt want, and was for the best interest of the people. This law is not to be judged by the requirements of our modern civilization. A law that with us would be impracticable, impolitic, and unjust, may have been practicable, wise, and just in Egypt when Joseph was its ruler.

This law applied solely to land that was used for tillage. Pharaoh bought only the land that was cultivated. Such land was owned by private individuals and so was purchasable. There is no mention of his buying the land that was adapted and used for pasturage. He bought the flocks and the herds. Was the pasturage land already his? There does not seem to have been at that time, in the countries referred to in Genesis, the private ownership of land used for grazing. Such land seems to have been owned by the governments, and to have been free to any party who might choose to occupy it, upon what terms and according to what law, we do not know. Grazing lands in Canaan were thus open to those who wished to use them. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob moved from place to place wherever they could find pasturage for their flocks, and were secure in the occupancy of the land. "Lot chose him all the plain of the Jordan." * "Esau dwelt in Mount Seir," † both possessing cattle, but no land. It must have been the same in Egypt—certain tracts of land devoted to grazing owned by the government, free to herdsmen; the herdsmen under the protection of the government while on the land; and the land theirs as long as they paid the legal tribute for its possession. The fact that Pharaoh, in the first years of the famine before his purchase of the lands of the people, had it in his power to assign and did assign the land of Goshen to Jacob and his sons, because they were keepers of cattle, without disturbance or complaint and without any known trespass upon the rights of others, would be presumptive evidence that such was the case. The payment which they were to make for this land after the close of the seven years of famine, was one fifth of the increase of the cattle. What had been the tax upon such lands in Canaan and in Egypt before the time of Joseph, we have no means of ascertaining.

Such lands were necessarily limited. There is every likelihood that both Egypt and Canaan had as dense populations in the day of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as they have ever had in

* Genesis 13:11.

† Genesis 36:8.

their best days since. In Canaan there is evidence that there was strong competition for such land. There was not enough of it for a great number of flocks and herds.* There were strifes among the herdsmen for the possession of it. These strifes would sometimes take the form of a contest over wells of water. A proprietary interest was claimed by herdsmen in wells that they had digged.† This claim may have been a just one, but it was resisted, and when resisted it could not be successfully enforced, and it was found more profitable to abandon the contest. In Egypt ‡ there may not have been this sharp rivalry for such land, for the reason that the calling of a herdsman was disreputable. We read in Genesis that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians.|| From profane history we know that swineherds were the lowest and the most despised class in the kingdom.§ This aversion of the Egyptians to those who followed these pursuits may afford some explanation, a partial explanation, of the fact that Pharaoh was able to set aside the province of Goshen, suited to shepherd life, to Jacob and his sons without injury or injustice to others of his subjects.

Nor did this law apply to land within a city. Egypt was then famous for the number, the wealth, and the splendor of its cities. The dwellings in the cities which, owing to the yearly inundations of the Nile, were the permanent homes of the people, rich and poor—of these dwellings it is not said that they were bought by the king. The status of all properties in the cities appears to have remained the same after the famine that it had been before. The titles to them were not disturbed, and they did not pass from the hands of their owners. If this was so, of which we need have no doubt, these city properties could not be made, like the agricultural lands, perpetual in a family. The conditions upon which they had been held were not changed. If they could have been bought, sold, and transferred from one party to another before the famine, they could after it, be alike bought and sold, or disposed of as the owners saw fit. Desirable as the perpetuity in the family of its inheritance in

* Genesis 36:6-7. † Genesis 26:15. ‡ Genesis 26:20-21. § Genesis 46:34. ¶ Herodotus, Book 2d, section 47.

the country might be, the perpetuity of its inheritance in the city might not be desirable ; it might be far otherwise. An estate rigidly kept in a family from generation to generation, without power to transfer it, in a city needing space for expansion for the growth of its trade and commerce, might and would check its progress and improvement and be a detriment both to the family and the public.

The memory of an event in their national life of so much importance as this must have long survived. It was a landmark in their history, and the recollection of it would be hard to die out. Apart from any historical mention of it, we should expect to find a vague, indistinct remembrance of it transmitted from father to son to the latest generations. There was a tradition current among the Egyptians in the days of Herodotus of a division of the land among the people by one of their early kings. This tradition he gives in these words : "Sesostris also, they declared, made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning a square plat of ground of equal size to all, and obtaining his chief revenue from the rent which the holders were required to pay him every year." * The foundation of this tradition may have been this change in the tenure of the land in the time of Joseph. Whether it was or not, we have no means of determining. One thing favorable to this view is the fact that there is no other occurrence in the history of Egypt of which we have any knowledge, out of which such a tradition could have grown. As far as the tradition appears to have this foundation, it is a corroboration of the Bible narrative. The tradition differs somewhat from the account in Genesis, and yet it has points of resemblance. It ascribes the authorship of this change to Sesostris, another Pharaoh than the Pharaoh of Joseph's time. This is not a matter of much moment, for it is conceded that many things are credited to the reign of Sesostris that belong to other reigns. There is a positive implication in the tradition equal to the strongest affirmation that the king dispossessed the owners of their land. This agrees with Genesis, which makes the ownership of the land to pass out of the hands

* Herodotus, Book II., Section 109.

of the people. The tradition says that the land was laid out in equal plats and given to all the inhabitants. Genesis does not confirm this, but the divergence in this respect is not so wide as might be supposed. For whatever may have been the case before or after the time of Joseph, Genesis leads us to infer that in Joseph's time the land was largely in the possession of the great body of the agricultural class or the peasantry; that it was held in small plats "for the Egyptians sold each man his field";* and that the owners of the soil were the actual cultivators, "give us seed that we may live and not die."† The tradition says that the revenue of the kingdom was drawn largely from the yearly rent of the land. Genesis enjoined a rent of one fifth of each year's income of the land to be paid to the king. We cannot and we do not care to maintain that this tradition had its origin in the law of Joseph; but it is hardly credible that such a tradition should have been so long held without having for its basis either this law or another closely resembling it.

This transfer of the title of all the lands used for tillage and of all the flocks and herds of all descriptions, from the original owners to the king, whether brought about by compulsion, by persuasion, or the force of circumstances, radical as the change seemed to be, was to the cultivators of the soil and to the herdsmen, the most advantageous change in their condition as laborers, that could be made. It was accepted willingly by them and was productive of no discontent. Their situation was such at the time that they could make no objection to it. The long, the protracted, the severe famine prepared the way for it. The total exhaustion of the resources of the country was made use of to effect it. He who was instrumental in accomplishing it had predicted the famine, had made preparation for it, and had sustained the life of the nation when the land fainted by reason of it. The course pursued by Joseph had been such that he was regarded as a benefactor. The people acknowledged the debt they owed to him; he had saved their lives. Their quick and ready assent to the arrangement he proposed, need give us no surprise. We can have no difficulty in comprehending the

* Genesis 47:20. † Genesis 47:19.

approval of the people, when they came to know the law and its workings. *The assent of the king to it, with its fixed and low rate of taxation, is the matter for surprise. This is where the real difficulty lies.* His assent to it must have been due to the personal influence of Joseph. The dream, the interpretation of it, its fulfillment, the integrity of Joseph, his singleness of purpose, his disinterestedness, his care for the interests of both king and people, must have made an impression upon the king. The contrast between his course of life and that of other officials could not but be observed. The character of Joseph may have wrought a change in the character of the king. Under his influence the tyrant and the oppressor of the people may have been transformed into their father and their protector, living for them and seeking their good. With this change in the purpose of his life, he would cheerfully accede to and adopt the proposal of Joseph in giving to his people a system of taxation that was just and equitable.

If exception be taken to the statements made in this paper, it can be said in reply that some of them are absolutely true beyond all question. The depressed and degraded condition of the whole laboring class of Egypt, the complete, severe, and stern autocracy of the king, the wealth, power, and supremacy of the priestly hierarchy—these are acknowledged facts of history. Under the law of Joseph, the perpetuity in a family of the inheritance in lands and flocks with an unchangeable and fair rate of taxation would also be a fact undeniably true. Of other statements, where we cannot have this certainty of knowledge, we can affirm their probable truth, and that is all we care to do. The private ownership of real estate in cities and the legal right and power to transfer the same from one party to another, this may be considered as very probably true. The ownership by the government of grazing lands and the custom of renting them to herdsmen—this may not be certainly true, but is still very probably true. A belief in the perfect truth of both these statements may be very safe; a belief not in danger of being much shaken.

H. A. LOUNSBERRY.

THE HAWAIIAN CONTROVERSY IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

BY CHARLES ROBINSON.

WHEN the history of the Hawaiian controversy comes to be written, after all partisan clamor has died away, and every unpleasant incident of the passing record has been forgotten, the policy of the present administration will be fully justified at the bar of public opinion. That a policy of such simple fairness and honesty should have met with any serious opposition shows how necessary it was for the good of the country that it should be brought back to the fundamental principles of right from which it has been seduced as a result of many years of Republican misrule. Although this opposition was doubtless due in a measure to ignorance or imperfect knowledge of the essential features of the case, it was engendered for the most part by the malignant misrepresentations of the president's political opponents. From the day that Mr. Cleveland withdrew from the Senate the Hawaiian Annexation Treaty, which his predecessor was misled into submitting to that body, up to the present time, the Republican partisan press has sought by means of subterfuge and evasion, by false issues and suppressions, and by blatant appeals to mock sentiment, to shirk the real question at issue in this matter which is so simple that a child might see and comprehend it. Simply because he refused to profit by the disgraceful devices of Mr. Stevens, whereby for purposes of buncombe, a friendly power was dethroned as the first step in a scheme for the annexation of its domain, President Cleveland made himself the object of as venomous attacks as were ever hurled against the chief executive of the nation. The fact that he did not change one iota of his policy in deference to this passing storm of public opinion, but kept straight on as he had deter-

mined, proves his supreme confidence in the final judgment of the American people; and his countrymen, when they come to understand the case, will not fail to render a just tribute to the executive who dared to do the right thing without regard to the question as to how it would affect his personal popularity.

One after another the various "charges" brought against Mr. Cleveland in this connection, have been shown to be ridiculously absurd,—the misshapen offspring of partisan malice and hate.

To begin with, we were told that the "re-opening" of the Hawaiian question was an unwarranted interference on the part of the president. In an editorial on the subject the *New York Tribune* said :

"The Hawaiian matter was not his business, anyhow, and in touching it at all, he violated one of the most necessary traditions of our governmental system—that an act of one executive is binding on another, and should not be reversed."

The Hawaiian transaction, however, was not closed when President Cleveland came into power. As long as no decision had been reached, it was still open. When the queen surrendered she distinctly declared that she did so under protest, "Until such time as the government of the United States shall, upon the facts being represented to it, undo the action of its representative, and reinstate her in her authority," which she still claimed as "Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands." President Cleveland was compelled to deal with the question, because there was a treaty pending, committing the government to an annexation scheme into which the previous administration had plunged without hearing both sides, and without taking the trouble to get at the real facts on either side. In taking the step which he did, the president simply adopted the course Mr. Harrison ought to have followed, viz.: To institute a thorough inquiry before binding the government to a project of so much consequence, and of such doubtful propriety, and, above all, to hear the queen's side of the story. President Harrison's decision in this case, if he were a judge, would be set aside by any court of last resort, for the reason that he acted without evidence, and that he heard only one party to the cause.

As President Cleveland pointed out in his message, the protest submitted by the queen was "surely of the first importance," and yet no attempt was made to determine its truth or falsity. The great haste manifested to annex Hawaii was due to the fact that those in the conspiracy knew that Mr. Cleveland, when inaugurated, would never sanction the acquisition of these distant volcanic islands with their mongrel population of pagans, lepers, contract laborers, and speculators.

Every consideration of national honor demanded that the president should investigate and determine the truth or falsity of the representations that had been made by Mr. Stevens. The testimony of conspirators is proverbially unreliable and the evidence proved conclusively that Minister Stevens was in the confidence of the conspirators.

It was therefore to determine whether or not the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy was the result of a conspiracy involving the United States, that President Cleveland recalled the annexation treaty from the Senate, and dispatched Mr. Blount to Honolulu as a special commissioner to make an impartial investigation of the circumstances attending the change of government, and of all the conditions bearing upon the subject of the treaty. We were told by the Republicans that the president had exceeded his powers in making Mr. Blount "paramount," without the consent of the Senate, whereas he acted strictly within his constitutional rights, having Washington himself as an example. A parallel case may be found in the instructions given by President Grant to Minister Babcock, clothing him with absolute power over the forces at San Domingo, pending the negotiation of a treaty of annexation and nearly one hundred other precedents might be cited, where men neither nominated nor confirmed have made treaties and issued orders to American admirals.

That the administration had no policy with reference to annexation when Mr. Blount was dispatched to Hawaii, is evident from the testimony of that gentleman before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. In reply to a question as to whether the president had intimated or indicated in any way

whether he was in favor of or opposed to annexation, Mr. Blount replied that he had no conversation with the president about the objects of his mission, nor did he ever have any intimation of what the president thought about the Hawaiian situation. "The impression made on my mind," he said, "was that he was afraid he might give me some impression of his opinions."

There is therefore not the slightest ground for the assumption that Mr. Blount was sent to Hawaii in pursuance of a policy opposed to annexation, or for the purpose of finding occasion for withdrawing support from the provisional government and restoring the queen. During his stay in Hawaii he worked with the single purpose of ascertaining the truth concerning the condition of affairs existing there before, during, and after the "revolution" of January, 1893. His findings, which were embodied in the report of Secretary Gresham, and which, from the basis of the president's conclusions, prove beyond all question that the constitutional government of Hawaii was subverted with the active aid of our representative to that government, and through the intimidation caused by the presence of an armed naval force of the United States, which was landed for that purpose at the instance of our minister.

As soon as he learned the facts and was satisfied of the truth, President Cleveland lost no time in attempting to withdraw the government from the dishonorable and disgraceful attitude in which it had been placed. In his message to Congress he declared that he would not return the treaty to the Senate; and that he would not tolerate annexation; inasmuch as he regarded the provisional government as "an oligarchy set up without the assent of the people," adding that he believed it "to be the duty of the United States to right the wrong done through the abuse of its authority by restoring the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu on the sixteenth of January."

The Republican press has told us that Mr. Cleveland had no right to attempt to restore the queen. As a matter of fact, his failure to do so would have been a violation of the plainest obli-

gations of international morality, as well as of the settled practice and traditions of the United States government. Noninterference on his part in this matter would have been similar to a case in which *A*, having realized that he had unjustly aided *B* to place fellows on *C*, concludes to withdraw and let the parties settle it themselves, *C*, being bound hand and foot, and *B* consequently omnipotent to perpetuate the injury. International law requires that when you have done a man a wrong, you must either restore him to the situation you destroyed, or, if you cannot do that, pay him damages. That a wrong was done to Queen Liliuokalani was admitted by the provision in the treaty submitted to the Senate by President Harrison, giving a pension of \$20,000 a year for life to the queen, and one of \$150,000 to the Princess Kaiulani. If the queen was rightfully deposed, as the Republican papers have since sought to prove, why should she be made the object of such munificence? If the United States had done her no wrong, why make such a gorgeous reparation to her and to the crown princess? If the queen was entitled to such a pension, it was because she had been robbed, and the pension was intended as conscience money. But why should the United States be asked to join in the conscience tender if it had not participated in the deed?

It was in the hope of undoing this wrong, by restoring the *status quo* of January 16, 1893, that the president instructed Minister Willis to propose to the queen, and, if approved by her, then to the provisional government, restoration, on condition of her granting a general amnesty to the provisional leaders, and of her recognizing all the *bona fide* acts and obligations of their government. In thus instructing Minister Willis to try and bring about restoration by consent of the parties, President Cleveland recognized the fact that restoration by force could be constitutionally undertaken only by action of Congress. When he found that the queen could not be restored except by force, he referred the whole matter to Congress with the assurance that he would be "much gratified to co-operate in any legislative plan" which might be devised "for the solution of the problem which is consistent with American integrity and morality."

The reported suspicions of those who assumed to speak for the provisional authorities, that they were to be tumbled out of power by force, show how little they understood the position and purposes of the president. There never was the slightest reason for supposing that Mr. Cleveland contemplated anything but an effort to restore the status that existed before the unwarranted intervention of Mr. Stevens by means of peaceable diplomacy and friendly mediation. That there was to be another "forcible intervention," another abuse of authority, even to undo the great wrong committed, was never contemplated nor implied.

A great deal has been said about the alleged failure of the administration to take the American people into its confidence in dealing with the complications in Hawaii, and it has even been asserted that the president invaded the rights and privileges of the House of Representatives by withholding the Hawaiian correspondence from it. As a matter of fact it is not a breach of privileges of the House to keep diplomatic communications from it. Did President Harrison take the American people into his confidence in his diplomatic transactions regarding these islands? The only papers in this case that President Harrison sent to the Capitol were received by the Senate under a seal of secrecy. Mr. Cleveland, on the contrary, has given every document that reached him to the public. Indeed, he is the first president who has ever taken the American people into his confidence in such matters.

In berating President Cleveland for trying to do an act of justice to Liliuokalani on the ground that such a policy as he contemplated would be "a concession to monarchy," the Republicans have been, to say the least, rather inconsistent, when we remember the act of the previous administration in joining with two foreign powers to continue in office a weak, tottering, and barbarous monarch in Samoa. Apart from this, however, we have been acting in this matter under the rules of international law, which recognizes monarchy as a proper form of government no matter what we may think of it. We ourselves recognize monarchies in Europe without hesitation, and even pay

royal honors to the members of reigning families who visit us. It would never do, therefore, when we upset a monarchy, to refuse to set it up again, simply on the ground that monarchy is odious to us. The following extract from an editorial in the *New York World*, may be taken as a sample of the arguments that have been adduced on this point :

"The idea of the United States setting up anybody in the monarch business is grotesque. It is likewise shocking to all sentiments bred in us by a life-long study of the Declaration of Independence and other documentary expressions of fundamental American ideas on the subject of government. But the *opéra bouffe* suggestion is magnified in its grotesqueness, and the proposal is that our government shall engage in this kind of work in behalf of such a queen as Liliuokalani."

This argument is not entitled to a feather's weight upon the question whether this government ought to have repaired the infamous wrong which was perpetrated in Hawaii in its name. There were doubtless many who disliked the idea of the president's attempting to set up in Hawaii the feeble monarchy, which was clearly destined to destruction sooner or later. But it would be a poor service to the good name of the United States to allow it to be used to cover robbery and outrage, and then refuse reparation on the ground that the persons robbed and outraged are barbarians. To argue therefore, as the Republican partisan papers have done, that President Cleveland's efforts have been directed to restore a "heathen" is utterly beside the mark. Are we not dealing with heathen monarchs every day? The emperor of China is a heathen; so is the king of Siam, and others that might be mentioned. It should be borne in mind that when you rob a man, you *ipso facto* condone the badness of his character. If, for instance, you steal his watch, you cannot plead that he illtreats his wife, or gets drunk once a week. To descant on the alleged immorality of Queen Liliuokalani was equally absurd. She is the custodian of her own morals, and her character, whatever it may be, was no justification for the crime that was committed against her. Several European rulers might be named, whose morals are not all that could be desired, yet this fact would hardly justify any of our foreign ministers in entering into a conspiracy with a revolu-

tionary cabal to overthrow the government to which they were accredited.

The further accusation made by the Republican press, that the president was attempting to overthrow a republic, throws an interesting light on the Republican idea of what a republic is. As a matter of fact the present provisional government—a small oligarchy composed almost entirely of foreigners—is as un-American, and as much opposed to the spirit of our institutions, as any monarchy can be, and one far more dangerous to our policy. Whether it is better or worse than the administration which preceded it, this much is certain, that true liberty has been exchanged for an absolute despotism. The provisional government forms a self-perpetuating body which is responsible to nobody. It has never been pretended that a free election, on a basis of manhood suffrage, or of the constitutional franchise would not overturn it at once. Besides this the provisional government is in fact and in form “provisional”—that is, of a temporary or interregal character. The sole object of setting it up, and the sole basis of its existence, was to promote the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, and it was only “to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.” Hawaii has not been annexed by treaty, and is not going to be. Consequently the present government still continues to be provisional. It was for the avowed purpose of securing annexation alone that the provisional government was established and recognized, and it was to last only till the terms of union with the United States should be negotiated and agreed to. If it has another purpose now, it will have to begin anew with a different authority from that upon which it professed to rest in January, 1893.

Mr. Dole is now said to recognize the fact that the provisional government has “outlived its usefulness,” and according to latest reports he was engaged in drafting a new constitution, which will shortly be proclaimed. He declares that, “no constitution in Hawaii has ever been submitted to a vote of the people, but simply proclaimed by the executive authority,” and says he means to follow that precedent. It was treason, however,

for the queen to try to do this in January, 1893. The queen's doctrine was the monstrous one of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," but this is now to give way to the motto, "Hawaii for the Americans."

Doubtless the best interests of the Hawaiian people as well as the United States will now be promoted by the provisional government establishing itself in such a manner as to become in reality a *de facto* government, which it has never been during the past fifteen months, and by obtaining, if it can, the sanction of the people, which up to this time it has failed to do. Hitherto the oligarchy in control has not dared to propose a vote. Indeed, when it was reported that President Cleveland intended to test the case by an election, the annexationist organs began at once to declare that they would have no election and that President Cleveland had no right to call one.

It has never been pretended that the provisional government was the choice of the majority of the people who had been subjects of native monarchy. Even the annexationists do not pretend that the revolutionary movement originated among these people at all or had the support of any considerable number of them.

There is no claim set forth anywhere that the desire for annexation is shared by the Hawaiians outside of the revolutionary faction. It is well known that the reason which lay at the bottom of the so-called revolution of January, 1893, was the desire of the sugar planters of Hawaii to secure the bounty paid the Louisiana growers, witness Minister Stevens' letter to Secretary Foster, of February 14, 1892, in which he presses his recommendation of annexation and recommends a bounty of six mills per pound on sugar, or \$12 per ton—a tribute of several million dollars annually to be paid by the United States to Hawaii.

There never has existed any real sentiment in favor of annexing the Hawaiian Islands. Their entire population is ten thousand less than that of the city of Albany, and their total revenues do not equal the amounts spent by New York in trying to clean its streets and in maintaining its police, while their com-

merce does not equal in value the production of a third rate manufacturing city in this country. There is therefore no glory and little advantage, but only a large outlay to be incurred by taking the islands. For commercial reasons, and possibly for naval purposes, the United States desires to retain a paramount influence in Hawaii. All the rights we need there, however, can be secured by treaty or assured by the natural preponderance of our influence. If we need Hawaii, as some persons believe, but as the wisest Americans do not believe, we can easily take it. But it concerns our honor not to seize it by means of a conspiracy. If we are ever to enter on a career of colonial extension, let it be without the breath of suspicion or dishonor.

The main question at issue in the whole Hawaiian matter is one of international morality, and the sole purpose the president had in view was to do what was right and honest regardless of the sentimental jingoism the opponents of his course have indulged in. Unfortunately the public mind became somewhat confused by the violent and virulent denunciation of the president's action by the partisan press. For weeks before his Hawaiian message appeared, it had endeavored to put the administration in a false position, and thus succeeded in doing considerable harm. As the president said in his message, "Unfortunate public misrepresentations and exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people have obviously injured the prospects of successful executive mediation" in Hawaii, and if it is found unpracticable to place our government in a just relation to affairs in Hawaii, it will be due to the malignant misrepresentations of the Republican partisan press which, among other contemptible shifts, has sought to make a political issue out of the president's action in ordering the American flag hauled down in Hawaii. As a matter of fact, Mr. Stevens had no more right to hoist the stars and stripes over the government buildings at Honolulu than the minister of the United States would have a right to raise it over the government buildings in Brazil, or in any other territory where the people were powerless to resist him.

The Hawaiian question, however, is not a political one. It is

above and beyond all politics. It is not a matter of endorsing Mr. Cleveland's course or of condemning that of the previous administration, but of proclaiming the policy of the United States on an international dome of far-reaching consequence. The material interests at stake are not very important, but the principle involved is a fundamental one. It means the continuance in its integrity of the policy which has been designated "the American policy," and which was instituted by Mr. Cleveland's predecessors.

Daniel Webster, during his term as secretary of state, wrote, in 1842 :

"The United States, therefore, is more interested in the fate of the islands (Hawaii) and of their government than any other nation can be, and this consideration induces the president to be quite willing to declare as the sense of the government of the United States, that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought either to take possession of the island, as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any exclusive rights or preferences with it in matters of commerce."

A still more convincing and conclusive utterance on the subject, is to be found in another official communication from Mr. Webster, in which he says:

"The government of the United States was the first to acknowledge the national existence of the Hawaiian government, and to treat it as an independent state. The United States, true to its obligation, has in no case interfered with the Hawaiian government for the purpose of opposing the course of its own independent conduct or of dictating to it any particular line of policy. The government still desires to see the nationality of the Hawaiian government maintained, its independent administration of public affairs respected, and its prosperity and reputation increased."

President Tyler, in a message to Congress, said :

"Considering therefore, that the United States possesses so very large a share in the intercourse of those islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that this government, the United States, seeks, nevertheless, no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian government, but is content with its independent existence and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity."

Secretary Marcy also wrote :

"While we do not intend to attempt the exercise of any exclusive control over them, we are resolved that no other power or state shall

exact any political or commercial privileges from them which we are not permitted to enjoy, far less to establish any protectorate over them."

James G. Blaine, a little over two years ago, wrote in his capacity of secretary of state :

"The United States government has declined even at the request of the Hawaiian people to assume over their affairs a protectorate, which would only be a thinly disguised domination, and confines its efforts and its influence to strengthen their government and open to their commerce and enterprise the readiest and most profitable connection with its markets, but this policy has been based upon a belief in the real and substantial independence of Hawaii."

The broad principles laid down by these statesmen were the rule of conduct for the government of the United States in its relations with the government of Hawaii up to January 17, 1893, when, as we all know, Minister Stevens used his great power, as the representative of the United States, to participate in the downfall of the existing government to which he had been accredited. Without the aid which he afforded to the insurgents, the "revolution" could never have succeeded, nor would it ever have been attempted. Mr. Stevens' prompt recognition of the government, which he had himself set up before it had any *de facto* standing, and before the queen or any of her ministers had heard of the existence, was the only thing that prevented the queen from calling upon the troops to put the revolutionists under arrest, which it is admitted by all she could have done.

Great stress has been laid by the Republican press upon the alleged treachery of Mr. Willis "in attempting to subvert the friendly and recognized" provisional government, but they have been eloquently silent about Mr. Stevens' perfidy in landing the American marines in Honolulu, against the protests of the friendly power to which he was accredited, at the request of men engaged in a plot to overturn that power.

No one with any sense of either honesty or sincerity can pretend to defend Mr. Stevens' conduct. He has attempted to justify his action on Mr. Bayard's letter of July 12, 1887, but the keynote of that letter is "abstinence from interference with domestic affairs," which is the one thing in the letter which Mr.

Stevens seems to have overlooked. In inciting the revolt in favor of annexation he violated all the traditions of our diplomatic service. American law on this subject was condensed by Secretary Buchanan into two sentences :

"The plain duty of the diplomatic agents of the United States is scrupulously to abstain from interfering in the domestic politics of the countries where they reside. By taking an open part in the domestic affairs of such a foreign country they must sooner or later render themselves obnoxious to the executive authority, which cannot fail to impair their influence."

Fortunately, the Republican administration was too near to its end to enable Mr. Stevens to gratify "his notorious predilection for annexation." Indeed, the country cannot be too thankful that President Cleveland came into power in time to protect and re-establish our character for fair dealing, and that by his action the United States was saved from the embarrassment of confirming a policy contrary to justice and the interests of the country. In repudiating Mr. Stevens' part in the conspiracy to overthrow Queen Liliuokalani, the president has upheld the dignity of the United States. It is true the provisional government is still in power, and that the queen remains deprived of the throne from which she was deposed by an illegal use of the United States forces. But what was the plan that has failed ? It was to express our national love of justice and regard for the weak and wronged. Has that failed ? Did that depend upon the willingness or the refusal of the provisional government to give up their stolen goods ? It is of the nature of a fine and just action that its merits and real success reside in the intention, not in the execution. That President Cleveland should have attempted to withdraw this country from the dishonorable position in which it was placed by the disgraceful action of the United States minister, is greatly to his credit. It was a grave and delicate question to deal with, and he treated it with the unflinching integrity and courage that has characterized all his official acts, and in the years to come the American people will honor and applaud him for having interfered that the honor of their country might not be tarnished.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

THE CONSUMPTION OF WOOL, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC: FROM A MANUFACTURER'S STANDPOINT.

BY JOHN T. BUSIEL.

A CURIOUS case of the blind leading the blind appears in the article of Daniel Strange in the February number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS. He says "we produce but little more than half the wool worn in this country," and, further on, quotes George M. Bond, meaning, I presume, George William Bond.

I wish to present some figures from George William Bond & Co.'s annual wool circular for 1894—which show that Mr. Strange is incorrect in the above quoted statement. I first give a table showing all foreign wool entered for consumption, the amount of wool used in all the goods imported into the United States, and the total wool product of the United States.

I begin with the year 1886, as the first year in which imports of foreign wool exceeded 100,000,000 pounds, and call this Table I.:

	<i>Total wool entered for consumption.</i>	<i>Est'd wool used in goods imported.</i>	<i>Total product of United States.</i>
1886.....	107,910,549	121,609,527	322,305,000
1887.	114,404,173	132,705,729	333,500,000
1888.....	97,231,277	141,474,144	322,300,000
1889.....	126,181,274	158,644,449	295,779,479
1890.....	109,902,103	162,526,269	309,474,856
1891.....	119,390,280	129,606,230	303,401,507
1892.....	134,622,336	107,377,718	333,018,405
1893.....	175,636,041	110,963,712	364,152,666

It will be seen from this table that in only one year (1889) is it correct to say we produced but little more than half the wool worn in this country. In all other years, it will be seen, we produced considerably more than one half.

But this table is constructed from the tariff-reformer's stand-

point, and shows that when he refers to "wool worn in this country," he includes third class, or carpet, wools. Now third class wools are not "worn in this country" except on the floors of our houses, and, so far as wearing apparel is concerned, have no more right to appear in the table than importations of jute.

To show what part of the wool "worn in this country" is foreign and what part domestic, I will construct another table, which I will call Table II., and give the total first and second class, or clothing and combing wools in the first column; estimated and used in goods imported in the second column; the domestic and product in the third column, and the per cent of imported wool to total amount of foreign and domestic consumed, in the fourth column, for the same years as in Table I.

The first and second class wools are the wools imported to be used in the clothing "worn in this country."

TABLE II.

1	2	3	4
1886.....34,194,497	121,609,527	322,305,000	32.6 per cent.
1887.....32,899,696	132,705,729	333,500,000	33.2 "
1888.....22,520,581	141,474,144	322,300,000	33.7 "
1889.....29,624,807	158,044,449	295,779,479	38.8 "
1890.....29,050,844	162,526,769	309,474,856	38.2 "
1891.....33,494,591	129,606,230	303,401,507	34.9 "
1892.....44,062,211	107,377,718	333,018,405	31.3 "
1893.....42,438,460	110,963,712	364,152,666	29.6 "

It will be seen from this table that the United States has produced two thirds of the "wool worn in this country" in every year but 1889, 1890, and 1891—and nearly two thirds in those years. It will appear also, that, in 1892 and 1893, under the operations of the McKinley law the United States not only produced the largest proportion of the total amount of wool consumed, but that the production was increasing relative to the total consumption. The increase of ten per cent in the product of domestic wool in 1892 over 1891, and ten per cent in 1893 over 1892, is striking evidence of the benefit of the McKinley act to wool growers.

Mr. Strange writes: "Manufacturers assure us the imported wool is never made up by itself. Neither is domestic wool. To secure the necessary strength and luster they must be combined;

and 'not a spindle in America is running on either domestic or foreign wool alone.'"

Some one has sadly deceived and misled Mr. Strange. I have been in the woolen manufacturing business for twenty-six years, succeeding my father, who had been in it nearly all his life, and the above statement by Mr. Strange, I can truthfully say, is totally incorrect. Imported wool is frequently worked, or manufactured, by itself. There is probably not a worsted yarn mill of importance in the United States which does not make yarns solely of imported wools, yarns of imported and domestic wools, and yarns of domestic wools alone. Such yarns may or may not be put into fabrics by themselves; they may or may not be put into fabrics with domestic yarns. In fact, they are used both ways.

In woolen mills (not worsted mills) cloths and hosiery are frequently and largely made purely of imported wool, and it is safe to say that a good deal more than half the woolen mills of the United States use no imported wool whatever, in any shape or form, but run their spindles on domestic wool alone.

The statement that "not a spindle in America is running on either domestic or foreign wool alone" is so grossly inaccurate that it throws a strong doubt upon the sources of Mr. Strange's information. In my own state I am familiar with many mills that never use imported wool and run all their spindles on domestic wool. I have had occasion to use about three fourths of a million pounds of domestic wool yearly, for many years, and in twenty-five years have not used one hundred bales of imported wool. When I have used any imported wool I have usually used it alone, and not mixed with domestic.

Mr. Strange says: "It is imported under enormous duties—the tariff on some grades of scoured wool being over one hundred per cent." He further on uses this rate of duty as if it were a common rate and fixed the price of imported wool to us, and of domestic wool also. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In Table No. 24, United States Treasury Department, Annual Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics on Commerce and Navigation, are given the quantities and values of imports

of wool and manufactures of wool entered for consumption in the United States, and also rates of duty and amounts of accruing duties on the same, during the years ending June 30, 1892 and 1893. In this table it appears that we imported in 1892 :

Class 1.

Unwashed wool,	38,592,646	pounds ;	rate of duty,	55.09	per cent.
Washed	1,246	"	"	36.6	"
Scoured	47,187	"	"	63.52	"

Class 2.

Unscoured wool,	4,068,224	pounds ;	rate of duty,	63.21	per cent.
Scoured	84	"	"	24.59	"
Sorted	20,171	"	"	37.76	"

Class 3. (Carpet.)

Wool, 13c or less,	83,697,810	pounds ;	rate of duty,	32	per cent.
Wool, sorted,	654,592	"	"	64	"
Wool, over 13c,	2,106,212	"	"	50	"
Wool, sorted,	76,159	"	"	100	"

In 1893, on lower prices of wool, the specific duty remaining the same, increased the percentage of duty, so that in Class 1 the rates were 59.63, 48.86, and 66.69 per cent ; Class 2, 56.23, 43.60, and 91.68 per cent. In Class 3 the rates are ad valorem in both years and so do not change.

The only rate of 100 per cent is in Class 3, carpet wool, sorted, and in this grade only 76,159 pounds were imported in 1892, and 10,780 pounds in 1893. Yet the statement is boldly made and skilfully used to convey the impression that our price of foreign wool is enhanced 100 per cent by the duty. The rates of duty on Class 1 and Class 2 are higher in percentage than when the McKinley law was passed, because the price of foreign wool is now lower.

Mr. Strange further on attempts to controvert Mr. McKinley's statement, "Every ship load (of imported goods) displaces American labor, and you cannot get around that" by saying, "But if we but once think of the fact that they bring nothing here except in *exchange for the product of our own toil*, we then see that every ship load, instead of displacing labor, fills our homes with comforts and relieves our markets of our surplus, and thus *gives employment* to our laborers to create another surplus for another exchange, which exchange we do not make unless it is to our advantage to do so."

This is a familiar free trade argument, which has so often been

refuted that it seems unnecessary to expose its fallacy again.

Under the Walker tariff, from 1847 until 1860, there were but two years, 1848 and 1858, when we did not largely import more merchandise than we exported; in 1848 because imports were withheld to await the lower duties of the Walker tariff, and in 1858 because of hard times, brought on by the action of the Walker tariff in bringing about the great excess of imports over exports.

The excess of imports over exports in this period of the Walker tariff amounted to more than \$400,000,000. This excess was paid for in gold and not by any "surplus" created by employment of labor, as Mr. Strange's theory should have worked to pay the excess. Had the mines of California not been discovered and had they not produced such phenomenal quantities of gold for export to pay this immense excess of imports over exports, the condition of the United States would have been even worse financially than it was from 1857 to 1860.

It is not necessary to argue that the United States is *not a nation which manufactures largely for export, and that it is a nation which does largely export agricultural products*; these are self-evident facts.

It must pay, then, for imports of all kinds, if we pay by exchange of products, with such articles as we are called upon to supply to other nations; our exports must be agricultural products, since these are mainly what other nations come here to get whenever their other sources fail, or we can sell them more cheaply than other nations can sell similar products.

Now the importation into the United States of more manufactures—of more ship loads of foreign manufacture—is not going to create more demand abroad for agricultural products. If England can buy the wheat of India, or the Argentine, or Russia, at lower prices than of America, she will not buy American wheat, simply because we are buying more goods of Bradford; she will buy in the cheapest market. So, too, of other nations supplying us with manufactured articles. Our imports of manufactured goods might double or treble and the chief articles of export not increase in amount exported, because of

such imports. Again, the old system of barter or exchange of products between nations is no longer in vogue.

The submarine cables, the swift steamers—the rapid means of communication and transportation—enable a merchant to buy as easily in Hong-Kong as he can order a suit of clothes of his tailor, nor does he stop to consider the means of payment more carefully in one case than the other. He knows that if he cannot pay for Bradford cloths in wheat, he can and will pay in gold, and that is just what he does when the scarcity of bills of exchange drawn against exported agricultural products is great enough to make gold exports necessary.

But, it is argued, we shall export more manufactured goods. Why or to whom? Every market of the world outside the United States is now supplied with goods made of free raw materials, and with much cheaper labor than enters into any goods made in the United States. Where is the new market in which our goods will be paid for at a higher price than is now paid there for foreign goods? There is no such market. So long as the present standard of wages is maintained in the United States and the present number of working hours for labor, the price of our manufactured goods in the case of nine tenths, or more, of all kinds of goods will be higher than the foreign goods of like character, and they will not be largely exported. The only lines of cotton goods exported to-day by our people are such as contain the raw material as the chief element of cost, and into which labor enters to the smallest extent, the coarse grades of heavy cloth.

With free raw cotton, we yearly import some \$30,000,000 worth of fine cottons, in which labor is the chief element of cost, in spite of the McKinley tariff and free raw material. The same is true of silk goods, into which enters raw material free of duty. It is inevitable that imports shall exceed exports under a low tariff, and it is also inevitable that such excess will be paid in gold. If long continued, such a fiscal system will bring about great distress and widespread poverty, and will disorganize our monetary system to a degree which has not been equaled in the history of our country.

JOHN T. BUSIEL.

THE INCOME TAX.

BY PROF. W. T. DUTTON.

OUR government, for the first time in many years, is confronted by a present and growing deficit in its revenues. Under the action of the present tariff law, the receipts for the first five months of the present fiscal year fell behind its expenditures more than thirty million of dollars. Under the preceding tariff law, the revenue was growing in excess of the needs of the government. The rapidly growing surplus was regarded by all as dangerous to our commercial and political welfare. All parties demanded its extinction, and the prevention of another such accumulation. The election of 1888 gave the high protection school of political economists the opportunity to thoroughly test their plans for this purpose. They did their work thoroughly. The high duties of the McKinley tariff bill were adopted for the avowed purpose of checking importations. The existing surplus was quickly dissipated by the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congress, and new obligations assumed which will prevent any large accumulation for years to come. The existence of these obligations demands a larger revenue than we now possess. It is proposed to raise a portion of the necessary increase by an income tax.

The chief advocates of this measure are mainly from the South and West. They belong to the large and increasing class of agriculturalists, who believe that the high duties of the present tariff, and even the more moderate ones of the past, are injurious to their interests, and largely to blame for the real or imaginary burdens under which they labor. They believe that they pay more than their fair share of cost of the national government, while the rich are not only the direct beneficiaries of all protective tariffs, but through them escape from their share of taxation. They are likely to carry their point through the

needs of the party now in control of the nation's policy. Democracy stands pledged to tariff reform. While there exists two democratic opinions as to the method of redeeming this pledge, the leaders in Congress have adopted a policy which, if it alone is depended upon, will produce a deficit of from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty million of dollars. This large sum must be provided for. The bill now before Congress attempts to provide for a part of it by laying a tax of two per cent on the excess of all incomes above \$4,000. It further lays a tax of two per cent on the dividends and undivided profits of certain corporations, and makes it the duty of the corporation to withhold the amount of the tax from the stockholder, and to pay the same into the federal treasury.

Briefly stated, the arguments in favor of a tax on corporations are—that they enjoy certain public franchises of substantial value. They are a part of the machinery of our modern civilization. As such they enjoy privileges denied to the private citizen. They are useful servants to the public, but dangerous masters. It is for the interest of the public and of the stockholder alike that their management and incomes be carefully scrutinized. No reason exists why they should be exempted from taxation. A small tax upon their earnings would not be burdensome in any individual case, and would produce a sum sufficient to cover the gap between the receipts and expenditures of the government. Such a tax would not be upon individual thrift or enterprise, but upon the gains of organized and invested capital. The amount of these gains, being matters of record, can be easily and accurately determined. The moderate supervision necessary in the assessment of the tax would not only work no wrong to the corporation, but might be made to exert a salutary influence on the management. It is true that many persons of small means, including widows and orphans, have their all invested in these corporations, but these people would be the gainers by the strict accountability which the government would demand of the officials. There seems to be no injustice in compelling these artificial bodies, whose stockholders are exempt from personal liability, to bear a part of the public burden.

It is claimed that the income tax is one of the fairest of all forms of taxation. Nothing can be fairer than the proposition that each citizen shall contribute annually a fair and just proportion of his gains to the government which protects him and enables him to have gains. In general, no tax could be so productive or work so little harm to the public as one levied upon those who have incomes to pay it. The theory is good, and if the public policy were only to raise the revenue, and were human nature more perfect than it is, there could be no further discussion.

It must be confessed that there is a vicious feature in our present method of raising the national revenue. Under the tariff and internal revenue laws, taxes are levied upon consumption. The poorer classes, a large part of whom are but a few weeks ahead of the poorhouse, must spend nearly if not all of their incomes in supporting their families. The law takes no account of the earnings of these people, of the size of their families, or of the sickness or other misfortune, which often renders it difficult for them to make both ends meet, to say nothing of paying taxes. Whether they are at work or in enforced idleness, these people must eat and be clothed. In either case, the tax with the increments added to it as it filters through the channels of trade, must be paid. It is estimated that this form of taxation increases the cost of supporting a family fully 25 per cent. In other words, the laboring classes are taxed out of one fourth of all their earnings.

George K. Holmes of the census bureau, in an article recently published, declares that 91 per cent of the more than 12,000,000 families in this country own only about 29 per cent of the wealth, while the remaining 9 per cent own about 71 per cent of the wealth of the nation. It is certain that this small fraction of our population does not pay anything like 71 per cent of our national revenues, and that much which it seems to pay is finally shifted upon other people. It is neither right nor just to tax people, who must consume all or nearly all of their incomes, more in proportion to their ability than we do those who can place the larger fraction of theirs at compound interest.

Yet that is precisely what we are now doing. There can be no injustice in equalizing the burden between these two classes. The rich ought to pay their fair share of the cost of supporting a government even more necessary to them than to the poor. The income tax deserves the credit of being the first attempt to equalize the burden between the rich and the poor. It finds its strongest argument in the above facts. Those who employ it, however, merely assume that it will correct these evils, ignore the fact that the laboring classes derive some advantage from a protective tariff, and overlook the enormous local taxation which falls principally upon property.

It is almost certain that the proposed tax will prove a grievous disappointment to those who are now so vigorously demanding it, even if we admit that the condition of the masses is as bad as it is painted, and that it is produced solely by the action of the tariff laws. Unless these laws are entirely abrogated, its effect on the cost of supporting a family will be very minute. While the people do wish these laws revised and reformed, it is now clearly established that they do not want, and will not permit, them to be abolished. If its object is to equalize the public burden it must fail in its purpose; for it is idle to claim that it cannot be shifted. It will catch the man on a salary, the men whose incomes are registered from the nature of their investments, and the returns from contracts already in existence. On all future contracts it will be fully provided for, and paid, as now, by the consumer.

If it is intended to correct abuses in the distribution of wealth, it is not sufficiently drastic in its provisions. Instead of 2 per cent of a given income, it should demand 10 and 20 and, in some cases, even 50 per cent. This would be simply confiscation, justifiable only because socialism is a better form of society than individualism. Whatever we may believe in the future, we are not yet ready to accept that doctrine, neither are we ready to tax out of existence the working capital of the nation from which society derives far more benefit than the holder.

Neither will it in any wise check the power of capital to oppress labor, for it does not even touch the sources of that op-

pression. It leaves untouched one of the greatest of all incomes, one which is perhaps as oppressive to the poor as any other; that from the ever increasing value of land. It is to be noted here that landholders become advocates of the income tax whenever their holdings are seriously threatened, and have frequently sought and found a refuge by its adoption. It is not true that this is the fairest of all forms of taxation even in theory. It is only one of the fairest, and, while in theory it seems just and fair, it is impossible to carry out the law with even an approach to fairness. Death and taxes are frequently cited as the pair from whom no man can escape. Death comes to all and exacts his full penalty. The tax collector is not so powerful. He is frequently defrauded of his just dues. So suspicious is he nowadays, that he seldom visits his victim without putting him under oath, and guarding every possible avenue of escape. In spite of his care, and the power with which the law clothes him, taxes are still evaded as they always have been and always will be. A tax on incomes, like a tax on all other kinds of personal property, is from its nature more easily evaded than any other. Ample experience demonstrates that it cannot be collected fairly without resorting to measures so stringent as to make business life unbearable, measures which may be tolerated in a despotism, but which are utterly incompatible with the maintenance of a free government. It is true that all taxes are inquisitorial. There is a difference, however, between searching a man's trunk at the custom house, and searching his books and papers for the evidence to convict him of crime. Freedom cannot be said to exist when a nonjudicial officer can invade any man's premises, and, upon mere suspicion, without due process of law, overhaul his private business affairs. Neither is any man a freeman whose industry and capital are subject to exactions from which his competitors are entirely exempt. There is no justice in levying a tax on a business which returns, to the man whose energy and industry have built it up, a little more than \$4,000, and exempting one in open competition with the other, the returns of which are a little less. Absolute equality of taxation must exist between persons who are in the same line of

business if the one is not to be favored by law at the expense of the other.

It is an act of arbitrary power, under whatever form of government it may be done, to exempt any man from a certain tax because he has in his possession less than a certain amount of the property which is taxed. Certain small incomes cannot be taxed ; for whatever the government takes with one hand as a tax must be returned by the other hand as a charity. Public policy, therefore, exempts all incomes below the cost of supporting a family. An exemption of \$4,000 is an unwarranted favoritism to nine tenths of the well-to-do people of the United States. Assuming 5 per cent as the average profit of money or other property in this country, a man whose income is \$1,000 enjoys an estate worth \$20,000, while the more fortunate possessors of incomes ranging from \$1,500 to \$4,000, enjoy estates ranging from \$30,000 to \$80,000. These are not poor people. They are abundantly able to pay their fair share of all the taxes the government may find it necessary to levy for its support. It is difficult to justify such an exemption on any but socialistic grounds. It is not difficult, however, to prophesy that the next turn of the wheel will correct this evil, in part at least, and include among the victims of this tax some who now escape.

The justice of the income tax may well be questioned. It is well known that the purchasing power of a given income varies greatly in different localities. A family can be supported far more comfortably on \$3,000 in Meadville than on \$5,000 in New York. The Meadville family is far the wealthier of the two. Yet it escapes the tax, while the New York family pays \$20 for the privilege of paying \$2,000 more for a poorer living. The same inequality exists between other sections of the country. It is evident that men in different localities are not taxed according to their financial ability, but by a standard extremely variable in its nature. The principle of "equality of sacrifice," which the advocates of the tax insist upon as vital, is palpably violated. Yet it is from these sections, where the necessarily larger cost of living makes the incomes nominally larger, that the greater part of the revenues derived from this tax must come.

One of the most unjust features of this bill is that it puts upon the same level incomes derived from accumulated wealth and those won by the industry and skill of men who have no other means of support. This injustice has long been recognized and cannot be avoided. An income below \$4,000, derived from accumulated wealth, is passed over. Its owner may be a drone in the social line, utterly useless to society, except to furnish a market for consuming what other men have produced. At his death his estate goes to his heirs, unimpaired in value or productiveness. On the other hand, one who by his intelligence and skill has been able to earn more than \$4,000, is taxed, even though at his death the income cease and his family be unprovided for. It is true that while he lives and maintains himself, he enjoys a valuable estate; but he has reached it only after long and arduous efforts, his possession of it is precarious, depending perhaps upon conditions which he cannot control. He earns every penny he receives, and is thereby a valuable member of society. To tax him and allow the other to go free, is to tax enterprise and thrift, to put a premium on indolence, the neglect of opportunities, and the waste of natural resources.

If this tax is a direct tax it is unconstitutional and cannot be levied. If it be called an indirect tax, it is most glaringly sectional. It throws the burden largely on the industrial and commercial communities of the North. Out of \$64,984,437.36 collected under the old law in 1867, \$37,480,321.42 was contributed by Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. The same proportions are found in the amounts collected during the other years the law remained in force. These three states will probably contribute as large a proportion under the bill now before Congress, while it is doubtful if the returns south of the Ohio will more than pay the cost of collection. These three states have always paid, and are now paying, their fair share of the federal revenues. Probably they pay more, for the consumption per capita of goods upon which duties are levied is greater within their boundaries than in any other section of the country. When it is remembered that the tariff duties, to which it is claimed they owe their prosperity, have either been

removed or greatly reduced, the injustice of the bill becomes apparent. These three states are to be heavily fined for being industrious, enterprising, and thrifty communities.

The world's experience with this form of taxation is not a promising one. Its first recorded appearance was among the Jews. It was employed by the Athenians and by the Romans. With the latter people it was no doubt successful as a revenue raiser, for torture was freely used to discover incomes and to collect Caesar's share. It was destruction to the empire, for history teaches that its citizens considered the barbarian a lesser evil than their tax system. France used it before the Revolution. So odious did it become that no French government has since resorted to it. It was first levied in Great Britain in 1798, through the influence of the large landholders. It has been in continuous use in that country since 1842. It cannot be said to be either popular or successful, for both political parties have pronounced against it, and its repeal has been promised by various administrations. It is now in use in Italy, Austria, and Switzerland, the rates being as high as 20 per cent on some incomes. Russia, after long using it, has abandoned it, and substituted the French system of taxing expenditures.

It is employed by some of the states of Germany, but not by the empire. It is not a popular tax among democracies, and has seldom been tolerated by them except as a war measure.

If this tax become a part of our revenue system, it will probably not be nearly so productive as is generally anticipated. What it will yield is purely conjectural; certainly as little as the ingenuity of the victims can make it. A large class of high-salaried officials of both federal and state governments will be exempt, under decisions of the courts in cases which arose under the old law. Many incomes justly subject to the tax will never be discovered. Many will be found to be much smaller than is commonly supposed. We hear much of the wealth of individuals, and of millionaires by the hundreds. The Probate Courts are constantly showing us how greatly an estate may be overestimated during the owner's lifetime. Many wealthy men have their means invested at a low rate of interest. Others

have theirs tied up in nonproductive property. No form of taxation would suit their purpose so well as tax on incomes. Most people, however, consider them a detriment to society. They stand in the way of progress, and to give to the owner who keeps his property unimproved a less rate of taxation than one who sells his to those who will improve it, is both unjust and impolitic.

It is scarcely necessary to enter upon the moral features of this tax. It will be largely evaded. Paying taxes is not a popular proceeding. They always have been evaded, especially if they are felt to be unnecessary or unjust in their character or mode of collection. Greedy and unprincipled men are found in every community and in every walk in life, but to say that this measure will lead to wholesale perjury is an unwarranted imputation on the character of the wealthy citizens of the nation. Neither is it true that the opposition to this bill springs from an unworthy desire to avoid any of the just burdens of the state. The amount involved is too small to cause serious opposition on that ground. It is disliked because it seriously interferes with the liberty of the citizen, and with the conduct of his affairs, because it is vicious in principle, unjust in its application, uncertain in its returns, and because from the nature of our country it will require for its successful application a vast increase to our already overgrown civil service.

W. T. DUTTON.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

BY CARL SNYDER.

THE year of the administration just closed, a year of unexampled business disaster and of financial complications, both at home and abroad, has been a time well calculated to try a statesman's soul. Up to the day of his second inauguration, Mr. Cleveland was easily the most fortunate man of this generation. It has been the work of the year to test him by the most rigid and exacting standards, with the result of discrediting his capacity alike as a party leader, an executive, and a statesman. The exact connection of the administration with the panic has indeed been ingeniously contested; for it is not a difficult matter to relegate the faults of omission to the misty regions of conjecture on what might have been. But even this has not sufficed to leave a record to which the most enthusiastic adherent may point with satisfaction; and it is safe to say that had a similar quantum of blunders and worse than blunders been crowded into the president's entire first term, he would never have been re-elected; he would not even have been considered for a re-nomination.

Mr. Cleveland's second election brought uncertainty and disturbance to the business world, as the election of a president had never done before; and it would seem that even had he lacked the native ability, which marks the really successful man of affairs, Mr. Cleveland's experience during his first term would have enabled him to grasp the clearly discernible business drift, and take measures to avert the obviously impending panic. He did nothing, though the chief issue of the campaign was a purely business one. His party had denounced the existing tariff in inflammatory terms, and, however he might endeavor to palliate the force of his party's declarations, it was known that he was in sympathy with its main policy of very

radical tariff revision. For the first time in thirty years, an administration and a Congress had been chosen with the avowed purpose of revising the tariff in hostility to manufactures. This had not been the case in 1884, and Mr. Cleveland had been defeated in 1888 on such an issue. Democratic success in 1892 brought the entire manufacturing industry to a stand-still, and the effect of this was instantaneously felt in every avenue of trade. The country was prosperous, and suddenly the brakes were applied. It was exactly as though on a swiftly moving train and under full head of steam, the air-breaks should be abruptly clapped down. The result was a shock and jar.

This was the beginning of the panic, and it has never ceased to be a tariff panic to this moment. What could the president have done to remove distrust and fear, and could he by prompt action have saved the country from disaster? The exigency was perfectly plain, and the president's duty as well. He was the official leader of his party; largely the author of its policy. Had he at the moment of his inauguration, or better still before that, called in council a score of his party's recognized chiefs and shaped a definite tariff program and published it to the country, all the paralyzing influence of doubt and uncertainty would have been removed. Such a program would have had reasonable assurance of adoption by Congress, and whatever harm and havoc such program would have brought, it would at least have been definite and calculable; the industries which were left undisturbed would have been assured of their future, and those that were affected could have measured the amount of injury done them, and, face to face with a plain obstacle, could have calculated their future as well. The suspense would have been over, and business could have begun to shape itself in accordance with the new order, and had the president and his associates given their pledge that no mere tariff tinkering would be countenanced under the present administration, business would have been assured of at least four years' peace.

Thus the chances for a panic would have been immeasurably reduced, if not altogether eliminated. But, of course, no such a

claim was so much as suggested, and now, after a lapse of a year, and more than eight months of business paralysis, suspense and distrust still reign.

The alteration of the tariff may be likened to a proposition to alter the grade of the principal thoroughfare of a busy, growing city. At the suggestion of a change of grade, building instantly pricks its ears; when the change is determined on, it promptly comes to a standstill. Until the new grade is established—and that beyond all question—not a dollar will be expended on that street in construction or improvement. No business man will be foolish enough to begin the erection of a costly building which a change of grade will be apt to leave ten or twenty feet below the sidewalk, or in the air. He will stop everything until he knows with certainty what is going to be done with that street. And this is exactly what happened when President Cleveland was elected, a year and a half ago.

Now let us suppose that a city council had been chosen on an inflammative platform, bent upon a radical reduction in the grade of the main street, and that when it got into office it should begin to hedge. Suppose that it should fix a grade ten feet below the existing levels, but should accompany that action with a declaration that the new grade was merely temporary; that it was not so great a reduction as had been intended, but was merely a compromise, and that as soon as the council could do so, without endangering the political future of its members, it would proceed to reduce the grade ten feet more! What would be thought of such a policy? Would any man of sense begin to put up a fifty or one hundred thousand dollar building to abut that temporary grade? Would he undertake any sort of building? He would even hesitate to attempt to make his present property conform, preferring inconvenience to useless and fruitless expense. And what, moreover, would become of a city council that would pursue such a course? Its resignation would be demanded by every business man and property owner on that street, and its political future would be abruptly closed.

Yet this is exactly what the Democratic party has done and is still doing. No man knows what tariff grade the Wilson bill

will fix, but the Democratic leaders of Congress have officially declared that whatever be the final form of the bill, it is only a makeshift and a compromise; that it is only a temporary concession to the manufacturing interest, and that as soon as the party recovers its breath and nerve, after its present exhausting effort, it will resume the war. It will pass a measure of moderate iniquity now, and go before the country this fall boasting of its moderation, to return next December to complete its mission of hostility and destruction.

Does any sane man believe that the passage of the Wilson bill will restore confidence, or bring back prosperity? Will any sane manufacturer resume activity or undertake the extension of his business, if in another twelvemonth a fell blow of the Democratic party is going to wipe it out of existence? Will a measure that is avowedly but a preliminary attack again set the spindles whirling and the furnaces aglow? Will it bring back the wasted savings of the laborer, or restore lines of credit to the mill-owner or shop-keeper? These are not the offices of a "cowardly makeshift."

We see, therefore, that far from even attempting to put a turn to the business depression, the Democratic party has practically provided for the maintenance and prolongation of the suspense and dread for at least another year. When it might at this critical juncture have cleared away all doubt, and made the pathway of the next four years open and plain, it left the country to hang upon the tenter-hooks of doubt until exhausted strength and confidence gave way. Upon these tenter-hooks the country still hangs.

There is yet a graver charge to examine. Was President Cleveland, by reason of his action or inaction, directly responsible for the precipitation of the panic? If, upon a careful review of the facts, the future historian shall conclude that he was; if it appears that he failed his country at a most critical hour, and by his incompetence plunged it into the most fateful and widespread commercial disaster in its history, Mr. Cleveland is the least to be envied in the list of presidents. In their untold suffering and privation, and in the impetus that has been

given the growing forces of anarchy and discontent, the influence of the last ten months will be felt for years to come.

What were the precise conditions prevalent when Mr. Cleveland took office a second time? On this side of the water, business was reining itself up to await the drafting of the new tariff; on the other side, the failure of immense speculative enterprises in Argentine, Australia, and elsewhere, had produced a severe financial strain in Europe, causing American securities to be thrown upon the market for what they would bring, with the resulting outflow of a large quantity of gold. Eastern bankers were restive under the continued heavy purchases of silver, due to the Sherman act the Democratic party was pledged to repeal; President Cleveland was known as an uncompromising enemy of silver; and distrust was rife.

It was a most propitious moment for attack for the monometalists, and the attack was made; one of the most vicious and insidious this country ever knew. It was begun by Democratic newspapers. I have already indicated how Mr. Cleveland might have brought about a definite avowal of the Democratic program as to the tariff, and by reason of relieving the suspense, have restored confidence to business; how he did nothing, but sat unfriendly by and let the evil work.

Thus the undermining movement gained a vigorous headway; so that when the cry of silver repeal or ruin came, it was like applying the torch to a powder magazine. But it lay within the president's power to avert the crash even then. Had the administration, through Secretary Carlisle, issued a ringing declaration, asserting its purpose to maintain the public credit at all hazard, avowing its purpose to issue bonds in unlimited quantity if necessary, the panic would never have come.

Instead of such an aggressive measure, President Cleveland did nothing. He did more; for by his silence he lent the whole weight of the administration to the side of those who attacked the public credit. With that blind and fatuous obstinacy which is his most unhappy characteristic, he stood grimly by; the situation grew worse; Rome was burning and the president fiddled. When the disease had reached a stage so acute that only a

prompt call for a session of Congress could check its ravages, he still dallied, and, while bank after bank, and business after business, went crashing to ruin, he is reported to have declared: "Not yet; this country needs an *object lesson*."

Finally, when the panic had reached its height, the tardy call came. It was too late. The disaster was complete. Congress did nothing, and while the silver fight waged, the crisis passed and the country was left weak and exhausted like a patient after the ravages of typhus fever. Repeal did no good; it would never have done any good, save in its influence on the public imagination, when the country was terror-stricken. There never was any actual necessity for repeal, for the silver fright was never anything more than the acute phase of a deeper disease. It was a tariff panic from its inception, and the scare over silver was but an incident that added fuel to flames already at their work of destruction.

Now, at a distance of five months from repeal, we may see this fact clearly. And we may see clearly, too, that at every stage of the panic, from the time that it was merely a cloud on the horizon, to the time when it became a roaring tempest, President Cleveland rejected every opportunity to stay its course. He could have averted it, and he refused. And he refused in such a way as to paralyze resistance, and give it a free field for its headlong course.

It is not necessary here to attempt an estimate of the havoc wrought. We might present an array of statistics as to the number of bank and other failures, and the benumbing shrinkage of every form of property save that of gold. We might recount the decline of stocks, and the price of wheat and farm products to the lowest point reached in thirty years; of the despair rung in by the ominous clang of closing factories and the darkness which followed the banking of furnace fires. The figures are appalling, but we should still have to trace the effect of it all to the farm and fireside and savings banks ere the story would be complete. If we took the decline in wheat and like products, we should see how they finally fell, with unerring directness upon the farmer; for the means of marketing the product be-

cause it did not fall, and the difference between a dollar a bushel and fifty cents a bushel for wheat, meant to the farmer a difference between seventy-five cents and twenty-five cents on every bushel which he sells. And if we instanced the countless thousands out of employment, we should have to trace the steady and bitter disappearance of the small hoards of savings, the accumulations of slow years.

The Civil War affords chapters of darker and more vivid tragedy ; for it was played as on a stage. But it did not, in its entire length, cost this country in treasure what the single last year has cost. And it is difficult to see, upon a careful review, how President Cleveland can escape the odium and the censure of having, if not actually precipitated the panic, at the very least, hastened and assisted it by wilful and contributory negligence, by his utter incompetence at every crisis, and by his unconcealed sympathy with powers of Wall Street in their attack on the historic monetary policy of this country.

The administration's management of the treasury does not merely serve to accentuate the incapacity of the present government, but presents clear and indubitable evidence as to the fact that the threatened onslaught on the tariff was alone responsible for the commercial depression in the United States. Phenomena of such profound and far-reaching influence as the panic has been, demand, for the instruction and guidance of the future, to be set forth in no oblique or mistaken aspects. And such a persistent and insistent effort has been made to obscure the complicity of the tariff agitation in the panic, and to make a scapegoat of what was purely an incident, the silver purchases, that a rigid and conclusive analysis would be imperative, had not Secretary Carlisle made this unnecessary by furnishing the evidence himself.

If, in last May or June, the treasury had made the bond issue which it has now made, the most drastic panic in the country's history would have been averted, but it would never have been clear but that silver was the chief element of the disturbance. But the bonds were not issued, and a full two months after the worst of the panic was obviously passed, repeal was carried.

Silver was definitely eliminated from the problem, and the depression continued without a straggling sign of improvement over the month or more which preceded repeal. It continued and it still continues, and it is more than doubtful if any really general and genuine improvement can take place until the Democratic party makes its exit from power in the House of Representatives one year from to-day, and the menace to our business prosperity is removed beyond recall.

Meanwhile, it is to be kept explicit that Secretary Carlisle made his contribution to the evidence of the administration's incapacity, by issuing his bonds exactly eight months too late.

President Cleveland was hardly installed in office before he gave vent to his hostility to pensions for the Union soldier. He placed in the Interior Department an obscure Southerner, whose hostility was a match for his own. Within three months the disability act was suspended, and thousands of veterans, who from the very character of the act derived from thence their chief means of support, were deprived of their main subsistence. The pension system had grown to enormous proportions, and it would have been astonishing if there were not some instances in which pensions had been obtained by fraud, but so far the most searching and unfriendly investigation has shown that not a fraction of one per cent of the names on the pension rolls was placed there fraudulently. Let us say there might have been a suspicion that one per cent, or even two or three per cent, were frauds. Still, was the suspension justifiable?

We have it as a common precept of our criminal law, that better ninety-nine guilty should go free than that one innocent man should suffer injustice. But Secretary Smith deliberately cast insult, injustice, and the imputation of dishonor on thousands of crippled veterans, whose names are upon the "roll of honor," rather than have one case of fraud go unpunished.

So flagrant an incident, and one of such instructive import as the Van Alen case, does not die quickly from the public mind, and there is no reason for considering it at length here. For the first time in the history of the country, a president dared bestow one of the highest posts of official honor in return solely for a

heavy contribution of money. The hysterical endeavor to draw a parallel with the appointment of Mr. Wanamaker fell to the ground. Mr. Wanamaker, at the head of one of the largest business houses in the country, was, by training and demonstrated executive power, admirably fitted to grapple with the complicated management of the post-office—a purely business position, where a mere politician does not properly belong. Mr. Van Alen was unknown to public life, and had absolutely nothing to commend him save his contribution “when calls were many and friends were few.” It was wholly characteristic of Mr. Cleveland that he should have insisted on Mr. Van Alen’s acceptance when the latter withdrew under the storm of criticism which the appointment aroused.

Not less disgraceful and far more harmful has been the utter debauch of the consular service under the administrative efforts of Mr. Josiah Quincy. No other prominent nation in the world pursues such a destructive policy with regard to the diplomatic and consular service, and, as a consequence, there is none other whose representatives abroad have so little standing or influence as our own.

Especially is this true of the consular service. It amounts to nothing more than an imposition and a fraud on our commercial interests that a popular and efficient consul, just when he has attained full experience and gained thorough acquaintance with his post, should be ignominiously recalled to make way for the henchman of some congressman influential with the new administration.

The incident is not less noteworthy as the definite end of President Cleveland’s pretensions as a civil service reformer. With it passed perhaps the finest opportunity presented to the president to earn a distinctive and honorable mention in history. He could gain no friends by openly turning spoilsman, nor was he under severe pressure to abandon the position he had assumed to occupy, nor has he hope of further political honors. Had he possessed the courage to make only such changes in office as public interest or conformity to the administration policy demanded, he would not only have won the applause of

posterity, but have put the civil service of this country on a business basis such as no future president, whatever his inclinations, would dare to overturn. He would have been known as the first civil service reform president. He did not have the moral stamina, and the opportunity of his life has gone by.

It is not necessary to review the long series of astounding blunders which have made up the Hawaiian imbroglio. That is a matter too fresh in the public mind, and its features too clearly outlined, to need exploitation here.

Hardly less humiliating was the rebuff he received in his endeavor to make an appointment to the Supreme Bench the vehicle of his angry spite against the Senate, and especially the senators from New York. The latter are not a particularly admirable brace of statesmen, and it will indicate the nature of Mr. Cleveland's position, that he placed himself appreciably below their level.

To sum up, there is this to be said : It is a fact largely lost sight of that the occasions have never before been presented which would afford an adequate and definite test of Mr. Cleveland's statesmanship and actual capacity for the presidential office. His first term was singularly devoid of high emergencies, and on its smooth currents he found comparatively easy navigation ; the mistakes he made were of slight consequence, because the occasions were not momentous.

On the other hand, no year since the war has presented so many critical moments, demanding the highest and clearest judgment, the prescience of a genuine statesman, as has the past year. That Mr. Cleveland has gone from blunder to blunder, from mistake to mistake, with the most unfaltering confidence, and to the most unfortunate results,—indeed, well-nigh to the wreck and ruin of the country, does not occasion astonishment to those who have carefully judged his calibre, and recognized his mental limitations. Otherwise, his unexampled failures would excite astonishment, contempt, disgust. It would have been vastly better for the president's fame had he never been elevated to the chief magistracy for a second time.

CARL SNYDER.

EFFECT OF PROTECTION ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

BY PROF. GEORGE F. MILTON.

THE most important factors in the material advancement of a people are their aggregate production and its economic distribution.

The gross amount produced by a people, less the living expenses and the payments of interest or on debts sent out of the country, is the net increase of their wealth.

Thus, as nearly as can be ascertained from statistics, the farm products for the year 1890 were worth \$2,500,000,000. The value of manufactures was \$9,500,000,000; total production \$12,000,000,000; less consumption at an estimated \$160 each, \$9,000,000,000; interest and payments abroad, \$1,000,000,000; total wealth consumed, \$10,000,000,000; net increase of wealth \$2,000,000,000. This is nearly according to the rate at which the national wealth has increased since 1860.

The wealth we speak of here is, however, only a small part of it in the form of money, and the varied product of diversified labor, which comprises this \$12,000,000,000 of aggregate production, may lose much in its utility on exchange value, by retarding influences on that second factor in material development, distribution. A tendency to render sluggish the movement toward a division of these products among the people, and their consequent concentration in the hands of a few, whether in the form of raw or finished products, or as the medium of exchange of these, or as bankers' credits, retards the final adaptation of man's labor and ingenuity to his separate needs; and furthermore prevents the immediate and continuous reproduction of capital, as a fund for the employment and sustenance of labor. Thus such a condition as that of the Iowa

farmer burning his non-exchangeable corn for fuel, while the Tennessee coal miner is feeling the pangs of hunger for the corn his coal will not buy, becomes possible. The ultimate effect of these conditions is paralyzing to every industrial energy. The producer of each separate article is forced, by the lack of demand for it, to finally cease operations on account of the decline of exchange value of the product of his labor.

This, however, does not mean overproduction. The countless thousands crying for bread and for raiment refute such a theory. It is not that we have more than we need that wheat is at the lowest price known in years. The desire is there, but the machinery of barter is for some reason not effecting the exchanges necessary, and the multitude still remains hungry. This we call a financial panic and the discussions of it are numerous. Political dogmas and economic theories are of small use in alleviating distress. They merely furnish straws at which the masses eagerly clutch. These periods do have a real value, however, of an advisory, premonitory nature. Their phases are the surest test of the stability of past material development. They are the crucibles in which the dross and bad components of our organic structure come to the surface. They are the chemicals in which are developed the hidden evil conditions.

While dividends are paid, investments make good returns, and wages are high, the world sees all to be good. It is the bitter hour of misfortune which shows how well we have built, and how stable is the economic structure on which our prosperity is based. It is then that the political, social, and financial evils are apparent, and it is while recovering from these periods that the greatest and best reforms are generally accomplished.

The United States, just emerging from the most widespread and disastrous of its epochs of financial distress, finds itself face to face with some of those social problems with which Europe has been struggling for a century. The increasing poor, the living wage, the elimination of the unnecessary, are now questions of vital interest to Americans, although our population hardly yet numbers seventeen to the square mile, and while

our natural wealth and resources seem scarcely touched. This is certainly a sad commentary on the character of the economic structure that we have built. What hastens America to these terrible social evils? Before 1860 the cry was for more labor. Now the wail is for employment. To what influence may we ascribe this reversion of condition? The aggregate wealth of this country has increased in an unparalleled ratio. The average price of labor has advanced 73 per cent, while the price of goods produced has decreased an average of 24 per cent. On paper we are the most prosperous people on the face of the earth, and yet these problems of the disposition of the poorer classes confront us. How can national prosperity, great resources, crowded cities, marble palaces, be compatible with the cry of hungered thousands demanding work and bread in the very shadows of these exponents of an assumed prosperity? In the haste of money getting and money spending of the past few years, what has been the fate of the middleman? Has he been preserved in number and condition to perpetuate that virtue which economics claims is his destiny and purpose? In proportion as the middle class is large or small, just so is the wealth of the land equably distributed among the people, doing consequently the greatest good to the greatest number. If this class has been eliminated a great evil has been done, irreparable in extent, for the progress of the race is dependent on it. It becomes fitting then to examine the change in the diffusion of wealth between 1860 and 1890.

In 1860 the average per capita wealth was \$933. In 1890 it was \$999. There had been little per capita increase, although in the ten years previous it had nearly doubled.

In 1860, although no special figures can be obtained to verify the statement, it is well known that there were very few large fortunes. There were then scarcely ten men in the entire country worth over ten million dollars. "It may be assumed," says an eminent statistician, "that one half the people owned one half the wealth."

In 1890, according to figures collected for the eleventh census, there were 13,102,292 families in the United States; of these 91

per cent owned 29 per cent of the wealth ; 9 per cent owned 71 per cent of the wealth. Among the 1,096,292 families who owned 91 per cent, 4,074 owned 20 per cent; leaving as the great middle class, to whom the progress of the nation is intrusted, only 1,092,218 families, or a little more than one twelfth the entire population, while the other eleven twelfths are struggling with poverty. This is not a theme for socialistic doctrines. Socialism eliminates competition, which is the basic principle of progress, but it certainly calls for the closest attention and study of economic questions, as only by a thoroughly diffused knowledge of these can reforms be effected.

It is then concentration of wealth which has finally effected the blocking of the arteries of distribution, and that is the disease with which the body politic is now suffering. Our middle class is disappearing, and our civilization is assuming the aspects of those ancient wealthy nations, Egypt and India, with their luxurious royalty and degraded labor, the result of a too rapid accumulation and consequent hastened concentration of that wealth.

What has caused this tendency ? One is struck when reading the industrial history of England with the marked similarity of conditions in that country in 1840 and of the United States in the last year. After a long period of the most rigid protection the entire manufacturing interests had become paralyzed. Prices had declined and the number of idle was something fearful. Statistics taken in that year show that the working class numbered 83 per cent, the middle class 15 per cent, and the rich 2 per cent. The corn laws were repealed, business gradually revived, wealth became better distributed. So we find in 1877 that the working class numbered 70 per cent, the middle class 27 per cent, the rich 3 per cent. Protection in America reduced the great middle class from at least one half in 1860, to 7 per cent in 1890, while free trade in a country of much more established society, and consequently more difficult to influence, advanced the percentage of the middle class twelve per cent in a similar period. As shown by these figures, our economic equilibrium, as it may be called, is losing

strength, while that of England is gaining. Protection governs the one, free trade the other. If the former doctrine is one of facts and the latter a vapid theory, how can we explain such things as these? And now this concentration has almost reached its natural limits. Gorged by its tremendous increase, it has closed the channels of trade so that capital has difficulty in finding a profitable investment. Its momentum of accumulation has carried it too far. Capital is in the end dependent on labor, and to deprive the laborer of his living wage cuts off ultimately the market for the product of all industry; therefore distribution stops and the effect is redundant on the very class whose accumulations are the cause of the evil conditions. But the three one hundredths of one per cent of our people, who own one fifth of the wealth of the country, are not actively responsible for this concentration. They are but the selfish indexes of a bad system of legislation. They are the reflex feature of our economic structure. Any civilization with similar governmental influences on it would produce the same class in similar proportions. The farming interests complain of Wall Street. It is however not an active factor in our financial conditions. It is but the finely organized sensitive instrument which indicates the relative exchange value of the different products of our labor. Speculation may run these prices above or below their normal occasionally; but Wall Street on the average gives the true value. It is because there is exhibited there, more than in any other place, on account of the immense dealings brought before the public eye, the cumulative tendency of our present economic state, that the people consider Wall Street as the producer rather than the result of evil conditions.

The connection between free trade and the distribution of wealth is not difficult to draw.

In man all progress is the result of a struggle. Where life has been found most easily sustained least advancement has been made. The great natural growth of population has constantly increased the effort necessary to obtain subsistence. The fittest, by their strength or ability, have survived and the unnecessary have been eliminated. Each succeeding generation finds the

conditions harder to overcome and hence the improvement of the human race. Free trade is this struggle in commerce. It is the natural law and on it depends all progress.

A race such as the Chinese reaches a certain degree of civilization with its system of exclusion, and then progress ceases. It reduces the standard of living till a vast population can find subsistence and then the society crystallizes, divides into castes, and no further progress is possible.

Free trade develops energy along the line of the greatest return for the least effort, and therefore the final aggregate of wealth produced is greater and the world consequently richer. This great international and domestic competition, which is the result of a policy of free trade, reduces to a minimum the profits of the employers and the price of the product, while it increases to the highest degree the industry and inventive faculties of the producers, and swells the volume of production. Thus, with profits tending to a minimum and production to a maximum, labor buys more and the standard of living becomes higher, and the condition of the workingman is greatly ameliorated.

An impetus is put on commercial activity by the quick sales and small profits. Distribution reaches its highest effectiveness. The life of capital is dependent on this, and every effort is made to hasten rather than retard the diffusion of wealth. Society reaps the greatest benefit; for not only is a larger quantity of goods brought into circulation, but also on account of the economic reasons for rapid distribution, the amount is sooner divided among the people according to the relative value of their work. Progress is definite, sure, and lasting; and a very stable economic basis is established, not subject to the periodical affections of inflation and collapse which we see under other systems.

The manual laboring class diminishes, machines and improved implements supplanting them, and facilitating production. They are not eliminated, however, but rise into the higher class, which thus becomes larger, and as that grows and progresses, so is the nation's advance permanent and virile.

On the other hand, how does the system of protection affect

distribution? In the first place, it removes in a great measure the factor competition, and substitutes that of monopoly. Value in ordinary circumstances is dependent on three things, the cost of production, the utility in exchange, and the demand and supply. If, however, certain articles are produced by a few only, who are perhaps united in their self-interest, prices are determined by the arbitrary assessments they care to put on their goods. If the article is a necessity, price is determined on the principle of the taxation of the Middle Ages; as much is taken from the people as they will endure. Unnatural prices and enhanced profits are the results. Competition, domestic and international, is eliminated and with it the progress which is dependent upon it.

Aggregate production is reduced because demand is dependent in a great measure on the distribution of wealth. The whole financial structure becomes artificial.

Energy is expended on employments which are favored by these fostering conditions, and great industries are conducted which would not naturally exist, and those in which the greatest good can be done at the least expense are abandoned. Thus progress assumes a line of instability; protection from being incidental, and for the aid merely of *infant* industries, becomes an absolute necessity to those long in existence, and unless the duties are constantly increased it finally even fails to protect sufficiently to keep them in operation. By the very concentration of wealth of which they are the cause they are brought to a standstill. Their fictitious prosperity, which they cannot sustain, has been at the expense of the other great interests on whose well-being they must depend for the consumption of their output. And these, weakened by the taxation to which they are subject for the benefit of the manufacturers, can no longer take their product, hence the protected industries must cease operations. The goose that lays the golden egg has been killed, the home market has been destroyed. Thus in America the 827,184 engaged in industries subject to foreign competition have served, by the tax they have laid on the 16,564,914 engaged in other industries, to stop the diffusion of wealth and

paralyze all production ; not only their own, but that of others. This has been the price our people have paid for the assumption that our labor is better paid, and our wealth better distributed, which fallacies protectionist orators have proclaimed in every campaign. The eyes of the workingman begin to open on this subject when he sees immigration of skilled labor from the old countries cease, and many of that class already here returning. Different opinions he now has as to his condition compared with the European. Statistics have recently been taken, under the auspices of the government, which banish those ideas as to the wages of labor here and abroad. The error of our opinions was based chiefly on the difference in the exchange value of money. Another error was as to the payment according to work done; another as to the constancy of the demand for labor. All these have been found to be slightly in favor of the European, and the result shows that while the standard of living is higher in America, yet the average condition of the foreigner is better, that he is more provident and saves more, and want is less often at his door. A statistician comparing German and American labor conditions says : "The German would probably find the competitors he left behind more grateful to him than the family he took with him to America. He might perhaps have a larger sum available for relaxation and enjoyment, but he would find that it would procure less of it for himself and less of it for his family than at home. He would find that work in America was more exacting and more intense, that the cost of labor per unit of production differed much less than per unit of time." Thus, after 30 years of prohibitive tariff we are brought face to face with those conditions from which it was thought America would be free for centuries.

If the four thousand millionaires, with an average of \$3,000,000 each, were taken with their wealth from our national existence, all fancied prosperity, even on paper, would banish from our thoughts. It would be found that we were even better off in 1860, as regards diffusion of wealth, and that our progress has been of the few and not of the nation. Decentralization, diffusion, distribution of people, education, wealth, and

power must then be the work of this and the next generation.

We have established a privileged class as free from taxation as were the nobles in France before the French Revolution.

Eight millionaires in Chicago are assessed for personal property at an aggregate of seventy-five thousand dollars. One woman in New York worth sixty million dollars pays no personalty tax whatever. With a system such as this, evading the property of those able to pay, and charging its duty on every woollen shirt worn by the poorest laborer, is it strange that we should be weighed down in our progress, and that wealth should be unequally distributed? The late Henry Grady called our protective laws "paternalism run mad." He said: "The merchant asks the government to control the arteries of trade, the manufacturer asks that his product be protected, the rich asks for an army and the unfortunate for help, this man for schools and that for subsidy. The centrifugal force of our system is weakened, the centripetal is increased and the revolving spheres are veering forward from their orbits."

Our labor needs no subsidy, our manufacturer is actually hampered by protection. He cannot produce under the paternal system to compete with the other countries who stand alone. He therefore is forced to contend with the very centralizing tendencies of which he is the cause, and often has to cease operations until the gorge of products has been slowly distributed. He desires protection to insure him a home market, and yet so inactive is that home market that it keeps him busy only half his time. It is not denied that we have varied advantages for manufacturing in this country. There is a wealth of minerals close at hand and natural conditions would cause a great and healthy activity in these interests. What these manufacturers need is an active home market and that is what they can never obtain under the present laws. If the government charges the consumers of manufactured products over three hundred million dollars yearly and by enactments in favor of a class prevents the distribution of the product of their industry, do they not become the less able to purchase those manufactured articles they desire and perhaps are even sorely in need of? England's pro-

tection was for its agricultural class. The corn laws were intended to stop the importation of wheat, and yet England's farming classes are better off since those restrictions were removed than before.

American protection is for its manufacturers, an infinitely smaller class proportionately, than were England's agriculturists, an interest, too, dependent solely on the prosperity and consequent consumption of other industries, and yet it persists in desiring this legislation which so clogs the avenues of distribution, by the weight it lays on other interests, that the demand for manufactured product ceases.

Prices would fall, it is true, under a non-protective tariff, but with every decline in nominal value the buying power of money would more than proportionately increase. That is wherein the manufacturer's argument is weak. He says we have cut wages to the lowest point; any further decrease would be ruinous to the workingman. Would not the latter prefer a condition in which his \$1.00 would buy more than his \$2.00 does now, if he had the further advantage of constant employment?

If a lower tariff would relieve us of this incubus of artificiality, would it not establish a stable economic basis not subject to change, and greatly increase the distribution of products and diffusion of wealth?

If American prosperity is built on sand, dependent on the props of a system to which no economy can agree; if, as the late Henry C. Carey said, "we would be better off if a sea of fire, instead of water, separated us from Europe," we cannot continue to look with pride on what we have accomplished. If we must be totally separated in commerce, as well as politically, from the rest of the world, in order to preserve the semblance of prosperity, I do not think our progress is lasting. Self-dependence and independence are synonymous. We cannot be independent unless we can sustain, against all competition, our commercial interests, unimpaired.

We boast of the progressiveness and superior inventive faculty of American genius, and of the greater energy of American life. We have a greater fertility of soil, a larger timber and

mineral belt, more navigable rivers, than any people on earth, living in a temperate climate. Are we not situated and fitted to be the creditor nation of the world, instead of England? Remove obstacles to distribution; then not only will seventeen eightieths of the people be relieved of a burden of taxation that retards all progress, but that other one eightieth will assume an importance and prosperity never before imagined. They will have not only a home market, healthy and active, but a foreign demand as well. Commercial and maritime vigor will once more cause our flag to float in every port. No longer will foreign bottoms carry 88 per cent of our exports and imports, but the American merchantmen will sweep the seas.

Active competition, self-sustaining manufactories, and rapid distribution of products, will lead to the economic diffusion of wealth desired; and in attaining that we arrive at the solution of the great questions of labor and population which now confront us.

GEORGE F. MILTON.

BIMETALLISM CONSIDERED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF NATIONAL INTERESTS.

BY GEN. A. J. WARNER.

IS IT necessary, or is it wise, viewed from the standpoint of national interests alone, for this country to rest the fate of bimetallism on the decision of other countries, or even to wait to see what other countries will do before acting for ourselves? The opinion widely prevails that it would be assuming a great burden, if not entering upon a hazardous experiment, for the United States to restore the bimetallic standard without the concurrence of European nations. Hence, gold monometallists have entrenched themselves behind international bimetallism as a safe retreat, and many sincere bimetallists have joined them so far as to found their advocacy of bimetallism on the condition that other leading nations shall join us. They are for bimetallism if other countries are for it, otherwise they are against it. They do not stop to consider whether all countries are affected alike by the single gold standard, or whether all are alike interested in the re-establishment of the bimetallic standard. But whether the interests of Great Britain and the United States are the same or otherwise, international bimetallists seem to agree that thirty million people in England should be permitted to say whether seventy million people in the United States should have bimetallism or not. This is as unreasonable as it would be to submit our industrial and commercial interests to the determination of Great Britain. Four years after the independence of the United States was acknowledged, John Adams wrote from London to Thomas Jefferson, that while he was ready to treat with England for fair dealing with reference to the trade and commerce of both countries, he was no longer willing to submit our commercial interests to British

domination. Is it not barely possible that the interests of the two countries differ so widely that it is no safer to submit the financial interests of the United States now to foreign dictation, than it was in 1786 to submit our industrial and commercial interest to the determination of foreign powers? Indeed, is it not a humiliating fact that for the past twenty years foreign interests have dictated all our financial operations, to their great advantage and our irretrievable loss?

How our interests differ, and whether the United States will gain or lose by independently restoring bimetallism, is the object of this discussion.

In the first place, there is an immense difference between the standing ground of England and that of the United States. England has an annual income from investments abroad of at least four or five hundred million dollars, while the United States has to pay annually to other countries, mostly to England, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty million dollars, as interest on loans, to say nothing of the carrying trade and other expenditures abroad. The constant appreciation of gold, therefore, as Gladstone intimated in his speech in Parliament, inures to their gain, and, he might have added, equally to the loss of their debtors. Here is a difference of millions to begin with. The people of England may suffer, it is true, but England, as a nation having a large income of gold, gains by the appreciation of gold, and will continue to gain till the point is reached where she will lose more by the bankruptcies of her debtors than she gains by the appreciation of gold. When that point has been reached England may join a bimetallic union, but hardly before.

Viewed in the light of broad statesmanship, who would gain and who would lose if the United States should independently restore free coinage of both gold and silver to the seventy million of her own people? This is the real question for us to consider, and the only question.

Let us then undertake to weigh the gain or loss, one against the other, and see where the advantage would lie.

Suppose, then, an act should pass restoring the law as it stood before 1873, under which the right existed for anybody to take

gold or silver to the mint and have it coined for his benefit. What would be the necessary effect of such an act on silver metal? Of course, immediately upon the passage of such an act, the price of silver bullion the world over would be the mint price, or coinage rate, in the United States, less the cost of bringing the bullion to our mints. Would this necessarily break the parity between gold and silver coins, or put gold to a premium and send it out of the country? Not at all; and certainly not until silver enough had been coined to take the place of gold, dollar for dollar. Gresham's law is a law of displacement and the five or six hundred millions of gold supposed to be in this country, so far as it performs in any way the function of money, can only be displaced by an equal volume of silver or other money. Otherwise we would not have our distributive share of the world's money, and under such conditions prices would fall and gold would be sent to us to buy commodities, instead of being drawn away. It is, however, admitted that if in time the coinage of silver, on the above conditions, provided us with a supply of money greater than necessary to meet the requirements of an increasing population, or greater than our distributive share of the world's money, it would tend to displace gold. But whether or not money supply, under free coinage of both gold and silver, would come to us faster than required for the development of a country like the United States, with increasing population and growing wealth, is perhaps a problem of too many elements to answer offhand. One thing, however, may be safely predicted, and that is that it would only be necessary to restrict the creation of inferior forms of currency and credit, to enable the United States alone to do what France was able to do for three quarters of a century. For these and other reasons, many of the ablest bimetallicists believe the United States has power enough in the commercial world to alone maintain the parity of the two metals under conditions of free coinage and bi-legal tender.

But let us assume for the moment that, in time, silver, under free coinage, would fill entirely the channels of trade so as to raise prices above the international level of prices and expel all

our gold. Even under these conditions who would gain and who would lose? Let us undertake to weigh gains against losses under these assumed conditions.

1. In the first place the five or six hundred millions of gold in leaving us would pay as many millions of debt—no small gain in itself. In this we would be repeating the historical experiment of the Clazomenians, who, finding that it took all they could make to pay interest on the debt they had created during a war, gathered up all the money in the island and with it paid the debt at once, giving at the same time to each citizen from whom money had been received, for use in their internal trade, token money to the same amount. The people found that they could make just as much with their new kind of money, at the same time saving for themselves the money they had previously been obliged to send out of the country as interest or tribute. What they had before paid as interest they saved as profits, and their gold gradually came back to them.

2. If the gold now forming part of the money of the United States were transferred to Europe, it would greatly swell the volume of money in the very countries where we sell most of our surplus products. The result would necessarily be a rise of prices in those markets. We would therefore get higher prices for what we sold abroad, and, as gold debts even, in the end, are paid mostly with products, it would take fewer products to pay our debts abroad. To illustrate this, suppose gold went to a premium of twenty per cent, and, as the consequence of a larger volume of money, both in the United States and Europe, wheat rose, as it undoubtedly would, to, say, eighty cents a bushel in silver instead of fifty cents in gold as now; then, in that case, it would take a bushel and a half of wheat to get a dollar and twenty cents in silver, or one dollar in gold. But now, with wheat worth but fifty cents to the farmer, it takes two bushels to equal a dollar in gold. Hence, under the new conditions it would take but a bushel and a half to pay a gold debt of a dollar whereas it now takes two bushels. So it would be with cotton and exports generally. It would take less labor, or less of the products of labor, to pay gold debts abroad than under

the single gold standard. Nor is this gain overbalanced by any counter-gains imaginable.

3. Such conditions would check imports from, and stimulate exports to, gold standard countries, as is now the case in all silver standard countries.

4. Silver is still the money of more than eight hundred million of the people of the world. The opening of the mints of the United States to the unrestricted coinage of silver would make New York and San Francisco the clearing house for all silver using countries ; and why should not the United States trade directly with South America, India, China, and Japan instead of going through the gold channel of British exchange ?

5. More than all other gains put together is the importance of securing a stable and equitable money standard for our own people in their internal trade ; one that shall not be subject to constant appreciation nor to fluctuations with every change in the money conditions of other countries. It is a thousand times more important to preserve stability and equity in the standard of value by which the daily transactions of all our people are conducted, debts created and discharged, than that we should have the same standard that England has.

There are many and strong reasons why such a country as ours should have a money standard that would not vary with the varying conditions of other countries. The Baring failure, for instance, affected the monetary condition of all Europe and the United States, and, by creating a sudden demand for gold, affected not only all business transactions but all obligations public and private in every gold standard country ; and this will be more and more the case as gold grows scarcer and is gathered more and more in masses where it can be controlled by few men. Will any one contend that such a monetary condition is necessary, or is best for this country ? Few of the people of the United States trade directly with the people of other countries. A thousand transactions are entered into by the citizens of the United States with one another, to one between citizens of the United States and citizens of other countries ; and it is therefore a thousand times more important that the money standard

for all our people should be stable and sure, than that it should conform to a certain rate of exchange with other countries. The rate of exchange, even with gold as the common standard for Europe and the United States, varies around the par of \$4.867 for the pound sterling, from \$4.887, the point at which gold leaves us, to \$4.838, the point at which gold comes to us. What great difference would it make in our trade with England should the rate of exchange vary around \$5.00 for a pound sterling, or any other exchange point? We had no difficulty during the war, and for fifteen years after the war, in carrying on trade without a common gold coin or a common basis of gold, and certainly the difficulties in the way of adjusting exchanges with other countries are insignificant compared with the importance of having for ourselves a stable and certain money standard, and one that is not subject to change at the caprice of other countries, or by changes in the money system of other nations.

This, however, is the one and only apparent disadvantage to offset the several gains above enumerated which would accrue to the United States through the adoption of the bimetallic standard. The gain would inure to the whole people, while the disadvantage would be felt only by those engaged in buying and selling abroad.

Is it not apparent to any one that the advantages outweigh a hundred times the single disadvantage of a possible variation in the exchange rates between the United States and England?

Let us then act for ourselves, for the seventy million people whose interests are in our keeping, and let other countries go with us or not as they may choose.

A. J. WARNER.

"IS PROTECTION IMMORAL?"

BY DANIEL STRANGE.

THIS is the caption which Prof. M. B. C. True gives his article in the February number of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*. In this article he claims quite stoutly that protection is not immoral, but, although he fills six pages, he advances no argument to sustain his position. He even says, "Protectionists never do ask, Is it right? That position is taken for granted. Their whole argument is based upon its righteousness. They do not need to argue that it is right, they have already settled that." When, how, where? Settled it for whom?

If any one should argue that it is right, it would be only on the ground that it is found to be expedient—and a very large majority of the people in this and in all civilized lands believe it to be inexpedient; and among this majority are found nearly all students of economic science, and among those teaching that protection is immoral may be found the moralists of this and other lands. Mr. True declares that his article was inspired by the fact that two eminent teachers, who have given their lives to the study of morals, have recently declared that protection is immoral and irreconcilable with religion. If, then, arguments can be advanced to establish the morality of protection, it was imperative that he produce them if possible. Instead of an argument, he merely gives one hypothetical illustration, which he perhaps believed had the force of an argument. To this illustration let us address our attention.

It is proper to premise that in the discussion whether protection is immoral, we allude only to the protection afforded by protective tariffs. This is the theme of Mr. True's article, although he seeks to confound it with protection in its broader sense. Protection of life and property against wanton destruc-

tion or misappropriation is, of course, the legitimate sphere of government. A few classical definitions may be properly stated here, and should ever be borne in mind. "Government is the united power of the people organized to secure to every one his own and to cause justice and security to reign." "Law is the individual right to self-defense organized to preserve the rights of all." "The object of the law is to prevent injustice. Law is common force organized for this purpose, and as the individual has the right to resort to force only in case of self-defense, so collective force cannot rationally be used for any other purpose." This is the proper touchstone by which to test all law. See whether the law takes from some persons that which belongs to them and gives to others what does not belong to them. See whether it performs for one citizen to the injury of others an act which this citizen cannot himself perform without committing a crime. The highest tribunal on earth, the United States Supreme Court, said, 20 Wall. 657: "To lay with one hand the power of government upon the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals, to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is *none the less a robbery* because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation." Nevertheless one who should be trustworthy defends this robbery as righteous, at the dawn of the twentieth century. During the Dark Ages highway robbery was defended as righteous by many, by the robbers themselves, of course. It was fitting that underlings should toil and produce, but they were the knights, the defenders, the warriors. It was theirs to swoop down upon the fledgelings and capture whatsoever they would. Modern robbery is more common and more refined. It is not done at the risk of life nor by the strength of arm, but by the power of will and intellect, at the cost of conscience and the price of deceit.

Prof. True says protection, in its broadest sense, "is the fundamental principle in all modern governments." Quite true. He illustrates by its guarding "real estate by lawful means," "personal property," and it will "punish assaults upon the person," etc. Then the professor adds: "A recognition of the right

and duty of the government to protect my dwelling from burglars, is but a logical step in the direction of protection," meaning thereby tariff protection. Cannot the learned professor discern the difference? In the one case the law protects me and 70,000,000 other Americans in our right to life, liberty, and property. In the other it protects us against what? Directly, simply, and absolutely this and nothing more, against buying goods too cheaply. It protects us against the foreigner who offers to sell to us more cheaply than some pampered monopolist is willing that we should buy. It fines us if we do thus purchase, not in this case for the sake of taxation, but solely for the purpose of compelling us to buy of the favored manufacturer at a price which he could not otherwise charge us. The professor sees no difference? The one law protects 70,000,000 in their rights. The other robs 70,000,000 of their right to property of their own production. All philosophers agree that if we have right to the property of our own production there follows the inherent right to dispose of it, to exchange it whenever, wherever, or for whatever other property the rightful owner may consent to give. A law that denies me this right, and compels 70,000,000 people each to pay a favored producer five dollars for a pair of shoes instead of four dollars, is unrighteous, unholy, irreligious, immoral, and robs 70,000,000 people of \$70,000,000 and bestows it upon favorites. It may be protection for them and they may pay for it, but how about the 70,000,000 people for whom Congress is supposed to legislate?

Mr. True's illustration is this:—"Assume that I am a shoe-maker . . . After I have made the shoes at a cost to me of five dollars . . . one comes and so affects the market that I can sell my shoes for but four dollars. Under whatever name you disguise the transaction, I am damaged to the extent of one fifth of my gross income." Let us analyze the hypothesis. Why price them at five dollars? Based upon, he says, "the cost of material and the accustomed rate of rents and wages." But the official returns of the United States census show that the manufacturers in this country charge and receive an average profit of 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent above the cost of material and wages;

while half of the people, the farmers, receive no profit or interest on their investment, their total product being worth less than living wages for the farmers employed. If these shoes, then, are charged at the usual profit they might well be sold for four dollars, as they will then yield a profit of about ten per cent. But we will accept Mr. True's suggestion. The price is based upon cost of material, rents, wages. Now rents are cheaper here than in Europe. Materials are also cheaper here unless, perchance, their price may also have been enhanced by the same protective (!) tariff. The element of wages remains to be considered. Parenthetically, shoes are cheaper here than elsewhere on earth, thus showing that labor is not dearer, and that shoes, like farm products, cannot be protected by customs duties. But other manufactured products to the amount of over \$5,000,000,000 are protected, and often by duties of over 150 per cent, which rates Mr. Burrows assures us are "necessary," which means, if it means anything, that we are now paying manufacturers two and one half times more for such articles than we would pay if they were not protected.

But this is Mr. True's hypothetical illustration, and we accept it, that shoes now cost five dollars which, except for protection, would be sold for four dollars, and for the moment we will admit that the higher price is due to higher wages in this country than in Europe. Now what causes the higher wages here? Benjamin Harrison said it is because of our "protective tariff discrimination." If so, let us see how it is brought about. The tariff acts directly in only one way; it prevents foreign goods from coming here, or if they come it greatly increases their price to the consumer, this in turn enables the American manufacturer to greatly advance the price of his goods. It can have no direct effect upon wages, but indirectly it may affect them in two ways. It may make goods so dear that normal wages cannot purchase the laborers' necessities, the starvation point is thus reached and an increase in wages is necessary; or the employer may be doing business from philanthropic motives and not upon business principles, and when protection has given him all the wealth he desires he may voluntarily pay his

laborers more than they can get in unprotected industries. I have never heard of a case of this latter kind, but even if it were the universal practice, protection cannot result in benefit to the laboring man unless the *addition to his wages* is greater than the addition to the *prices of the goods* he buys. This latter cannot occur unless the protection is all lost to the manufacturer and given to the laborer, and this *never* occurs. Philosophers are agreed that customs duties enhancing the price of goods can never possibly result in advantage to the laborer, who is a buyer of protected goods and a seller of unprotected labor. Mr. Harrison for once was wrong. Alexander Hamilton noted the same higher scale of wages in this country a hundred years ago and before we had a tariff, and said it was due to natural causes, to the comparative scarcity of laborers here and to the abundant reward which nature here ever offers for labor.

Imagine a land, if you will, where nature's award for labor is even greater than here. Let it be diamond diggings if you please, where wealth is reaped so rapidly that wages are \$10 per day. Can you imagine these people as banding themselves together and enacting laws to prevent goods coming there to be sold so cheaply, saying because wages are so high here we cannot afford to buy cheap goods? No. But we can imagine manufacturers establishing themselves there and asking for a protective tariff for a *brief* time, promising that when well established they will undersell the foreign goods and thus save the diamond diggers the expense of freighting their product and their purchases across the ocean. But can you imagine that after this infant has been protected 100 years, this Prof. True shall say to the miners, "Protection is righteous, for without this protection I am damaged to the extent of one fifth of my gross income, and except for this protection these manifold millions which I have amassed would have remained the property of you miners?"

Providence smiled upon this land of the United States as upon no other and designed it for the garden of the earth. It was the abundant return for agriculture that first made wages high here. In the last century there was but one millionaire in America and

he was a farmer. By what process has it come about that before the close of this nineteenth century a few hundred men claim more than half of the wealth of the entire country ; that while half of the people, in round numbers, are still upon farms, their total annual product is less than two and one half billion, while one third as many toilers, with but one fifth as much capital invested, produced a product of five and one third billion in 1880 and an estimated product of over seven billion now ? Here are the figures from the census of 1880. What but protection has made these prices possible ?

United States Census Figures of 1880.

Capital in manufactures.....	\$2,700,127,000
Cost of material.....	\$3,396,823,549
Value of product.....	\$5,369,579,191
Paid for wages.....	\$947,953,795
Men, women, and children employed.....	2,738,895
Average wages per annum.....	\$348
Annual profit on capital.....	36½ per cent.

Statistics of Agriculture, 1880.

Capital invested.....	\$12,104,081,440
Men employed.....	7,670,493
Value of product (sold, consumed, or on hand)...	\$2,213,402,564
Amount required to pay farmers average wages..	\$2,669,331,564
Total product was not sufficient by.....	\$455,929,000
to even pay these wages, allowing nothing whatever for profit or interest on the invest- ment.	

Have the farmers of America cheerfully made this donation of untold millions to manufacturers, or has it been wrung from them by legalized robbery which they ill understood and which they were led to tolerate by the deception of professors who ought to be reliable ?

Again, the high price of labor here was said by James G. Blaine to be due to "the greater efficiency of the American laborer and to his longer hours." He showed that the average week's work in English mills is fifty-six hours and in Massachusetts from sixty to sixty-nine hours. Mr. Evarts, when secretary of state, also made extensive research and comparisons, and declared that the average American operative does from one and a half to two and a half times as much per day as the English operative. They both conclude that while wages are higher here by the day or week than in Europe, if estimated by the piece or by their

product we have the *cheapest labor on earth*. There is no reason in ethics, logic, or statistics why Professor True's shoes should cost \$5.00 instead of \$4.00, or why we should pay our manufacturers \$7,000,000,000 for products they ought to sell for less than \$5,000,000,000.

What point is Professor True trying to make in quoting Speaker Crisp to say manufacturers *are* protected? We know they are. And that they produce ninety per cent of the goods consumed here? We know they do, ninety-three per cent, and lie idle more than one tenth of the time to diminish their product and advance prices. Hence there is no longer hope for a "home market." We can not add one to their numbers with profit; we have more of them now than will consent to be useful.

Joseph Medill, Republican editor of *The Chicago Tribune*, truthfully says: "Where, then, is the remedy for the fifty per cent tax on the necessities of life, both imported and domestic? The plundered, unprotected twenty-five million of geese-like farmers permit themselves to be plucked of almost every feather by a hundred thousand protected monopolists. The fabricants live focalized in the cities, and plot and scheme for their selfish interests, whereas the farmers are isolated and scattered, and cannot, or do not, combine in defense of their interests. Hence they are *unprotected*, unrepresented, and unconscious of *what keeps them poor*." Yes, protection is immoral.

No more fitting and truthful words can close this article than the words Prof. True placed at the end of his, "Protection seems to be a creation of a fervid imagination growing out of distorted views of political economy."

DANIEL STRANGE.

THE STUDY OF POLITICS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES.

BY PROF. JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.

IN ENTERING upon this subject a difficulty meets us at the threshold. It is the difficulty of definition. Politics in a broad sense is as wide as human life. It includes the study of the life of man in civil society. As such it touches, and becomes a part of, many of the great subjects in our colleges and schools. How shall we construct a definition which will distinguish politics as a separate study with a limited and definite field of its own?

In this paper I shall consider politics as the science which deals with the conduct of the state. It is, then, the study of man as a citizen in his relation to the state with which politics has to do. The nature and conditions of the state, its conduct and development, its institutions, man's civic rights, and civic duties and civic relations—these are the field of politics.

It is a wide field, and very rich,—fairly embarrassed by its weight of wealth. But the term politics is not to be considered so inclusive as it was when Aristotle wrote and became the founder and father of political science. It cannot include history, for history deals with many other things than the political life of man. It is distinct from political economy, for political economy has to do with phenomena which are of an economic or industrial nature. The state is more than an economic community, and no mere consideration of economic communities, in their expansion, their combination, or their growth, would bring us to the study of the state. Our science is also distinct from sociology, for the life of society is distinct from the life of the state. Politics, the science and art of government, the study of state life and its conduct, is distinct from all these sciences, and it is now being rapidly differentiated from them in the study of the schools.

We must, of course, recognize that politics is very closely related to these sciences,—to history, to statistics, to political economy, and to sociology. It is dependent upon them all, and the student of politics will recognize the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of constructing his science except by touching and including these. This close relationship is especially true of history. In venturing to speak of the study of politics in our colleges, we cannot escape the recognition of the fact that the greater part of political science has its basis in the study of history. The true student of politics will understand that the only firm foundation for his science rests on history. Theorists may dream of a coming Utopia, they may describe the New Atlantis and erect their ideal commonwealths, but the wise student will understand the great truth that serious politics cannot be constructed in the air by playing with imaginary men in no particular place, or country, or time. Whatever we may think of the relative merit of political history no one will be disposed to question the absolute right of historical politics. The historical and the empirical method must be combined, and the historical will always predominate. Certainly, to study politics, in any serious sense, is but to make a large use of history. There are some in considering the relation of these sciences who have been so bold as to adopt the reverse of this proposition, and to assert that all true teaching of history is but the teaching of *politics*; that one has no adequate conception of historical science who neglects to see that the paramount object of the historical teacher and writer is to trace the history of the state. I sympathize with this view. But in saying this I do not forget that an adequate definition of history must be of wider reach. "History is past politics and politics is present history." Prof. Freeman understood, when he said this, that history is not to be defined by maxims; and this famous utterance of his is not to be looked upon as a definition. History, it is true, embraces much more than past politics. Past religion, past literature, past art, science, and philosophy, all come within the range of the historic muse. Clio's domain is the record of man upon earth, of all that he has thought and said and done.

But with this concession to the broader but less specific conception of history, still it becomes us in speaking of the science of politics to recognize the new leadership in modern historical study, which would make the solution of questions in practical politics—the solution of problems of the state—the chief function of historical study. Prof. Freeman and Prof. Seeley are the prophets of this new historical science. According to Prof. Seeley the chief end of history in this life is to glorify the science of politics and enjoy it forever. With him *history is politics*; the true purpose in the study of one is to study the other.

Buckle and the school of the historical physiocrats have looked upon history chiefly from the physical side. By this view the important and decisive agencies in man's life were not governments and states, but rather the relations of man to the physical world. According to this philosophy the political world had been altogether too much exalted by our historians. Buckle, therefore, turned to man's physical condition, and from this basis looked into the comparative manners, customs, laws, religions, and education of peoples. The new school of history led by Prof. Seeley calls us back to the study of the state, its rise, its development, its organization. By this view, the modern historian works at the same task as Aristotle in his "Politics," Hobbes in his "Leviathan," Locke in his "Civil Government," and Montesquieu in his "Spirit of Laws." These great masters of politics were the true students of history. If the teacher attach himself to political history, if he place political phenomena to the front, analyzing and classifying these phenomena, he is then but engaged in the study of descriptive politics. The state is his theme. "History thus regarded," says Prof. Seeley, "may be defined as the biography of states. To study history so is to study politics at the same time. If history is not merely eloquent writing, but a serious scientific investigation, and then again consider that it is not mere anthropology or sociology, but a science of states, then the study of history is absolutely the study of politics."

We are very ready to come into harmony with this view, and

to admit that by far the greater part of the study of politics in our colleges is found in the application of this conception of history. Political history is the source of political science. Any consideration of this theme, therefore, must recognize that history so conceived and studied includes the essentials in the study of politics.

In my opinion, this is an ennobling view of history, and I venture to say that the noblest historians from Thucydides, the greatest master of the science, unto this day have consciously or unconsciously followed this conception of the science. To study the historic state is the chief function of the historian.

But may not politics have a separate field of its own? To study the rise and growth and fall of states, their constitutions, their institutions, their life in relation to men, is a task productive of the greatest use and worthy of the best and greatest minds. To this task come alike the student of politics and the student of history. The task of these inquirers will always be largely one and the same. It would indicate great temerity to attempt to exclude from the field of history this special political study while great masters of historical science are claiming it as the *summum bonum*, the very end of all, in that great field of knowledge. But politics as a separate science, while claiming to be but a superstructure resting upon the foundation of history, lays special claim to the biography of the state. It draws forth and separates to itself this valuable skein of history. If it be not allowed to claim this special part of history for its own, it may as well be acknowledged that politics as a study cannot be definitely separated from historical inquiry.

But should we leave to one side the realm of political history, the field of politics would become more definitely understood. It will then still include political philosophy embracing the historic theories of the state; it embraces the growth of political ideas, the science and principles of government, past and present; the theories, principles, and practices of constitutions; the political institutions, forms, functions, forces, and parties of the commonwealth—these great themes all come within the province of our study. But above all, since every science which

leads to life and profession must not only be a body of knowledge, but must have also a spirit within the body—it becomes part of this noble science to inculcate *life*—to inculcate and develop the political spirit of man. Man is a political animal only as he keeps renewed within him the political spirit. Mere knowledge may be but the dry bones in the wilderness. It is a part of the prophet—*i. e.*, the teacher and student—to call upon the winds to breathe upon these bones that they may live, to train the mind and develop the heart to enter into a conception of politics that is born of the spirit. No true physician relies for success in the healing art on his knowledge of the books; no minister expects to win souls by a dry theology; no musician or artist moves to life and admiration by the lifeless forms of his art—so he who comes to the study of politics comes to no purpose if he receives nothing but a knowledge of forms and definitions. To define governments and their forms, and to be able to describe the theory and practices of various states, is of small avail. The physician, the minister, the lawyer, the musician, all come to their profession not merely with formulæ of knowledge, but they come with life, that they may impart life. So it is the part of political science that all citizens, of whatever profession, may be touched with the political spirit, may be imbued with the life of the state. All Americans are politicians. Politics must be to them a part of their life. It is not of their lives a thing apart; it is their whole existence. What a day of ominous evil it will be to the republic when a nation claiming an unlimited right of self-government shall neglect to cultivate the political spirit and to educate itself in politics!

When we come to reflect on the political spirit of man and the wonderful part it has played in the history of the world, especially in the Anglo-Saxon state, it will be conceded that no part of man's being is more worthy of attention and cultivation. There is not in all the range of human endeavor a field whose proper cultivation is more essential to the temporal happiness of mankind. It is a field which the great Thomas Arnold has called the most important for the ripened human mind,—that one may become a factor in the greatest problem of human his-

tory, the problem of governing men. The material and national salvation of America to-day is dependent on our political spirit; upon the high political capacity and the fearless political virtue with which we come to the solution of the political problems that are pressing upon the state. This solution will depend very largely not only on the well-trained minds that our colleges and universities should furnish to the state, but also upon the direction in which those minds are turned and the spirit with which they are imbued. If the political spirit and ambition of Anglo-Saxon America should permanently decay; if the allurements and honors of life are to be found only in other fields of endeavor; if the private professions, if art, science, mere literature, or the marts of trade and the hope of wealth,—if these are to absorb the best trained men from our schools, and public education succumbs to the loss of public spirit, it were time that a modern Jeremiah arise to prophesy the impending doom.

To what nobler life, we may well ask, can our colleges point young men than a life of leadership in the affairs of state? He comes here into the company of the topmost minds of all ages, into the stream of the greatest influence in human history. It is said of Hegel, the German philosopher, that when he brought the manuscript of his great work to the publisher in Jena, on the day of the great battle in which Napoleon wrought the humiliation of Germany, he was surprised to find French soldiers in the streets; the great author and philosopher had been so wrapt and lost in his study and speculations as not to know that war was in progress and his country in danger.

It is a great, perhaps the highest, function of the state to produce and foster the scholar and the man who thinks. These are they who are to give birth to thoughts or who lay the foundation of enterprises which are destined to bless generations that are yet unborn. But, as has been suggested, that such may have time to think, that they may have time and opportunity to meditate and pause, to pause and meditate again, that they may have time to work out their creations and get them in order, they must be protected from turbulence and excitement and interfer-

ence, and left undisturbed by distractions and disorders. To that end, then, they must have spread over them as a canopy the *ægis* of beneficent institutions, of capable administration of righteous laws. This is the work of the statesman in the science and art of politics ; upon him all classes and degrees in the state depend, and they must be touched, if not imbued, with the political spirit, that marvelous and dominant spirit, deep, wide, and persistent, which has given such distinction to English and American history.

Hegel, the great thinker to whom we have referred, who was working away with his books without knowing what changes and ruin were being wrought to the institutions of his state, lived in a time of uneasiness and uncertainty for his fatherland. He might have waked up some fine morning to find his libraries carried to a foreign land, and himself and his contemporaries, and therefore his posterity, reduced to a disordered condition, such as could never have harbored or recognized a genius—the genius who, if he be not the product, has never in all the history of the world been produced beyond the pale and influence of political institutions. Hegel's was the age, too, of Goethe and of Schiller, those great names in German literature. Now, it is very true that no one can tell in what places or from what causes such genius is to be "provoked from the silent dust." In this regard, "the wind bloweth where it listeth," as Mr. Bryce says in speaking of the American democracy. But it is noticeable that these great master-minds in German literature followed hard after the constructive statesmanship of Frederick the Great, and they were upon the very stage of action while the greater Stein was laying the foundations in political structure for the unification of Germany.

Athens was pre-eminent in literature and art and science. Athens was also the home of Themistocles, of Thucydides, of Demosthenes and Aristotle, those great creative political minds whose names add such luster to human history. There is a relation between these two facts. "The pre-eminence of Athens in literature, philosophy, and art," says Prof. Freeman, "was simply the natural result of her pre-eminence in freedom

and good government. Yet the literary glory of Athens has been allowed to overshadow her political greatness." It is plain that the great historian would have us see that to Athens' political greatness her literary glory was chiefly due.

Not only is this true of modern Germany and of ancient Greece, it is also true of England. Sir James MacIntosh in speaking of *Magna Charta* says: "To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England upon the esteem of mankind. Her Bacons and Shakespeares, her Miltons and Newtons, with all the truth which they have revealed and all the generous virtue which they have inspired, are of inferior value when compared with the subjection of men and their rulers to the principles of justice, if, indeed, it be not true, that these mighty spirits could not have been formed except under equal laws, nor roused to full activity without the influence of that spirit (that is, the political spirit) which the Great Charter breathed over the hearts of our forefathers." The history of *Magna Charta* and its principle is but the history of Anglo-Saxon politics.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to describe in detail the extent to which this study is pursued in American colleges. That effort would require examinations and comparisons of curricula whose results could not be embodied in so brief a paper. It would, however, be an interesting task to attempt to set forth the change and advance which American colleges have made within the last twenty years in their appreciation of this field of study. When Jared Sparks was elected at Harvard, in 1839, to the McLean professorship in ancient and modern history, historical science was first recognized in America as worthy of a distinct professorial chair. This chair included universal history, politics, jurisprudence, and international law. The separation of political science in chairs distinct from departments of history is a matter of very recent years. In the great body of American colleges, though not in those of the first rank, politics, political economy, and sociology are still associated with and incidental to courses pursued in the departments of historical science. In most of our advanced institutions, also, politics as a

science is not distinctly separated from the study of history. Courses are offered with the opportunity, if not with the purpose, of pursuing the study of politics by the historical method. It would therefore be very difficult to measure the extent to which the American colleges of first rank are devoting themselves to the study of politics. The close connection of this subject with its related sciences makes this an immeasurable quantity. One thing, however, is evident: The growing recognition which political study is securing in our colleges and universities of the highest grade. The School of Political Science at Columbia, under Professors Burgess and Seligman, the School of History and Politics at the Johns Hopkins University, under Professor Herbert B. Adams, the increased courses in History and Political Science at Harvard and Cornell, the establishment of the new School of History and Political Science at the Wisconsin University under the direction of Professor R. T. Ely, these indicate, in a degree, the pressure which is coming upon our universities to supply a growing need. This need is to satisfy the interest which the students in American colleges are manifesting in social and political problems. This growth is also a recognition of the duty of the college to the state and of the value of politics to human life.

But is the growth in any way commensurate with the need? It is this question which I have wished in this paper to emphasize; and thus to emphasize the importance of the study of politics, and to call attention to the duty that our colleges owe to the commonwealth; to indicate, also, in some measure, if possible, the opportunity that exists for a vital usefulness worthy of our high calling.

What are our colleges doing to bring genius, talent, and sacrifice to the service of the state? The state—its problems and its needs, the extent to which its proper conduct can affect the happiness of mankind—to what extent do our colleges press these matters upon our youth as a fit field to engage their energies and their talents, as the work to which they should dedicate their lives?

To promote learning in order to propagate the gospel was the

chief purpose of John Harvard and his co-laborers. *Christo et Ecclesiæ*—for Christ and His church—this was the motto over the doors of the first American college. The act of Connecticut chartering Yale recites the desire of "several well-disposed persons, their sincere regard to and zeal for the upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant religion by a succession of learned and orthodox men; that youth through the blessing of God might be fitted for public employment in church and civil state." Yale thus, also, in the beginning put forward the purpose of fitting men for employment in the church incidentally combining with this the thought of service in the state—a theocratic state.

From the day of these early foundations until now, scores of American colleges have been pressing hard upon young men the duty of giving their lives to the special services of the church. Many an American college to-day in the judgment of its founders and administrators finds its highest reason for being in the training of its student membership for the propagation of religion. They suffer pains to impress upon young men the claims of the church to their talents, their self-sacrifice, the consecrated devotion of their lives. Their college presidents, their teachers, and authorities are constantly calling young men to holy orders. The ministry and the service of the church are represented in numberless ways as the highest calling to which a young man can devote his life. The whole influence, the spirit and *tendance* of the college are thrown toward the engagement of young men for service in the church. Thought and attention are given to the youth's education with this purpose in view, and schools are established for his special training and support.

I am not disposed in the least to disparage, or depreciate, this great purpose in education. Certainly, it cannot be said that too much care and effort are spent by our colleges in inducing young men and women to give their lives to some service; to leave off the fierce strife, the rivalry and contention for "success," and to give a life of energy and thought to the public service of their fellow-men. We need ten times more of this spirit in our colleges. I have merely called attention to the fact that almost

all the energy used for this influence and persuasion in our colleges is spent in one direction. It seems to be taken for granted that if a youth is not to devote his life to religion and the church, then the great burden of purpose in giving him college training is to enable him to enter the lists and contend for place in the private occupations of life.

As an influence in opposition to this secularization of education, we may all rejoice in the prosperity and strength of every worthy school of religion and theology, and I would have our colleges feed them by engaging the hearts of our young men for the high and holy calling of the ministry. True religion—involving spiritual life and moral obligation—is the only firm foundation for the life of the state. But the prosperity and spiritual life of the people are to be also, and perhaps equally, promoted by the agencies and conduct of the state itself. It is the power of the Christian statesman which wins and wields and saves a nation, and that power can never be known and exercised except by the inculcation of the political spirit. In founding and conducting colleges for the purpose of fitting young men for the service of religion, the political spirit is too much neglected and despised. Politics, one of the greatest agencies for the amelioration of the world, for the education of men, and the uplifting of the race,—politics is misunderstood, unappreciated, and decried, and the noble youth who is disposed to dedicate his life to the service of his fellow-men is directed to philanthropy, to a mission field, to organize charities, to a “university settlement,” or to the establishment of a peoples’ palace; and it seems that the revised Epistle of James is made to teach that “pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the widows and the fatherless in their affliction and to keep oneself unspotted from”—politics.

The purpose of our collegiate education has been, as we have indicated, besides urging men for the church, to fit them for the opportunities and occupations of private life. Wherein do our colleges press with urgency upon our youth the duty of special training for the state? With what zeal do they persuade young men to the study of political problems and to the devotion of

their talents to these as a fit purpose for their lives? Where is the opportunity provided for careful political training? Some young and struggling schools of political science have found shelter and encouragement with our college corporations in parts of our country. One or two of these have money, influence, and standing. But where are the institutions, if any, which make the training of young men for the state the burden of its life, the reason for its being? There is not a school of history and political science in the state of Indiana. Most of our educational institutions have established chairs of history, and in these, politics, sociology, and economics are taught, as time and opportunity allow. The State University has a separate department of economics and sociology. Its department of American history gives a year's course to the special study of comparative and American politics. But the organization of a school of history and political science to a common specific end for special training, corresponding in any sense to a school of theology, medicine, or law, has never been attempted within this state.

Of course we cannot have in America a political class; or, rather, all classes and occupations in America are political. All belong to the ruling class or to the politicians. This is the theory of our institutional life. But the difficulty is that this political spirit, which should imbue and control all occupations, is not sufficiently diffused and cultivated, and our colleges are not doing what we have a right to expect of them to this end.

"In Europe," says De Tocqueville, the masterly publicist of American democracy, "the principal object of education is to fit men for private life, but in the United States the end and aim of education is *politics*." Tocqueville spoke as a theorist, for it is not so in practice. He saw that it ought to be so, from the character of American institutions, and that it must be so if those institutions are to be perpetual. It was then, as it is now, far from being true that political education was properly emphasized or appreciated in our American schools. But Tocqueville doubtless perceived that by the theory of the republic, *politics* is or ought to be the ultimate end and aim of all

popular education in the United States—not the study of constitutions on paper, nor of books of political philosophy ; not party politics, nor the study of controversial political questions, nor politics as the art and science of carrying elections, nor yet politics as distinguished from private life—the making of good men and women in citizen communities—but politics as including these and the qualifications, the relations, and obligations of the citizen in the state. I speak of politics in a sense in which we may say that there is no private life in the republic, that every man is a public officer, a servant of the state. It may be that when Tocqueville spoke of politics as the end and aim of American education, he had in mind the education which the American people receive through their political life. This was then, and is now, a notable educational phenomenon. The education of the American people through politics, in the unbroken succession of questions which have pressed upon them for solution in the course of their history, has been one of the most remarkable and unmistakable examples of self-training in the history of the world.

Through this education, by hard experience, even by blind groping, the American people are still passing. We are to-day facing a situation of discontent. The army of discontent is organizing. It is organizing without trained and capable leadership, involving many elements and tendencies of danger to the state. Is there a greater apparent need in this situation than a high order of well-trained, devoted, and incorruptible political leadership? The best hope of that leadership is in the training of our American colleges.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR POVERTY?

BY E. M. BURCHARD.

THAT most interesting writer who signs the name of Ellen Battelle Dietrick has asked the above question and answered it; and had she only answered it correctly, she would have performed a most valuable service to humanity. It is of the utmost importance that this question should be answered truthfully, and loud enough to attract the attention of the interested parties. But it is the habit of this writer to state more things that are not true than is possible to most writers, and to do it in such a fascinating way as to deceive the careless reader—which is almost everybody. One cannot but regret that she is not a man; to speak the plain truth then would not seem so rude. She discourages those of us who look for the reformation of society through woman's public influence. But there is no sex in truth or facts, and our present concern is wholly with these. Her reasoning, such as it is, is comfortable and conclusive. The poor are responsible for their own poverty; therefore such of us as are not poor may dismiss concern for them, and attend to the chief end of existence, which is *not to become poor*. To the question which some of us hear propounded with not a little of solemnity, How fares it with thy poor brother? she replies, I am not my brother's keeper; he is now living around the corner and boarding himself.

Under the natural law which governs the social condition of men, each gets in proportion to his ability, and enjoys what he is able to get. If any are enjoying less than they desire, they have but to increase their ability. We cannot change the laws of nature.

Nothing is so difficult to meet with argument as assumption. Misstated facts can be corrected, false premises may be exposed, unreason pointed out; but there may be assumed in a

single sentence, conditions, which it is a laborious task to show do not exist. Of such nature is the assumption of this writer that, as a rule, the condition of men is an exponent of their effective abilities; that the possessors of wealth and power have earned their success, and that the poor have deserved their fate. That such an assumption is utterly without foundation is notorious. I may throw a bushel of corn into a box having a hole in the bottom just large enough for a single grain to pass, and assume, if I choose, that the grain which passes through will be the one best fitted to escape; and I may just as reasonably infer that of a crowd of men, the one on top is supremely fitted for, or deserving of, that position.

She asks, "Why is it that while rents for comfortable houses are next to nothing in thousands of villages throughout the United States, they are enormously high in squalid city tenements?" and her answer is this: "Unmistakably in the fact that the shiftless poor who crowd into the cities and clamor for house room practically bid against one another, and against all laborers, themselves forcing the rent up to the highest notch which they will promise to pay." This is a pitiful reason to give for one of the greatest economic movements of modern time—shiftlessness. How could those superior intellects who justly rule the world get their crowds of cheap laborers were they not conveniently massed in city slums? Looked at from the employer's point of view, it is clearly a providential arrangement. In the country village the house that chances to be empty commands no rent, because there is no employment in the neighborhood which will warrant the payment of any rent. The cities are manufacturing centers; all the expansiveness of industry is located in them. The cities alone afford any prospect of work to the unemployed class. A free rent would not be cheap to the laborer where there was no work. The poor work-seeker naturally gravitates to the city as affording some chance for employment. He is looking for work, not for cheap rents, and must go where work is. Want, in the wintry solitudes of the country, has peculiar horrors. There is one thing worse than cold and starvation, and that is to suffer these things alone

—cut off from human sympathy and the companionship of misery. If one must be without light and food and fire, it is something to be within sight of them. Humanity has become used to being buried ; it does not crawl off into the thickets and swamps, like the lower animals, in the hour of its supreme distress. There is nothing so disagreeable to truly respectable society as the sight of its victims ; it can hear about them quite comfortably. If the superfluous, miserable class would only take themselves off somewhere out of sight and die, they would make money by it. This would be a luxury which our well-to-do class would not mind paying well for if it were on the market.

Turning from the poverty of the slums to that of the farms and prairies, this gifted writer informs us that “were farmers better educated their difficulties would vanish.” What are the difficulties of the farmer ? To put it short, they are increasing burden of debt and growing deficit of revenue. The efficient cause of these difficulties is financial legislation producing an appreciating dollar and diminishing price of product. Money borrowed to be paid with wheat at a dollar and a half per bushel is now payable in wheat at fifty cents per bushel. A farm bought, stocked, and operated on the scale of a dollar and a half for wheat is now struggling under a fifty cent product. The little difficulty of the farmer is that he is, in some cases, called upon to pay his debt three times over, while he is getting but one third of what he should for his product—a mere trifling matter to one who knows nothing about it. This illustration drawn from the actual experience of one class of farmers is applicable to all. It is a rare bit of wisdom, this assertion that better education would cause these difficulties to vanish. In actual practice these difficulties have been found to press utterly regardless of the educational advantages enjoyed by the unlucky farmer.

The great object of this writer seems to be to locate the responsibility for poverty at the most distant point from respectable, comfortable society. It is first placed upon the poor themselves, but is soon shifted backward a whole generation. We are told : “When it is once seen that bad parentage is the

fountain from which flow pauperism, idleness, and crime, the source of evil is discovered." This has the advantage of being a kind of a sliding scale; if the source seems too close in the parents it can be shoved back upon the grandparents, and so gradually, step by step, back to Adam, when it will have a delightful remoteness besides being in a long familiar spot.

To mention all the brilliant errors of this one paper would take too long, and give an air of monotony; but we cannot pass the money question, where what this writer does not know becomes painfully conspicuous. We are told that, "A lesson of great value is learned when the people of a country thoroughly comprehend the nature and functions of money"; and it occurs to us that this also applies to those who write upon the subject. On the eve of a social revolution that the wisest foresee, the boldest dread, it is no time to minimize responsibility for public utterances. The well-intentioned ignorance of the saint when spread upon the printed page may be as much a power for ill as a lie backed with infernal malice; it may be even worse, for respectable parentage gives currency to the offspring of the mind.

The labors and researches of many able scholars have, in process of time, accumulated a mass of facts and deductions, which, collectively, constitute the science of money. Similar efforts and success have produced the kindred sciences of astronomy, geology, chemistry, and many others. None presume to teach astronomy, geology, or chemistry until, by previous study, they have acquainted themselves with the principles of the science, the knowledge of which they propose to impart. Why this is not also true of the monetary science has not yet been explained; but here it is only too common to derive the knowledge which is to be imparted, frequently it is true without pay, from one's inner consciousness rather than from the textbooks. It is well for the Rev. Jasper to declare that "the sun do move." We experience a sense of the fitness of things when from this dark-skinned orator is breathed upon his dusky auditors the well-preserved ignorance of the Dark Ages; but how should we feel if this kind of knowledge were spread upon the pages of this magazine for our edification?

Any plea in this case based upon differences of opinion is barred. It is upon the confines of science that expert views differ; the fundamentals are accepted by impartial minds everywhere. No intelligent person, for instance, believes that the world was made out of nothing in less than a week, and that the old fossils were put into the newly made rocks in order that man might fool himself with the science of geology. So also, the multiplication table is universally accepted as a succinct statement of facts; although it is probable that some petty traders, for purposes of gain, exhibit at convenient seasons an astonishing ignorance of some of its particulars. But tremendous financial interests are involved in the money question. If great wealth rewarded those who should establish the fact that twice two equals five in some special cases, there would be no lack of senatorial or editorial ability to advocate that cause. Many a man who would scorn to lie is capable of colossal ignorance for pay. For the creditor interest to officially acknowledge what are the indisputable facts of the monetary science, would be to plead guilty to robbery of an inconceivable amount of wealth; and it would require, what is much more dreaded, the abandonment of the iniquity, which is now in full operation.

To those unacquainted with mathematics it is easy to prove that seven times seven, instead of being forty-nine, is really seventy; and to demonstrate the fact from the superior jingle of the words. This is exactly the line of argument pursued upon the money question; to the multitude of the ignorant I would suggest that they get a primer and study it.

But to return to our more immediate guest, we are told, among other things, that "the bulk of modern business is done without handling money"; and the only legitimate inference from this statement is that money is no longer essential to doing business, or to doing the bulk of it at any rate. But if money is not handled, something else is. Men do not part with their valuables without handling something—and this *something* that takes the place of money is those orders for money, called checks and drafts. Now it is one of the axioms of the monetary science that "what does the money work is the money thing,"

be it codfish, pieces of iron, shells of ocean, slips of paper, or the wholly unsubstantial credit on account written in a book. Modern business is done largely with more or less imperfect substitutes for money, and that is what is the matter with business—the cause of its distress. No living thing thrives except upon proper food; shoe pegs look somewhat like oats, but they are no food for a horse. Money is the sole diet of that prodigious activity called *business*. Money is the unique creation of governments; cheap, home-made substitutes can never be made to take its place.

There is an essential difference between soldiers and militia. If a country were guarded only by militia, it would be technically true to say that she had no soldiers; but if the militia enjoyed the soldierly privilege of being drilled by their friends and shot by the enemy, they would become, to all intents and purposes, soldiers. And further, if we found a nation to be guarded mainly by militia, we should conclude that real soldiers were lacking. If it be true that the exchanges of modern commerce demanding money are performed by the transient levies of private checks and drafts, which proclaim their inferiority every time the debtor forces are attacked by the creditor enemy, by running away and hiding until the ravagers have retreated with the spoil, what better proof can we have that the quantity of regular money is lamentably deficient?

The greenbacker comes in for a full share of this writer's contempt, but *he* is only a person who perceives that these substitutes are really doing the work of money, and would, therefore, fit them to do it well. Instead of permitting each individual to establish a private credit with a banker and issue temporary money, it would be better to provide for permanent credits with the government and the issue of official paper. If not, why not? The money use is absolutely permanent; wherein lies the advantage of a fluctuating and uncertain supply? Private issues invariably and *necessarily* prove *worthless* in every time of stress; the very commonest kind of sense rejects such a dependence. Concern for the interests of the wreckers has hitherto prevented the removal of these rocks from the channels of com-

merce. Even the knowledge necessary to qualify one to be a greenbacker is yet comparatively rare.

"As a fourth valuable lesson," we have this: "The chief function of money is to serve as a measure of value, precisely as weights and measures serve as measures of quantity, . . . and that a dollar, to have value, must be made of valuable material." No two statements could have been framed more exactly opposed to all the principles of the monetary science—more than that, the assertion that money is a measure of value is absurd. Value is a human estimation, to be expressed, not measured. Money does not even facilitate the operation; it has absolutely no connection with it. Take one of numberless illustrations—the valuing of a horse, for example. An utterly impetunious horse jockey will form a more correct estimation of the value of a strange horse, based upon considerations of size, form, beauty, age, and speed, than a Vanderbilt with check book in pocket. And when the estimate is formed, it can be expressed in numberless other ways than in terms of money. The horse may be worth an acre of good wheat land, or a city lot; a hundred bushels of wheat or two hundred of corn; he may be worth two cows, a yoke of oxen, or fifty sheep; or if one choose to express it in money—one hundred and fifty dollars. There is absolutely no occasion for the presence or use of money unless a sale is made, when it becomes almost indispensable; and if the horse is sold the money is not taken as a measure of value, but as the *equivalent of the horse*.

All trade is an exchange of equivalents; money has become the universally accepted equivalent; this explains the stoppage of trade under an insufficient money supply; *it stops just as cutting ceases when one half the shears is lost*.

In regard to the other statement that dollars to have value must be made of valuable material, we all know from experience that it is not so, and common sense shows that it need not be so. As a rule, when we obtain the good of a thing by consuming it, as a bushel of wheat for instance, the value lies in the material substance; but the source of the value of other things is as various as are the things themselves. The value of

a cutting tool lies in the temper, the value of a race horse in his speed, the value of a watch in the accuracy of its movement, the value of a property in the rent that it will bring, the value of a deed in what it conveys, and the value of a money always and only in what can be procured for it. The exchangeable power of money is its only power; and this power constitutes its value, increasing or diminishing or perishing with it.

When a title deed, which we have incautiously purchased, proves to be worthless, we do not console ourselves with the reflection that we still possess the paper and the ink; money is never accepted from considerations of its material value any more than a deed; they are both instruments for transferring title to property, and are valued for their instrumental service.

A money made of paper, based upon nothing but the necessity to use money, may have any value given to it by manipulation of the quantity available for use; its actual value by the supreme test of purchasing power may be, dollar for dollar, double that of gold. There is no more question of the truth of this statement than of the proposition that two plus two equals four.

I must beg the reader's pardon for putting in evidence so many specimen bricks to justify the assertion that this writer possessed a large and complete assortment of—bricks of ignorance, which she persistently hurls at the heads of the passers-by.

Scant time is left to consider the really vital question of "Who is responsible for poverty?" Poverty is a condition—man's natural condition; and it consists in destitution of the familiar articles of wealth daily used and consumed in our households.

These articles are the products of human labor; and if all persons labored moderately, aided by modern tools, invention, and steam power, they would be exceedingly abundant. It has, however, always been the chief object of human endeavor to get somebody else to do *our* share of the work while we get *their* share of the wealth. This is the largest and most general source of poverty, for it prevents the creation of a vast amount of wealth, and deprives the actual producer of a large propor-

tion of his product ; and it cannot be denied that the truly respectable class in society is just the one which most successfully avoids productive labor, and accumulates the wealth produced by others. The writer, whose erratic course we have thus far followed, is a firm believer in nature if we may judge from the following : " Were competition really free . . . we should have the natural healthful play between social and industrial forces, which reigns elsewhere in the natural world, and should have the nearest possible approach to justice."

Civilization may be termed the science of the unnatural, since it imposes restraint upon every natural impulse and passion of man ; it embodies the sum total of human effort to do away with the fact of possession by strength alone. This absolute freedom of competition which prevails among the brute creation, it has ever been the endeavor of the better class to eliminate from society. If we should go back to nature's conditions, it is safe to say that there would be fewer people in the slums, and no man possessed of the native powers of a Gould would bequeath seventy stolen millions to his children.

The laws of society have dispossessed the laws of nature ; they absolutely control modern conditions, and determine responsibility. The responsibility for poverty, like that for wealth, rests upon society, upon that part of society which makes laws, and which is in the habit of dressing in its best on Sunday, going to church, and thanking God that it is not like some others, poor, ignorant, weak, degraded, and living in the slums.

There is no separating of power and responsibility, and those who exercise the one must bear the other. Not to place the responsibility for social conditions where it belongs, is treason to God and humanity.

E. M. BURCHARD.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

JUNE, 1894.

ECONOMIC COÖPERATION.

BY STOUGHTON COOLEY.

THERE is a desire on the part of all organizations seeking to better the condition of mankind to so arrange the forces in the production and distribution of wealth as to eliminate all useless waste. They seek to shut out from the enjoyment of society's store all those who have not contributed to that store, to lop off all the economic parasites which cling to the social organism, and let man work out his own destiny unhampered by this insuperable and unnecessary burden. As the economic relations of mankind consist in rendering services to each other, the various reforms advocated, and the colonies projected, have had for their object coöperation, or the rendering of service at cost. The organization sought may be of a voluntary nature as proposed by the anarchists, or of involuntary nature as advocated by the socialists, nationalists, communists, and other paternalists. But the end sought is coöperation, voluntary or involuntary.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that not only is mutual service a thing to be desired, but to prove that we now have coöperation—a coöperation in which each producer gets the full returns of his labor, and in which the exchange of goods or services between the producers is governed by a principle absolutely just and mathematically exact,—barring the element of monopoly. It will be shown that, eliminating the element of monopoly, there is the utmost freedom in production and ex-

change, and the obligations of man to man are adjusted by an agent which maintains perfect equity.

The search of the various reformers for their heart's desire is like many another in which the searchers do not know that which they seek. Realizing that there is something lacking in the present system of production and distribution of wealth, they set off at a tangent to find the missing element without stopping to inquire what it may be. They fail to fix in their minds by careful analysis the size, shape, and nature of the object of their search, but give it a name and start after it at a breakneck speed. This lack of careful analysis and disregard for the law of cause and effect is well illustrated in the demand of the Farmers' Alliance for free money, that is, money at cost. Without looking into the matter further than to cast up the sum of their mortgages and determine the amount of interest, they conclude that the government should go into the banking business and lend money at a lower rate than the bankers do. The mistake of the populist lies in his assumption that interest is paid for money. Money in and of itself is of no value, but it is a representative of value and is evidence in the hands of the holders that they are entitled to that amount of goods or service. It is the things of value for which interest is paid when money is borrowed. The farmer does not need money when he borrows it ; he wants tools, seeds, and supplies, and, as the local dealer in these things will not trust him to a sufficient amount, he must buy them on the credit of some one else, that is, he must find some one who will trust him to go his security. He appeals to a man who has more credit than he is using, that is, more money, and upon the exchange of satisfactory pledges, borrows, not the money, but the credit. True, he actually receives the money, but it is only to transfer it to the dealer in supplies. The capitalist, instead of going to the local dealer and assuring him that he will be responsible for the debts of the farmer up to a certain amount, lends him the money, which is turned over to the trader, who has no subsequent relations in the transaction. The final settlement must be made with the capitalist whom the farmer owes for the goods

just the same as though he had them directly of him. Had the farmer got the goods of the dealer on two or five years' time he would not expect the same prices as though he paid cash. The trouble, expense, and uncertainty would have to be compensated in some way, and the extra charge made for the long-time contract would be in the nature of interest, whether it was called so or not. And the interest so charged would be for the goods, not the money.

The farmer is willing to pay some interest, but he is opposed to what he terms monopoly interest; he is willing to pay the three or four per cent of New York, but he will not pay the ten per cent of Kansas. But why should interest be four per cent in New York when it is ten in Kansas? There is nothing to prevent the capital of New York from going to Kansas. And as the capitalists are keen-witted men, lending their money solely for profit, the fact that they do not go must be taken as evidence that there is some counteracting factor. It is found upon examination that the difference in risk and expense of looking after loans just about equals in the long run the difference in the rate of interest in the two localities. Were the government to go into the banking business none of the conditions outside of banking would be changed. The securities would remain the same, the same uncertainties would exist. The banks would be run by no better men, if as good. If a different rate of interest were charged to compensate for the difference in conditions, the government would be accused of partiality, just as would the postal department were it to charge the rural communities the actual cost of carrying their mails. If a general average were made, as is the case with the postal department, complaints might justly be made that this also was partiality. Not only would it be partial and unjust, but it would be futile as well. New York enjoys low interest and high rents; Kansas has high interest and low rents, and it is just as impossible to bring these two together as it is to make a body move in opposite directions at the same time. If interest were lower in Kansas, that is, if the capitalist charged less for guaranteeing the purchase, the Kansas lands, which find purchasers at the present rates, would

be in still greater demand. The increased demand would send prices up ; and the land values would continue to mount just in proportion as the rate of interest came down. So, too, if interest were raised in New York, the rents there would come down. It is understood that the term "rent" is used in its economic sense and means the price paid for the use of land or other natural monopoly.

It is quite evident that the difference in the rate of interest is due to the difference in risks and expense of caring for the loan. But is the whole rate too high ? Are we paying more than cost for capital ? Capital, like water, seeks its level ; it may invest itself with any form which it sees fit. If we have a number of forms of wealth production into each of which capital can enter at will, and if it is known that one of these industries is conducted at cost, and capital seeks it or remains in it, then it must follow that the others are also conducted at cost. For it is quite clear that if capital gets more in one than in another it will flow from that of less interest to that of greater interest.

Among the industries which are manifestly conducted at cost is that of farming on land having no rental value. There is no monopoly of this ; any one is free to go upon it and employ his labor and capital. If, then, a man enters upon free land and employs his own capital when he could as well hire that capital out to others, it is clear that upon the whole the returns to capital in the shape of money are no greater than to capital in the shape of farming implements and improvements. If farming is conducted at cost then money is loaned at cost. Indeed, the farmer is free at any time to leave his farm and lend his capital to another at the very rates of which he so vehemently complains.

Coöperation in the form of the mutual credit banks of Germany and the building associations in this country, which have proven to be so popular, illustrates another phase of the same principle. The cost of lending money in them is the same as that of the regular banks, the difference being that in the latter the labor is performed by paid clerks, while in the former it is

done by the members of the institution. In the mutual bank the borrower gets the money at four per cent, but he must give a certain amount of time and attention to the business, else some one will default and increase his interest; in the other case the borrower pays five per cent and has no further care of the bank. The one per cent difference represents the cost of looking after the business; in the one case, the borrower hires himself, and in the other he hires another. It may be said that the workmen can attend to the bank's business in the evening when they have nothing else to do. But the saddler could as well make a saddle in the evenings when he had nothing else to do. It cannot be said that the workman is getting cheap money any more than he can be said to be getting a cheap saddle. It would be immaterial to the saddler whether he borrowed money at four per cent, and spent a certain amount of time in looking after a bank, or borrowed it at five per cent and spent the same amount of time in making a saddle, which would be worth the extra one per cent. Indeed the probabilities are that he would make more by confining his whole attention to the saddle-making; just as the banker would get his saddles cheapest by giving his whole attention to banking instead of using his spare time in making saddles. It is unreasonable to suppose that men who have but a casual acquaintance with a given industry can carry on that industry as well as those who give their entire attention to it, hence to undertake what is commonly called coöperation is to put the race horse at the plow and the plow horse on the track.

A much favored form of mutual exchange of wealth is the coöperative store. But in establishing a coöperative store it is unreasonable to suppose that the directors will secure better managers and clerks than those who are now engaged in the business. Hence the mere keeping of the store will be no different than under present conditions. The real gain in coöperative store-keeping is due to the organization of the patrons. They form a society or organization which agrees to trade at one store; and they see to it that the members of the society are mutually responsible. This secures regular demand for goods,

and avoids all loss from bad bills. But suppose there were organization of the buyers without ownership of the store. The board of directors could go to the various private stores and secure special rates in consideration of the steady trade and sure pay. It is clear that under such conditions the enterprising trader would shade his prices to the very lowest possible point ; for if he did not some one else would. And if in doing this the tradesman should bankrupt himself, the society could transfer its custom to another. By owning its own store the society would be compelled to pay the expenses of the business ; and those expenses might be greater than necessary on account of inefficient management. But if it were free to trade with any store, it could select that one which was best managed, and that fact would be determined by competition among the stores. The best managed store would be able to give the lowest prices.

In the matter of transportation the same analysis holds good, the business is now carried on at cost,—barring the element of monopoly. The men who now run the railroads are certainly as able as any that the government could secure ; there is need of no interference other than to eliminate the peculiar property which is called special privilege. There has been practical demonstration of this in transportation lines from which the element of monopoly is absent, that of steamboats and shipping. During the early life of the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange, a number of them undertook to run steamboats on the Mississippi and tributaries to carry their produce to market. As the water ways are free to all who wish to use them, there was no reason why they should not save the enormous freights which the private boat owners charged. A number of boats were started, but their career was exceedingly brief. The men who succeeded in placing themselves at the head of affairs were usually the least able to direct them. Poor management soon drove the business to the other boats ; and the Grange competition ceased, after demonstrating that the private boats were the cheaper and better.

In the case of railroads, however, and all enterprises which

require a right of way, there is little competition, and this element of monopoly must be disposed of. The actual expense of operating the road is probably as small now as it could be under government control, but the stockholders reckon as part of their capital, and charge interest upon, the right of way,—something which of its very nature is the property of the people. Any one may enter the grocery business, farming, or any kind of manufacturing which is not controlled by patents, but to enter the railway business it is necessary to secure a franchise which will enable the holder to compel the people, who might otherwise oppose it, to acquiesce. And the building of new roads is too expensive to allow of competition. A few hundred dollars will build a boat which can run between St. Louis and Cairo, and destroy the profits of the best lines. But to build a railroad from Chicago to St. Louis requires millions of dollars. In the one case the competition or the fear of competition keeps rates within bounds ; in the other the rates are fixed at the will of the owners of the roads subject only to such arbitrary laws as assert the public nature of the property.

This analysis applies to all industries. Remove the element of monopoly and there is service at cost. Barring the element of monopoly, there is now existing an ideal system of coöperation. Wherever business is subject to competition it is now run by the men who are naturally fitted for it ; and it is run by the best of these, for the poorer ones are pushed to the wall, and compelled to give their attention to those things which are within their abilities. To correct the present evils, the individualists would overturn the whole present social and economic structure, and allow the members to associate as they see fit. No provision is made for the division or distribution of rent, or the equalizing of natural opportunities. No provision is made for the laying out of highways. If a stupid owner of a potato patch opposes the running of the road through his ground, it will have to go around ; and if the individualists on each side also object, it might be a very long road before it gets around. Were it not for the franchise, or power to condemn a right of way, it would not be possible to build a road across a county.

On the other hand the collectivists, such as the socialists, nationalists, communists, etc., would destroy the rights of the individual. Not only would society dispose of the wealth which is the joint creation of all, but it would also regulate that of the individual. To escape the present exploitation of labor by monopoly, socialism proposes to surrender every incentive to industry save that of altruistic emulation. It proposes not only to dispose of the common rights and wealth by a majority vote, but also the private rights and wealth. It proposes to establish through frail humanity a condition which could only exist among angels.

The communists would not only compel the individual to serve under the direction of the state, but to share his labor with that of his fellows: from all according to their ability, to all according to their needs. Under all of the collectivists' schemes the situation would be similar to that of the stockholders of the present corporations. The directors are elected by the stockholders with the expectation of securing tangible results in the shape of dividends. They may see many opportunities to enter upon enterprises which would ultimately enrich the road, but if they in the meantime curtail the profits, the indignant stockholders will elect a new board of directors who will bring in the profits. So under the socialistic state, a genius might have a scheme whereby the power of wealth production would be increased many fold, but its introduction would entail a falling off of production for a time. The board of supervision, under whatever name it might be known, conscious of the fact that a falling off in the production of wealth would cause an overthrow of the administration, would refuse to adopt it. Or it might be through some personal feeling the controlling members of the government would refuse to take up the new method. In either case there would be no recourse for the inventor. But under the present conditions and under those which would still better obtain were all monopolies abolished, the inventor can set his machine up and, by putting the goods on the market at a lower price than obtained before, compel the others to adopt it. Competitive methods are in many ways wasteful, but it is only

the waste incident to speed ; by the small waste seen there is accomplished the great saving which is not seen because it is a part of a great system, but which is nevertheless there. Complaint might be made that express trains are more destructive of human life than stage coaches were, but consider the speed and comfort they give.

What is the coöperation sought by all these different schools of economic philosophy? Coöperation means operation together, working together, working for mutual benefit. It means a condition of affairs in which each laborer shall get exactly what he produces, a condition in which no one shall take from the sum total of wealth without first having added to it an equal amount. The most perfect condition of coöperation conceivable is that in which man is free from the restraint of all other men, in which each has free access to the land whence all wealth must come, and can take the wealth he draws thence to a free market where he can exchange his surplus with that of others in like condition. Under such conditions every man will gravitate to the occupation for which he is best fitted, without the necessity of being assigned to this or that calling by a state board. And the exchange upon this market will be upon a basis of absolutely mutual service. A certain number of fish will exchange for a bushel of potatoes, not because a board of statisticians believes them to be equivalent, but because the actual producers find them to be so after repeated attempts on the part of both to get more for their goods.

This coöperation is not only better than that of any of the arbitrarily arranged systems of the various paternalistic schools, because it is in conformity with natural laws, and is therefore just, as well as expedient, but it is more easily accomplished than that of any of the others. Since we now have coöperation with the elimination of monopoly, all that is necessary to do is to secure the repeal of the laws upholding it. Monopoly in the economic sense means the control of some interest or industry by one person, or a number acting as one ; it means the control of some industry from which other men are barred by statutory laws, arbitrary laws which give to them immunity from the

natural law of competition, hence conferring upon them special privileges.

The thing necessary to be done then to set society upon a proper foundation is to abolish the monopolies and special privileges. One of these and the one which seems to be the nearest at hand is the tariff, which gives to some individuals the right to manufacture certain goods for this country. That is, the tariff prevents foreign goods from coming to the country, and the home producers enter into an agreement to prevent any one else from starting a factory here. In order that we may have goods at cost we must have freedom of exchange. With free exchange competition will force the returns to capital to the lowest point at which it will consent to maintain itself. For as capital is always seeking the place of greatest interest, it will flow into any industry in which the returns are greater than in any other industry. The tariff, both revenue and protective, should be entirely abolished.

Another monopoly which must be destroyed is that of transportation wherever it is carried on by special enactment. Wherever the carrying business requires a right of way, it should be so controlled as to prevent its managers from charging more than enough to cover the cost, that is, return the prevailing rates of interest in the free market. More than that, the transportation companies are not entitled to ; less, they will not take. Either the road beds must be owned by the people as the streets are, and the companies allowed to run cars upon them, or the whole business must be taken into the hands of the government. The latter method seems preferable, though the former may answer. One of these or something equivalent must be adopted to maintain transportation at cost. Not only must transportation be maintained at cost, but it must be conducted impartially. One citizen must have the same use of a railroad as another, just as all citizens have the same use of the streets.

Of the same nature are the telegraph, the gas and water service in cities, and all those things which, like the railroads, require special grants in order to exist. A hundred companies can deliver ice in the streets in wagons, but only one or two can

deliver water through the streets in pipes. In the first place competition obtains and the service is on the whole performed at cost; in the second the charges are entirely subject to the caprice of the owner of the franchise. Attempts to regulate the charges of these franchise holders have proved and must prove unavailing. And the business is so simple and compact that the best results will be obtained when the municipalities operate the gas, water, and street car plants.

There are many smaller monopolies which need attention, and others will appear as society develops and takes more complicated forms. But the greatest of all monopolies is that of the private appropriation of rent. It has been well described as the robber who takes all that is left.

It needs no argument to prove the right of man to the use of the earth. The mere statement of the fact that all men have a right to life, and that none can live without access to the land, is sufficient to establish the truth of this proposition. Anyone who denies it is beyond the reach of reason. But while the abstract right of man to the use of the earth is admitted by all thinking men, there is a wide difference of opinion as to how that right shall be established.

If, as has already been seen, it is necessary that all producers should have equal right to the use of the highway, whether that highway be a common road, street, or a railway, in order that coöperation may obtain, of how much more importance is it that the producers should have equal rights to the use of the earth. But in securing the right to the use of the earth care must be taken that private rights are also conserved. Unless permanency of possession is granted, the reaper will not sow, if the product be divided according to the peoples' needs instead of their deeds, industry will be discouraged, thrift and painstaking rebuked.

Land varies in natural productiveness and in advantages which come of the growth of population, that is, the same amount of labor on one piece will produce forty bushels of corn, on another thirty-five, another thirty, another twenty-five, another twenty; or if it be a water power one may produce

twenty bolts of cloth, others twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five, and forty ; or if it be business property in the city, the different lots may enable the merchant who occupies them to sell twenty, twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five, or forty pairs of shoes. This variation is due to causes which lie outside of man's power and influence as an individual, and it is as much the right of one as another. What is necessary then to secure equal rights and at the same time maintain private possession is to divide equally among them all the excess over and above what can be produced upon the least productive land in use. That is to say, if each of the five farmers has an equal right to the use of the forty bushel land, and only one of them can occupy it, the man who is given possession is required to share with the others all it produces over and above what the same labor can produce on the least productive land in use. So with a man on the thirty-five bushel land, the thirty, twenty-five, and twenty. Equal rights would be maintained if this surplus from the different pieces of land were divided among the five men ; but whereas this would be an easy matter with a few men, it would become more and more difficult as the number was increased. It is better to devote it to a common use which must be supplied under any circumstances. Thus as the farmers gather their corn, they might place in a common granary the surplus from their respective fields, and when they had occasion to make or mend a highway they could feed their horses from the common granary. As the road is common property and a common necessity, it is proper that it be maintained by the common wealth. Under such a condition each man will have exactly the same right and opportunity as every other man. Whether he be of great or small productive capacity, whether he labor hard and faithfully or not, he will be conscious of the fact that he is getting all he produces.

It is only necessary to extend this to all society to secure the universal right of men to the use of the earth. By requiring each to put in the common granary for the use of the common highways, and other public functions, all that his particular holding will produce over and above what the least productive

land in use will produce, the land monopoly will be absolutely destroyed. And when this last and greatest of monopolies is destroyed there will be perfect coöperation. Each producer will have an equal right in the use of the land ; he will have free use of the roads to the common markets, where he can exchange products with men equally free. There will be no arbitrary restraints of individual action to maintain the equality of the great and small ; there will be no cumbersome machinery to regulate the private affairs of life, no elaborate statistics to determine how much of this or that article shall be produced, or how it shall be divided. Each producer will have the full product of his labor and he will be free to do with it as he pleases.

This plan for securing complete and perfect coöperation, it is submitted, is in conformity with natural law and the natural development of the human race. It will secure every advantage at which socialists, anarchists, and communists aim, and it will interfere with no man's individual rights. By giving to each exactly what he earns, thrift and painstaking will be encouraged ; by abolishing all forms of monopoly each producer will realize that the more his neighbor creates the cheaper the goods will be, and the more he himself creates the more he can command in exchange.

It might be possible for cunning workmen to construct an appliance which would render the breathing of tight-laced women easier, but the same result could be better secured by cutting the stays and allowing the lungs free action. It might be possible by means of supports to enable Chinese women to walk better than they now do ; but better results could be obtained by allowing their feet to develop as nature intended. So it might be possible by means of socialism, communism, or nationalism, to arrange society upon an artificial basis which would secure better results than are at present obtained ; but the better way is to cut the stays, remove the molds, and allow society to develop as natural law dictates.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

DEFENSE OF THE "GODLESS SCHOOLS" OF THE STATE.

BY W. W. QUATERMASS.

"God give us men. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands ;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinions and a will ;
Men who have honor, men who will not lie ;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking ;
Tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog,
In public duty and in private thinking.
For while the rabble, with their thumbworn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo ! Freedom weeps.
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps."

THERE never before was a time when these words of Dr. Holland were so fittingly appropriate as at the present. The times do need men who, with truth upon their lips, yet with grace within their hearts, will stand up manfully in the defense of one of the most cherished of American institutions.

Not long ago the president of a denominational college under the control of the Congregational Church, during the course of a sermon, referred to the common schools as "godless." The president of another denominational college under the control of the Methodists has, within a year, announced that "wise parents" will send their children to denominational schools only. Within this same year, a bishop of the Catholic Church has issued a pastoral in which he asserts that the "common school" is the "first fruit" of the "pernicious doctrines" of the French Revolution, and in which he commands Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools. Like criticisms from other sources might be cited, but the above are sufficient to

illustrate the feelings of many persons. Coming, as these criticisms do, from such diverse quarters, and from men holding such eminent positions, it is sufficient to make us pause in order that we may once more get our bearings upon the great question of the proper education for the youth of America.

Right here let it be distinctly understood that no objection can be, or is, made to the right of the persons above referred to, or of any other person, to criticise the public schools. That one is more or less directly interested in maintaining denominational schools does not render him incompetent as a critic of the state schools, though it properly may lessen the weight of his criticism. As citizens, presidents of denominational colleges and bishops of churches have the inalienable right to censure any institutions of the state, the common school system among them. Moreover, if they consider the common schools a "social plague," as one divine says that he does, it is not only their right, but their duty, to denounce them. There is nothing sacred, nothing divine, about the public schools. They are not fetiches to be worshiped, nor idols before which to bow down. If they are a source of corruption and immorality, they ought to be condemned by every right-thinking citizen, and no mawkish sentimentalism ought to intervene to save them from destruction. On the other hand, if the public schools conduce to the morality of the people, if they conserve the peace and prosperity of the community, if they are necessary to the preservation of the nation, then it is the duty of every citizen to rally to their support.

Let it further be distinctly understood that no unworthy motives are imputed to anyone simply for the reason that he opposes the common schools. That the opponents of the public schools are in error, I firmly believe. That they are in error from corrupt motives, I do not believe. Indeed I am not inclined to believe that any such opponent acts from any other than the highest motives. Grant that the supporters of denominational schools are in their purposes above reproach; grant further that such schools are morally pure, then if it can be shown that the common schools educate their pupils in a broader

morality than the church schools do or can, the superiority of the state over the church schools will be conclusively demonstrated. I am not attacking the persons that support and believe in the denominational system of schools, but I am questioning the wisdom of that system. Nor am I upholding those who believe in the common schools, but I am upholding and defending these schools.

While the right of criticism upon the public schools is freely conceded, I must and do insist upon the right to reply to such criticism. Too often have clerical gentlemen especially denounced the state schools, and then, with the evident purpose of shielding themselves from counter-attack, they have pleaded that their criticisms were purely of a religious nature, and concerned alone the denomination to which the words were directly addressed. Oh, Religion, Religion, Religion! what casuistry is committed in thy name! If the public schools are denounced as "godless," are not the people entitled to know what is meant by the epithet? If it is alleged that "wise parents" will send their children to denominational schools only, have not the unwise parents a right to know in what respect they lack wisdom? When the common schools are condemned as the "first fruits" of the "pernicious doctrines" of the French Revolution, is it any answer to say that the condemnation is purely a religious one, and affects Catholics only? Happily the right of sanctuary is denied in these later days to offenders against civil institutions. Happily that day has come when the laity may, without fear and without reproach, refute the arguments of the clergy. And what have the clergy to fear other than being convinced of the errors of their ways? The protection of the Constitution and the laws is theirs as well as others. Moreover

"The battle flags are furled
In the parliament of man
The federation of the world."

Surely the epithets, "mischievous," "baneful," "vicious," "immoral," "irreligious" and "godless," as applied to the common schools, are not so purely religious in their nature as to preclude a reply by a layman. Surely it must be of interest to

the state whether or not such epithets are hurled at one of its institutions. In so far as they tend to destroy the common school system, they are political and not religious in their effect.

Besides, is it a matter of indifference to the state whether each and all denominations establish parochial schools or not? Is any one so blind that he cannot see that if every denomination were to establish schools of its own, it would be the death of the common school system? A Catholic, whose writings bear the endorsement of Cardinal Newman and the imprimatur of Cardinal Gibbons says on this point: * "And Catholics will continue building schools on their own grounds; until, like the many deserted sectarian temples which are legally acquired by inpouring children of the church, the future state school buildings, left empty by Catholics deserting them and non-Catholics becoming practically disgusted with the unrepblican and unchristian system, shall also be lawfully acquired and occupied by denominational schools." Yet we are told that the proposition to sweep entirely out of existence an institution of the state is purely a religious one! Is it possible that anyone cannot see that this is a political and not a religious question? Is it possible that this momentous change is to be made without a protest being raised? It is preposterous to suppose that the public voice is to be stilled, that the public press is to be stifled while the present system of schools is being transformed into the denominational system. If the change must come, let it come only after a full, free, fair, and open discussion upon the merits and demerits of the respective systems.

But what are "godless" schools? I reply in the language of Mr. Justice Orton, in the famous Wisconsin Bible case: "They are called by those who wish to have not only religion, but their own religion taught therein, 'godless schools.' They are godless, and the educational department of the government is godless, in the same sense that the executive, legislative, and administrative departments are 'godless.' In this sense only are they godless. Now I am aware that many people think it necessary to have the name of God continually upon their lips.

* "Christian Schools," by Thomas J. Jenkins.

Daily and even hourly God is thanked, not only for blessings enjoyed, but miseries suffered. The expression of an intent to do an act on the morrow is always qualified by the phrase, God willing." It was a good old minister who, meeting a former parishioner for the first time in years, and being asked as to his wife's health, replied with tears in his eyes and a sob in his voice, "She's dead, thank the Lord." Now I do not object to this practice, but I do wish to enter an emphatic protest against the idea that a man is godless if he has not constantly upon his lips the name of the Almighty. "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven." There may be a silent doing of the will of the Father, as well as a vocal one. "The heavens declare the glory of God," but no man ever heard the morning stars when they sang together. "The music of the spheres" was never heard by mortal ears. In silent grandeur, the stars sweep in their majesty by. Earth, too, is silent in her most reverent moods :

"That delicate forest flower,
With scented breath, and look so like a smile,
Seems as it issues from the shapeless mould,
An emanation of the indwelling Life,
A visible token of the upholding Love,
That are the soul of this wide universe."

So though the name of God is not, and may not be, spoken in the public schools, that fact does not necessarily furnish any reason for applying the epithet, "godless" to them.

In the same way and for the same reason the common schools are not "irreligious" as they are often said to be. I quote again from the same writer whose work received the approval of Cardinals Newman and Gibbons : * "During the day, in all their classes and instruction, the pupils are not taught that there is really one true God in three divine persons, creator of heaven and earth, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the bad ; that the second divine person became man and died for our salvation upon the cross." I freely admit that the doctrine of the Trinity, the catechism, the Westminster Confession, the

* Christian Schools.

Thirty-nine Articles are not and can not be taught in the public schools. Neither is anything said against them, or either of them, in the schools. So far as religion is concerned, the truth of its doctrines is neither affirmed nor denied. This may make the schools "nonreligious," but not "irreligious."

I do not understand that anyone advocates the support of denominational schools by the state for the sake of religion, for that would be a union of church and state entirely contrary to the genius of our institutions. The contention is that morality can not be properly taught, except upon a religious basis; and as the state is concerned in having good moral citizens, it ought to be willing to support such schools. It is further contended that as the common schools cannot teach religion they cannot give their pupils proper moral training, and therefore the state should abolish the present system of schools.

The issue is now plain. The question has incidentally to do with religion, but it is not a religious question. It is purely a political one. It is the state that has to answer the question whether the common schools as now organized or the denominational schools as proposed are better fitted to train the youth of the land in morals. It is for the state, not the church, to say which system is better adapted to teach its future citizens.

"To clutch the golden keys.
To mould a mighty state's decrees."

To be completely educated one must be trained in hand, head, and heart. Moral development is as essential as physical or mental. Now it has been claimed that the denominational schools are the equal of the common schools in the training of the physical and mental faculties, and if superiority exists in one system over the other, it must be found in those schools that can better educate the moral nature of the child. This may be admitted. But it is begging the very question at issue to assume, as some do, that as the denominational schools may and do, and as the common schools do not and cannot, teach religion, the former give a better moral education than do the latter. This summary closing of the argument will not be allowed for a moment.

The worth of creeds and the value of religious training are not denied. One fact, however, must be kept constantly in mind, and that is, that no creed, no religion, has the support of the majority of the people. In the United States the Catholic faith has more adherents than any other one, and yet in numbers Catholics scarcely form a respectable minority of the people of the land. The Catholic faith may be the true faith. I neither affirm nor deny its truth. But if it be the true faith, it is no less a fact that a large majority of the people do not so regard it. The same is true even to a greater extent of the Methodist, Baptist, or any other Protestant faith. The very nature of a religious creed seems to preclude its universal acceptance. To formulate a creed upon which all may unite seems impossible. Why this is so, it is not necessary to explain. No offense is intended when it is asserted that the most liberal creed is illiberal, the most latitudinous is narrow. It may be that the way to the heavenly city is too narrow to have a broad-gauged creed. I do not know, and care less, what the reason may be. I wish simply to impress upon each one that such is the fact, for it is an important one in the moral training of the young.

In striking contrast with the divergence of views as to creeds, is the unanimity with which people agree upon the great laws of the moral code. Truth is as well loved upon the banks of the Ganges as upon the shores of "the great unsalted seas"; in the cottages of the poor as well as in the palaces of the rich; in the plain meeting-house of the Puritan as in St. Peter's at Rome. The people of all climes, of all conditions, of all races, and of all creeds revere it. Even the liar admires truth—in the other fellow. In the same way every person believes in temperance. The sticklers for particular creeds object to Bible reading in the public schools, yet no saloon-keeper was ever heard protesting against the teaching of the evils of intemperance therein. Mark well the agreement in opinion upon the essentials of the moral code with the diversity of views as to religion; for this agreement upon the one hand and this diversity upon the other are the great factors that are to determine the question at issue.

What then is the influence that denominational schools have upon the moral nature of a child? Let it be remembered that every person considers his own creed, his own religion, as the only true faith. He may readily admit that the creed of another contains many commendable things in it, but in some way or in some place he discovers flaws in it. Steele is said once to have told the pope that the only difference between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, in respect to the certainty that each had of the truth of its own doctrines, is that the former church is infallible, and that the latter is never in the wrong.

Thinking that another's creed is erroneous, it is but a short step to the belief that he who lives up to such creed must be in error in his actions. A Jew and a Gentile may have a perfect agreement upon an abstract principle of right, yet, holding different views on the great questions of the hereafter, each may well think that the other is not living up to the principles that govern right conduct among men. The Christian missionaries bring back pitiful tales of Hindoo immorality, yet a Buddhist priest visiting this country is astonished to find so much immorality among Christians. Protestants are always ready with statistics to prove that Catholics are more immoral than are they themselves, and then by argument to prove such greater immorality to have come from Catholic faith and worship. The fact is that the supposed errors in the creeds have had little to do with the lapses of men from virtue. Therefore the wholesale denunciation of the adherents of one creed by the adherents of another on account of alleged errors is generally baseless.

What is true of adults is much more true of children. A child's loyalty often leads him to think a positive fault in a parent to be a virtue, and a positive virtue in another to be a fault. So put a child in a church school where the very atmosphere is resonant with the affirmation that this is the only true church, this the only true creed, this the only true faith, this the only true religion, and without a word being said against any other church, creed, faith, or religion, he imbibes the idea that since those of other faiths are in error as to what they be-

lieve, they must, in consequence, be in error as to what they do ; in other words they are immoral.

This is as true of one faith as of another. But if each denomination is to have its separate schools, because each considers its own faith as the only true one, and all other beliefs as false, and if each church insists that the children belonging to it attend its schools only, then we shall have a community split up into warring sects, and morality, no matter by what church taught, will prove to be a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. Besides Lutheran and Catholic schools we shall have Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian schools, and schools under the control of each and every other denomination. Baptists will be drawn closer to Baptists, Catholics to Catholics, and Presbyterians to Presbyterians. To a Methodist, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," will mean a Methodist neighbor only ; and to a Lutheran it will mean a Lutheran neighbor only. "For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?" If the time ever comes when the present system must give place to the denominational system, my impression is that the admonition of the Savior, "Love thine enemies," will need constant inculcation.

It has been asserted, however, that it is essential in moral training to teach the precepts of religion and morality. On the other hand, it is contended that simply filling a child with moral and religious precepts appeals to his scientific instincts only, and has little effect in developing his moral nature. It may be imagined that his Satanic Majesty is most learned in the code of morals, and, so far as knowledge goes, would make a most successful professor of ethics in the highest denominational college of the land. Yet it will scarcely be claimed that because he has a profound knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, that he would be a proper person for such position. What is needed is a school that will so train a child that he will do the right and do not the wrong. The question is whether a child can be so trained in any school in which religion is not taught.

In the words of another, I contend that "Moral education can be effected only in three ways, which I may briefly express

in three terms: example, humanity and discipline." As to discipline all recognize its value in moral training. But in this respect one system of schools has no inherent advantage over the other. A particular school in either system may or may not be bad as to discipline. The same is true as to example. All recognize the example that the teacher sets in the inculcation of morals. There is necessarily no advantage of one school over the other. Yet in passing let me stop for a moment to pay tribute to the teachers in the public schools of America. Making no pretensions to greater purity than others possess, still where will be found a more disinterested, a more upright, a more virtuous class of citizens than are they? They live constantly in the public eye, they are continually under criticism; they are repeatedly weighed in the balance, but never yet have they been found wanting. No call to sacrifice has ever been made to which they have failed to respond, no high duty has been left by them unfulfilled. I challenge anyone to point out any other body of persons in the entire community that has done more to conduce to the peace, prosperity, and good order of the people than have the teachers in the common schools.

Think not in praising the teachers in the public schools that I am throwing doubt upon the purity and virtue of the teachers of the denominational schools. I question not for a moment the high motive of those who for conscience's sake seek to teach the children of their respective denominations the tenets of their religion. I may doubt the wisdom of such teaching, but not the purpose of it. I have little patience with those persons that, without a *scintilla* of evidence that would stand in a court of law, impute to entire classes of people lives of corruption and immorality. I am not complaining of any person or set of persons. My indictment is against a system of schools, not against those who uphold it. I sincerely wish that lives that are so pure as are those of persons that teach in the denominational schools could have a wider and more extended influence. For though their lives be as pure as

"The famed snow
That's bolted by the northern blasts twice o'er,"

yet because of their environment they fail where the teachers of the public schools succeed.

But more powerful than example or discipline, more potent than the precepts of ethics and religion in the moral development of the child, is humanity. And by that I mean that training that shall cause a person in the intercourse with his fellow-men to forget, to obliterate, to blot out social, political, and creed lines. A Catholic divine, whose writings I have already quoted, objects to the common schools, because Catholic children would have as associates not only Protestant children, but "children of all sorts, sects, and opinions, or no opinions—Jews, Gentiles, heathens, of the low and degraded classes of society." Rather than considering this an evil, I deem it the highest virtue of the common schools that within them the children of all conditions, of all classes, of all creeds, may meet on an equal footing. There is no other place except the common schools, there is no other time except in youth, where all may meet to such advantage. As the years of manhood approach, each to a greater or less extent must take up his separate burden of life and walk his way alone. If we are ever to learn how the other half lives, how the other half thinks, how the other half feels, the children of the rich must mingle with the children of the poor, the children of Protestants with those of Catholics, the children of Jews with those of Gentiles, and thus mingling and commingling they will learn to know, to respect, and to love each other. The storms of passion and prejudice in after years may burst above their heads, but the ties that grew in strength in the light of those sunny days of youth cannot be burst asunder.

I have already spoken of the probable effect upon morality, if each denomination should establish schools of its own. The subject demands further attention. It is the complaint of Catholics especially that Protestants misunderstand and misconstrue their motives. That the motives of Catholics are misconstrued is no doubt true. But let me ask my Catholic friends, who are at fault in the matter? Are Catholics entirely blameless for this state of affairs? Grant that their purposes are

above reproach, but when their clergy denounce the public schools as immoral, irreligious, and godless, and command the laity to send their children to the church schools, is it any wonder that people distrust them when they assert that they are not opposed to the public schools? Is it any wonder that people distrust them when they say that in supporting parochial schools they do "not love Caesar less, but Rome more"? Every parochial school of each and every denomination is a silent protest against the public schools. But the inquiry must reach deeper than this. How, I pray, are Protestants, Jews, Gentiles, and heathens to know and appreciate the good qualities of Catholics, if from childhood Catholics refuse to associate with others? I reiterate that there is no other place than the public schools where the misconstructions, the misinterpretations, the misconceptions, that divide the community into hostile parties can be done away with. I contend that no other place offers, as do the common schools, such advantages for the inculcation of the broad morality of the brotherhood of man. If beyond this, instruction in the precepts of religion is considered essential, let that be done in the family, the Sunday school, and the church.

But while I do not approve of denominational schools, I am not in favor, as some are, of their abolition by the power of the state. I am opposed on general principles to the indiscriminate regulation of affairs by legislative acts. Where the evil is not only positive but direct, then legislative condemnation may properly be invoked. But where the evil is negative and indirect, or where it is a mere matter of policy, it is rarely, if ever, wise to seek suppression by legislation. Now, no one can successfully claim that the parochial schools are positively and directly evil. They are infinitely better than no schools at all. My only claim is that they do not and cannot train their pupils in the broad morality that the common schools can and do.

There is another matter in the training of the youth of the land that appeals to the heart rather than the head, and that is the training in patriotism. I hesitate somewhat in speaking of this, for the reason that there is so much of the spurious article abounding that it is difficult to determine which is false and

which is genuine. It is remarkable what vast numbers of patriots we have these days. Each one is singing "America" at the top of his voice and with the full strength of his lungs. Our A. P. A. friends close their meetings with the grand anthem, and our Catholic friends do likewise. Yet running through the entire piece is a discordant note. The soul of harmony has fled.

I suppose that if the Methodist Church were to establish denominational schools, it would not do so from unpatriotic motives. Its motives no doubt would be to preserve the Methodist faith. It would be the same with all other churches. The Catholic Church has plainly spoken on that question. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore says: "Whence it shall come to pass that the people of the parish will prize and cherish their school, next to their church, as the preserver of faith and good morals and the fruitful mother of children, who shall be a joy and consolation to all." Preservation of faith is the cornerstone of every denominational school.

On the other hand, the state establishes schools for definite purposes of its own. In the common schools the state seeks its own welfare and its own preservation. It seeks the peace and prosperity of the entire commonwealth. Were this not true, the state would not have the right to tax one man to help educate the children of another. It is for the benefit of all that the love of country shall be fostered in the breasts of all. "When I am dead," said Queen Mary, "When I am dead, and my body is opened, ye shall find Calais written upon my heart." So let there be written upon the heart of each child in the nation, "My country! 'tis of thee." Happy then will that day be when all the children of this broad land shall join hands one with another, and keeping step to the music of the union,

"Those opened eyes,
Which like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in th' intestine shock,
Shall now, in mutual well beseeching ranks,
March all one way."

W. W. QUATERMASS.

AUSTRALIA AND THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

BY T. CASTELLE HOPKINS.

FACING the rolling waters of the Pacific Ocean are three great English-speaking communities which events of a recent date threaten to bring into marked and important rivalry. Hitherto, San Francisco, upon the shores of America, and Sydney, upon the shores of the Australian continent, have interchanged products to a large and profitable degree, and have helped to maintain, by steamship facilities and personal intercourse, that friendliness which always has prevailed, and probably always will prevail, between the United States and the Australian colonies. By this trade and passenger traffic the City of the Golden Gate has benefited largely, while the line of steamers running between that city and the Australasian ports has possessed a pleasant and profitable monopoly.

But these relations, though so long subsisting, are, of course, subject to change, and movements now transpiring in the northern part of the continent, and in Australia, seem to indicate a readjustment of present conditions. It is announced that early in June next a conference is to be held in Canada, probably at Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion, for the purpose of bringing together the statesmen of the antipodes and of Canada in consultation as to the best means of increasing intercourse and travel, promoting trade and transportation, and developing cable and steamship facilities. The proposed meeting and the impetus now being given to closer relations between these two wings of the British Empire are the result of a series of events, each leading imperceptibly in the direction now so clearly comprehended by the peoples concerned.

When the various provinces of British America formed themselves into a confederation in 1867, it was not thought for a moment that their action would prove an example and source of

inspiration at a future period to kindred communities in the almost unknown regions of far-away Australia. That great island-continent was merely looked upon as the home of struggling, surging masses of miners, whose search for gold lent fame to the territory, but whose stability as settlers was more than problematical. In 1880, when Canada commenced in earnest the construction of its continental highway—the Canadian Pacific Railway—Australia was becoming better known and its people were regarded as an important commercial community, as well as the trustees of vast hidden wealth in gold and other minerals. But though the new railway was expected to prove a most valuable chain in the link of British intercommunication and a vital imperial factor in the carriage of troops and armament to the east, it was hardly considered as being more than a possible aid in a dimly distant future to the development of trade and commerce with Australia.

Its construction, however, soon produced the usual effect upon towns and cities along the route and in its vicinity. Winnipeg from a village, grew into a city of 30,000 people, and where nothing but forest and the spectacle of a primeval waste of waters had existed in 1886, there rose upon the Pacific coast, fronted by a magnificent harbor, the substantial city of Vancouver, with its 17,000 souls. A little later and the Canadian Pacific Company, aided by a Dominion subsidy, started the line of steamers to China and Japan, and began to compete with American railways and steamships for the eastern trade in teas, silks, and similar commodities.

Still San Francisco remained and is to-day the great American seaport and chief railway center west of the Rocky Mountains. Behind it were the teeming millions of the American republic, and in front rolled the waters of an ocean which brought constant tribute in the form of vessels with costly cargoes from the far East, to lay before the people of the great West. It had received since 1848 the principal part of the precious metals, amounting to over \$2,000,000,000, which had been produced by the mines of California and Nevada. All the wealth of the Comstock Lode, from 1871 to 1877, had been poured into its lap,

and the city was further enriched by the presence and residence of the owners of many great mines and properties. It possessed one fifth of the population, one third of the wealth, and most of the banking capital of the coast, while the railway and transportation interests of the golden state centered in the midst of it. Millionaires abounded and manufacturers were numerous and wealthy. But of late, the fall in the value of silver and the decrease in the production of gold threaten the most vital interests of its citizens, while the present depression and recent banking troubles leave them in a position which renders even a slight contraction in trade or restriction of external markets decidedly unpleasant. Hence the importance to San Francisco, as well as to California and the United States, of the new movement in Canada and Australia.

The present phase of the question has developed suddenly. The simultaneous growth of the Dominion and Australia, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the natural tendency of that powerful corporation to reach out further, laid the foundations for something of the kind. But the result has been hastened by the incidental effect of the American tariff policy in shutting out Canadian products, and therefore forcing the Dominion to look abroad for markets and commercial allies. During the last two years its trade with Great Britain has jumped up fourteen million; attempts have been made to establish reciprocal relations with Brazil and the West Indies, France and Spain; and very lately Australia has come to the front as a possibly important factor in the extension of Canadian commerce and influence. The recognition of this idea and the effort to put it into practical operation came from the formation during the past summer of a Canadian-Australasian Steamship Company, by Messrs. Huddart & Co., of Sydney, N. S. W., and their success in placing a line of first-class steamers upon the route between Vancouver, B. C., and the capital of New South Wales.

Some years previously the Canadian Parliament had voted a subsidy of \$125,000 per annum for the establishment of such a line, but unsuccessfully, until local events in Australia induced

the mother colony there to follow the Dominion's example, and offer an additional subsidy of \$50,000 which other colonies promised to increase. While internal trade and production were booming and the bubble of prosperity founded upon borrowed money was unbroken, the people of Australia were indisposed to move in such a comparatively small matter as the development of trade with Canada. But last year the hurricane of financial disaster overtook them, and the several governments are now only too glad to do everything possible in the promotion of close trade relations wherever a profitable opening presents itself. And then the dense ignorance concerning Canada has lately been somewhat corrected. Formerly British America was supposed to be a vast, inhospitable region, with great lakes and rivers, pine forests and snow-clad mountains, where winter reigned the greater part of the year, and the people had a hard, though healthy, struggle for existence. And its public sentiment and policy were thought to be gradually drawing it into the arms of the neighboring republic.

The two peoples were indeed somewhat equal in their lack of knowledge of each other's requirements and aspirations, and for some time Canadians cherished the idea that Australians were more or less disloyal to British connection, and ready at some opportune moment to "cut the painter." But beginning some half dozen years ago, events gradually dispelled erroneous beliefs in both countries, and opened the way politically to relations for which material development on either side of the ocean had been apparently laying a basis. The Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886 revealed Canadian resources to the Australians, and *vice versa*; the Colonial Conference in London during the succeeding year showed something of the respective national tendencies; the Federation Conference held in Melbourne during 1891 brought the Constitution of Canada, as well as that of the United States into the full light of public discussion and private study; while the lecturing tours of Mr. G. R. Parkin, Rev. Principal Grant, and Rev. D. V. Lucas, of Canada, opened up as many avenues of useful and unknown information as the still more recent visits of Australian statesmen to the Dominion

may be expected to offer the people of their respective colonies.

Early in 1893, Sir George Dibbs, premier of New South Wales, passed through Canada on his way home from England, and seems to have been profoundly impressed with what he saw and heard. A little later the Hon. Edmund Barton, Q. C., the attorney-general of the same colony, who has lately resigned his post, also crossed the Dominion, and last fall James Huddart and F. W. Ward, promoters of the new steamship line, lectured in the leading Canadian cities. The result was not only a successful organization of the Trans-Pacific Steamship Company, but the acceptance of an informal invitation from Sydney by the Dominion government, and the dispatch of one of its ablest and best known members, the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, minister of trade and commerce, on a special mission to all the Australian colonies. From this he has lately returned with the arrangements for a conference in his pocket, and the promise of certain immediate visits from prominent Australian statesmen.

With Mr. Bowell, though not in an official capacity, went Mr. Sandford Fleming, C. M. G., at one time chief engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and a Canadian representative at the Colonial Conference in London some years ago. His mission was the obtaining of support for a long cherished and important scheme—the laying of a cable between Canada and Australia. To him and many others it seemed that the trade between the two countries might be promoted by steamship lines and tariff arrangements, but it could never be brought to any complete or even pronounced development, without direct cable communication. And certainly the British Empire can never depend upon its present system in times of war and trouble, running as it does from northern Australia to Java—a Dutch possession—across the Isthmus of Suez, where it could be easily destroyed, through Egypt, the immemorial battle-field of nations, and through the Red Sea, swarming with possibly hostile cruisers. Such arguments have had their effect, and even the two governments which had already subsidized a French company's cable to New Caledonia with a view to extension across the Pacific, stated their willingness to help a purely British enterprise.

Upon the whole Mr. Fleming has been successful, and we may expect therefore that the coming conference will deal in a practical manner with cable communication as well as with lower tariff rates between the colonies, and increased facilities to the already excellent steamship line. Indeed the special mission, upon which the Hon. Robert Reid, Minister of Defense in Victoria, Australia, is now visiting London and Ottawa, is admittedly for the purpose of discussing the proposed cable, and urging a better system of imperial defense. Sir Thomas McLlwraith, a member of the Queensland University, and three times premier of that colony, has just received a most enthusiastic welcome in Canada, and declares himself "heartily in favor of the construction of a Pacific cable under entirely British control." How these various proposals and arrangements will affect American and Canadian trade is an important question, even though the conference should adjourn without decisive results. Some considerable change is bound to take place in existing conditions, if for no other reason than that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company appears to be strongly backing the new steamship line. Mr. Huddart, in an interview given to a Newcastle, England, paper on October 2d, plainly declared :

"I concluded an agreement which I have called 'a defensive and exclusive agreement' with the Canadian Pacific Railroad for ten years. Mr. Van Horn, the president, struck the keynote by saying that they had been desirous of establishing a line of steamships between British Columbia and Australasia for a long time, and now that it was established they could not afford to see the Canadian-Australasian Company fail if it were within the power of the Canadian Pacific Railroad to prevent it. The moment Mr. Van Horn said that I felt that we could conquer the world."

Making due allowance for a promoter's enthusiasm, there is probably much truth in this estimate of the situation. And when it is known how anxious the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is to strengthen and complete its lines of communication by a fast steamship system between Nova Scotia and England, there is little need of further proof as to its interest

in the Pacific enterprise. What success means to Vancouver may be estimated from the position that town has already attained as the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the port of the China and Japan steamship line. Its connection with three important American railroads has also been an important factor and will probably prove a still more vital influence in the future. What it means to Seattle, Tacoma, and San Francisco may be better understood by a consideration of the trade now done between the republic and the Australias, and the possibilities of expansion which undoubtedly exist.

Nineteen million dollars was the sum total of the commerce transacted in 1892 between Australasia and the United States, while that between Canada and the Pacific colonies was considerably less than one million dollars in value. But that is no criterion for the future under the changed conditions now imminent. The following table shows how American trade grew up and expanded as steamship facilities and mutual growth in population and prosperity prepared the way :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>United States imports from Australasia.</i>	<i>United States exports to Australasia.</i>
1860.....	\$ 130,000	\$ 4,070,000
1870.....	280,000	2,830,000
1880.....	2,292,000	4,690,000
1890.....	4,280,000	11,170,000
1891.....	6,240,000	12,890,000
1892.....	8,490,000	11,250,000

It will be observed that the United States had so far had the best of the interchange. The colonies have imported far more American products than they have exported of home products, while the total trade has grown from four to nearly twenty million. Meantime, the Canadian exports to Australasia have amounted to only \$26,000 in 1871, to \$147,000 in 1881, and to \$588,000 in 1891; while the imports were valued at \$143,000 in 1881 and \$169,000 ten years later. Yet directly opposite to Vancouver and Canada, as well as to San Francisco and the republic, is a population which may, in spite of recent and present financial troubles, be justly called one of the richest in the world. Two great cities—Melbourne, with its 490,000 people, and Sydney, with its 383,000 of a population—stand inviting commerce from the shores of America. So far, the United

States only has responded, and in doing so has undoubtedly reaped a profitable harvest of trade.

Whatever the result to cities upon the Pacific coast of Canada or the States in this new development of competition, nothing but benefit can come to the Queen City of Australia. The great wharves of Sydney, though already lined with steamers and sailing vessels to an extent only exceeded by fine seaports in Great Britain, will probably have an addition to the tonnage entered and departing. The magnificent harbor, recognized as one of the finest in the world, will have a few more steamers taking refuge within its protecting arms. Its people, now in control of the major part of the commerce of New South Wales, which amounts to over \$250,000,000 annually, will have a little more to handle, and, besides having swift cable intercourse with America, will have their mails carried to Europe by a shorter and quicker route than that via San Francisco. In this connection it should be remembered that the Australian colonies and Great Britain have small reason for continuing their mail subsidies to the San Francisco steamship lines.

The present system started in 1869 and was made a regular service in 1875, but, as a Memorial of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce pointed out not long ago, "For twenty-two years the cost of the mail service from America to Australia has been met by the colonies almost exclusively, and in view of the early termination of the existing contract the line will almost to a certainty be abandoned unless the United States pays its fair share." As nothing was done on the American side in response to this accurate presentation of the case, the service would, as anticipated, have probably fallen through if New South Wales had not contributed \$20,000 for a one year extension. It is therefore understood that when this arrangement expires the Canadian-Australasian line will be given the contract to carry the British mails, with the usual provision that their vessels be made easily convertible into cruisers in time of need, and for that purpose be placed under the jurisdiction of the British admiralty. With subsidies from Canada and the Australian colonies for keeping the line in operation ;

with other subsidies for carrying the mails; with the subventions usual in such cases from the British admiralty; with the large passenger traffic which follows upon the carrying of the mails, the new company may be considered as having a pretty fair start, even without the closer intercolonial trade arrangements which are contemplated.

But even in the promotion of trade, a substantial beginning has been made between Vancouver, Honolulu, and Sydney. The situation is pretty well indicated by an editorial statement in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, of July, 1893: "Everything considered, the opening prospects of this new outlet of trade are sufficiently promising and when the committees at the Canadian and Australian ends of the service come to know each other's wants and have time to look around and see to what extent they can supply each other's requirements, will, from present indications, develop considerable proportions."

This statement, from one of the most influential and best informed of Australian papers, hits the nail on the head. The United States has seen a similar educative process work up a trade of twenty million, and as the products which Canada has to send are very similar to those supplied by the republic, there seems every probability that the expectations indulged in may be realized. As an illustration, it may be pointed out that in 1890 the export of lumber to Australia from this continent was 300,000,000 feet, of which British Columbia only sent 15,000,000 feet, although its lumber is said by Australians to be better for their purposes than that of the Puget Sound district. The value of this timber export from the States amounts to some \$4,000,000 annually—and of this trade, Canada is likely to capture a large portion. Kerosene oil is also a considerable export, and it is not improbable that the Dominion will find a market for some portion of the \$1,500,000 now taken from the republic. Machinery goes to Australia from the States to the extent of \$1,250,000, and as Canadian manufactures in that line are excellent, a vigorous attempt will no doubt be made to get a place in the newly opened market.

Agricultural implements, pianos, organs, furniture, and car-

riages are lines of industry in which Canada claims special excellence and in which an opening has already been made in Australia, even without the aid of direct steamship facilities. The Massey-Harris Company, for instance, has a large and growing trade with the colonies in implements of all kinds, and it will lack greatly in its usual enterprise if present arrangements and proposals are not made to immensely strengthen its foothold at the antipodes. Fish which now goes from the republic to the value of half a million is such a specialty of Canada that it only requires mention in order to indicate a serious competitor with American export. Salmon in particular from the Fraser river in British Columbia is sure to become a favorite article of diet in Australia when once fairly known and placed upon the market. On its very first trip, the Warrimoo, from Vancouver, took a hundred tons of manufactured goods from the Canadian east, together with five hundred tons of fish, and cut, dried, and manufactured lumber. Upon a second steamer manufactured articles from Toronto, Ontario, were taken, and distributed in Australia within five weeks. Mr. Huddart during his Canadian tour expressed, as was perhaps to have been expected, the most glowing faith in the future development of this trade and the success of his line. At a meeting of the Toronto Board of Trade he made the following significant statement:

"The Australians are anxious to buy from you and I see no reason why the Dominion should not displace the United States in many lines of articles. In our shipments and dealings Canadian goods will have the preference when the price is the same."

Of course the controllers of the San Francisco line will give a similar encouragement to American goods and there will be much cutting of rates, but it is claimed that the Canadian route is the shortest, and that the two steamers now traversing it are each a thousand tons bigger and are considerable swifter than any of the opposing line. Meantime, those who are supporting this trans-oceanic policy in Canada are by no means one-sided in their views. If they expected to do nothing but export

products to Australia it would have been little use asking those colonies to coöperate, to attend a conference, or to vote subsidies. It is in fact believed that the Dominion can and will import largely of the southern and tropical fruits of Australia. Naturally such a trade must be mainly in lines now obtained from California and the Southern States. There are many other kinds of product which might be imported, especially if the proposed preferential duty were to prevail, and American articles be excluded in favor of Canadian or Australian, as the case might be. Canada, for instance, uses imported wool to the value of \$2,000,000 annually, most of which now comes from Australia via London and New York. She requires hides to an almost equal extent, leather and manufactures of leather, fruits and nuts, fancy goods and drugs, amounting to a total of about nine million. And a considerable quantity of woollen clothing is imported, besides sugar and syrups to a large amount.

Of course, much of this trade is a matter of theory. It may work out or it may not. Wool might be carried profitably to all concerned by the new steamers, and if so, will largely supersede the present indirect import via London. But it is still questionable whether the long railway journey from Vancouver to the eastern centers will not be a greater expense than the saving from commissions and the heavy profits of intermediaries in London and elsewhere. And there is not as yet a great deal of woollen manufacturing done in Australia, though when the time comes for local federation and a protective tariff against the world, there probably will be. For fresh and canned meats, however, brought across the Pacific in the "frozen chambers" of the steamers and in the perfect condition which has lately proved possible, there should be an extensive market in Canada. Here again, the competition will affect trade with the States, especially Chicago. Fruits of various kinds may be largely consumed, and experimental shipments indicate that many species can be brought over in a condition to compete with Honolulu and other nearer ports. Pineapples, oranges, and the now popular "passion fruit" may be specified, while Tasmanian apples—despite the "coals to Newcastle" sound of the state-

ment—should find a considerable sale in months of the year during which Canadian apples are scarce and dear.

The hardwoods, peculiar to Australia and especially valuable for ornamental purposes, should find a demand both in Canada and the States, while some of the native woods, such as the turpentine tree and iron bark, will be found invaluable for use in places subject to dampness or under water. Gums and arrow-root may be also imported, and potatoes in the same way as apples. Queensland expects to send large quantities of raw sugar; New South Wales would like to supply tobacco; and all the colonies hope to furnish wine—so that there really seems to be room for the working up of a profitable interchange. The seasons being so exactly reversed renders this development easier than in the United States, where a portion of the country has products and climate more or less tropical in their nature.

There is another important consideration. The success of shipments so far attempted and the appeal made recently by Hon. Mr. Bowell to the provisional government of the Hawaiian Islands, asking its aid in the development of trade with Canada, indicate that a determined effort may be made in that direction also. Indeed, Mr. Huddart announced in England, last October, that “from the very first it was discovered that by touching at Honolulu we had opened an entirely new market, not only to the people of British Columbia and Canada, but to the people of Washington Territory.” In this latter connection it must be remembered that the new line connects at Vancouver not only with the Canadian Pacific Railway, but with the Great Northern, the Union Pacific, and the Northern Pacific. Hence its facilities for the collection and distribution of either freight or passengers. American trade with Hawaii will be thus met by a new and vigorous competition. And as the following figures show, the trade is not slight in extent :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>United States imports from Hawaiian Islands.</i>	<i>United States exports to Hawaiian Islands.</i>
1860.....	\$ 330,000	\$ 550,000
1870.....	1,130,000	610,000
1880.....	4,610,000	1,990,000
1890.....	12,310,000	4,610,000
1891.....	13,900,000	4,940,000
1892.....	8,080,000	3,660,000

It will be observed that the total trade has increased from about \$900,000 to \$11,000,000 in thirty years, although, unlike the Australian interchange, it is more in favor of the Islands than of the republic. This is due to the American demand for raw sugar, and the decrease of seven million during 1892 is probably chargeable to the competition of other sugar-producing countries under the reciprocity clause of the McKinley bill.

If the expectations based upon these various considerations are realized, California will be the first part of the United States to be affected, and San Francisco, with all its wealth and stability of greatness, the first center to feel the competition. It is not probable that the result will be serious, and, at the worst, it would be felt mainly by special interests; but just now every influence tells upon the general welfare of the community. And the future effect of this rivalry—if the coming conference makes successful arrangements, and in a modified degree if it does not—must be far greater and of more importance than the present. The competition of the Canadian Pacific Railway during some years past shows that Canadian efforts, backed up by money loaned and subsidies given by the Dominion government, are not to be despised. San Francisco, with its yearly commerce of \$87,000,000, may not consider a decrease in its trade with Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii as a very serious matter. But there are other things to think of. For many long years, and in spite of the rising importance of Tacoma and Seattle, the City of the Golden Gate has enjoyed a monopoly of the important tourist traffic from and to Australasia and the East generally, as well as a practical monopoly of trade and travel between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States.

This cannot but be interfered with. Vancouver is already in close connection with the leading American continental lines, and has scenery of admitted magnificence and variety along the great railway of which it is the terminus. The Canadian route is now the alternative road for tourists to the East, as against the Suez Canal, which has become so familiar to all regular trav-

elers. It is to an increasing degree the pivot upon which the British military system in its transfer of men and armament depends. And, above all, the road and the new steamship line are being extensively advertised in Australia, Great Britain, and on the European continent; and the ocean service will soon be a fortnightly one, connecting with New Zealand and Fiji, so that it is clear that the competition with American lines and interests must in the future become close and keen.

Such is a general outline of the policy now being worked out in Canada and Australia and an estimate of its effect upon present conditions. To strengthen this policy of closer union, the proposed conference is to take place. There is no doubt that the keen business sense of the American people will appreciate the situation. To do so fully, however, they must understand that the national sentiment in both of these wings of the British Empire is back of this movement for better trade relations. For patriotic reasons, Queensland and New South Wales are willing to practically throw away the subsidy already given a French cable, so as to aid in the construction of a purely British line. For similar reasons, as well as for the development of trade, the colonies seem willing to go in for a fiscal preference system. Sir George Dibbs declared plainly last July that "We might perhaps be able to make some preferential arrangement for trade between these colonies and Canada. . . . Our connection with Canada will not alone be a great advantage to trade, but it will be a great national advantage to Australia in time of war of international complications."

So echoes the Hon. J. B. Patterson, premier of Victoria, and Sir T. McIlwraith, of Queensland. Thus sentiment and a desire for trade seem to go hand in hand; and they are powerful partners. New Zealand, though included under the general name of Australasia, has not come much within the sphere of the present movement, but is known to have favored the policy for years, and, whenever the steamers decide to touch at its ports, will be heart and soul in line with the other colonies. Of course there are serious difficulties to grapple with when the conference meets, and success will not come in a day, or per-

haps in years. All the Australian colonies have varying tariffs against each other and Canada, and under an imperial statute none are allowed to discriminate in favor of one another, or of a foreign country. A federation of Australia would simplify the first problem, but as that is not yet accomplished, separate arrangements will have to be made with each colony. If, however, the United States is to be excluded from sharing in these tariff adjustments, a repeal of the imperial regulation referred to will have to be obtained, and Mr. Bowell has been given to understand that the Australian premiers are unanimously in favor of asking the necessary freedom of action. No doubt such a request, backed up by the British desire for a more united empire, would be ultimately granted. The way will then be open for arrangements along lines already hinted at, but which may be summarized as follows :

1. A distinct tariff preference for goods, the produce of Canada, entering any Australian port and *vice versa*.

2. Subsidies from Canada and the Australasian colonies to the new cable proposed by Mr. Sandford Fleming.

3. A joint request from the representatives of these two important states of the empire that Great Britain join in assisting the cable as being an imperial work, and in granting the usual subsidies to the Canadian-Australian steamship line as a carrier of mails, and as being prepared to turn its steamers into cruisers in time of war.

4. Agreement on the part of the other colonies to contribute, in addition to the present subsidies granted that line and proposed to be given the cable projectors.

5. Settlement of the questions connected with the much-discussed fast steamship line between Halifax and Liverpool, for which Canada has already offered a large subsidy.

It will be seen that this is a large program, and most Americans will feel that if it should prove a successful one, it must develop into a policy of great importance to the whole continent. Australia, like the United States, and despite present depression, is a progressive and wonderfully wealthy country, and one which is bound to be still more populous and power-

ful in the future. Its partial alliance with the United States in trade and transportation matters has been of substantial value to the latter as well as to the colonies themselves, and any future alliance with Canada to the exclusion in part or in whole of the United States cannot but have an important and far-reaching effect. The result of the present movement will therefore bear keen watching by the statesmen and commercial interests of the four great English-speaking communities which come within the sphere of its influence.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

CHECKS AND BALANCES IN GOVERNMENT.

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THE marked difference between the government of Old England and that of New England is a transition from an unwritten to a written form. The government of New England was early marked by a definite form and special organization. It was their custom to print their laws and circulate them through the town meeting. No other people had ever done this. Democracy in New England took a legal form. It had usually run riot, and the worst elements had forged to the front, but in New England they corrected these evils.

The object of the state is the protection of life and property ; but when this is prevented, it is the right of the state to change its form. The classic passage of the right of revolution is found in the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. It is a commonly accepted principle of government. The form was toward democracy for 150 years, and the American Revolution was the correction of opinion down to date.

In government, the idea of the executive begins with the man of power. The first executive was a strong man. Indian government illustrates this. America, in its native races, illustrates all forms of government. Out of the executive flowed all the rest. He was the fountain of justice. In England, to this day, the government is known as the king in Parliament. The legislative and judicial departments are derivative and are determined by utility. Blackstone says : "Whenever the power of making and of enforcing laws are united together, there can be no public liberty."

In the experiences of government, certain political rights are granted to the individual. These rights become so fixed that they are regarded as civil rights, and finally they come to be so

long among us that we claim them as a part of us, and we look upon them as natural rights. These rights are formulated in the Declarations of Rights of the American Constitutions, and the Bills of Rights are always growing in length. In a democracy, it was thought the people could not be trusted, so the written form was adopted. Provision was also made for creating as many departments as possible. The object of the three-fold division in New England especially, was that they should have a government of laws and not of men. Their officers were regarded as the responsible agents of the people, and the prevailing idea of the time was that all public officials should, by frequent elections, be returned to the body of the people. Franklin said that it was a privilege for an official to return to the body of the people as to the peerage. In the Massachusetts convention of 1788, General Thomson exclaimed: "O, my country, never give up your annual elections; young men, never give up your jewel!" Property and religious qualifications were also required of public officials, as he who had property and a creed was held to be safer. They wanted their public servants closely identified with the interests of the state. They put into the state what they saw in man; so the state became the photograph of society.

In government, all nations have adopted some means to make a promise binding. It is based on the fear of ills to come. The oath is not regarded very sacred to-day, but it is still adhered to in legal affairs. The New England conception of government was that it is of divine origin. The binding idea of an oath grows out of the time when the king was a priest; he was the mouthpiece of God on earth. But officers of government have broken the oath, and it is a question that eludes the mere form of the state.

Two other devices to obtain results are prominent in all the constitutions of our country. They are the majority device and the specific number, as the two thirds and the three fourths vote. Provision for amending the constitution is also made, and the state thus becomes a going concern. This is simply a provision for correction. In the states the usual method is to

have the amendment pass two legislatures and then it goes to the people. The constitution must be adapted to the changing conditions of the times, yet we protest against too violent a change. Which is better, an omnipotent parliament, or a written constitution? A written constitution has the advantage of certainty. A parliament has the advantage of responding at once.

But the mere form of government will not work out the whole welfare of mankind. James Wilson said: "As our constitutions are superior to our legislatures, so the people are superior to our constitutions." The wants of man must be satisfied, and we believe that these wants are best met in a representative government. Speaking of the English Constitution, John Adams remarked that it is a stupendous work, and we should be proud to follow it. This remark led to the charge that Adams favored the British Constitution, and he nearly lost the presidency. Jefferson opposed him, claiming that we need not follow England, but could rule ourselves. As the opinion prevailed that the masses of the people could not be trusted, the Federalists claimed that we must have a landed estate. Madison and Monroe in the Virginia Convention expressed the idea that it tied the citizen to his responsibility. There should be an hereditary class; so the Senate was created with the long period, and the House with the short period. Up to 1850, it was held that the Upper House represented property. Webster laid down the doctrine in his Plymouth oration that the Senate is based on property. After the Civil War, the property theory disappeared, and now, in the later state constitutions, the basis is persons. Hamilton and Adams favored the property basis of the Senate, but to-day we see the system of checks and balances working in the Senate to obstruct legislation. Hamilton said that the Senate was created to restrain the impetuosity and fickleness of the House, and so guard against the effects of gusts of passion or sudden changes of opinion in the people; but if we contrast the discussion of the Sherman act and the Home Rule bill, we find that we each have an obstacle in the way of government. Gladstone makes a speech declaring that there would be an addition to the membership of the House of Lords,

if they did not entertain the Home Rule bill. When the right of suffrage was extended in 1830, the crown was compelled by the ministry to increase the membership. We cannot do this here, but must proceed upon a different line. Our method of redress is very slow. It is by operating through the machinery of elections, and the slower process of constitutional amendment that we reach the result. If we wish to change the opinion of the Senate, we must elect new senators. Next year we will elect over thirty senators. Yet with the change of one third of the membership, it does not imply that the men returned will be in favor of the proposed measure, as these thirty members will be scattered over the whole country. The English government moves more directly. The new peers are created at once, and they proceed to vote. Writing on this subject, Bryce remarks: "The functions of our government are parceled out among so many bodies and touch at so many points that there is constant risk of conflict. A deadlock may also arise between the Houses of Parliament, but one House usually yields, and if it refuses, there is speedy remedy in a general election."

The government of the United States is often spoken of as one based on a faith in majorities, and that the main purpose of elections is simply to determine what the will of the majority is. But our government is so constructed that it is never entirely handed over to the will of the majority. The founders had in mind an elaborate system of checks and balances to restrict the majority in the administration of government. The states, the Senate and the House, the executive and the judiciary, were each to have a share in the balance, while additional restraints were placed upon the president in the matter of appointments. Frequent elections of representatives were also provided as a safeguard, and the electoral system was a balance against the people in the selection of president of the United States. The slow and tedious process of amendment was laid down as an element of security; and the Bill of Rights is a familiar part of every state constitution, and a means of protection to the life, liberty, and property of the individual citizen.

Our written constitution not only defines how the sovereign powers shall be exercised, but also imposes restraints to protect individual rights against encroachment of arbitrary power. Speaking of this system, John Adams wrote: "This is a complication and refinement of balances which is an invention of our own and peculiar to this country."

The theory of checks and balances was a cardinal doctrine in politics in the eighteenth century. We notice in the writings of Franklin, Hamilton, and Jefferson an emphasis of checks and balances as necessary to the safety of the state. Unless it was checked all would go to the board. The theory of checks and balances is purely mechanical, brought out by political expediency. At present no prominent thinker would formulate a long argument on checks and balances. There is a contrast between the trend of the philosophical mind at the close of this century and the close of the last. John Adams claimed that checks and balances would preserve the state from decay, while our idea is biological. It is organic and must be administered according to life. Adam Smith was just getting through the eighteenth century crust, and he did not fully grasp the biological idea. He came in through the workshop, placing a just estimate upon the value of labor, and he claimed that if we let man alone in the forest, he will hew his own way through. The biological idea was wrought out in the severe handling since the Revolution. A quite recent work, Sidgwick's *Elements of Politics*, bases politics not upon history, but upon psychology.

John Adams' defense of the state constitutions was written just before the adoption of the national Constitution. A copy was sent to Franklin, and he had it reprinted in Paris. It was distributed through Europe, and Turgot, Secretary of the Treasury in France, got a copy. Turgot thought a republic could not long exist. Speaking of the defects in the state constitutions, he claimed that there was a great deal of bad in the American constitutions and in the English as well. Also that they contained nothing good but what was already to be found in France. Turgot was also of the opinion that the legal form alone would not secure the general welfare, but that we must go deeper. Criti-

cism was also made that the governments were too local, and tended to the multiplicity of local centers, not to the forming of a nation. The recent question of the control of federal elections has been between local and national authority. On the one hand, authority is claimed for the control of elections in Article I., Section 4, of the Constitution, while, on the other hand, the ground is taken that the state can best protect its own, as it is best acquainted with its own laws. One takes the position that there is no central authority, and the other that there is. As Turgot says, we are bound to enter upon a career of civil discord.

Adams claimed that the first collection of authority must be in a general agreement of the rule of the majority, but Turgot questioned the advisability of the scheme. We must remember that the national government was not yet organized. It was about 1787, and Adams' book had great influence upon members of the Constitutional Convention, along with the spoken words of Hamilton. Turgot claimed that the whole scheme was no better than that of other democracies which all ended in discord. This led Adams to get around the difficulty by providing checks and balances. We were to get along by devices.

The Supreme Court was organized as one of the checks and balances in our system of government. As it is the living voice of the Constitution, or, as some one has said, the conscience of the people, it becomes necessary that the court must be firmly established, even as the Constitution is firmly established; but from the beginning, numerous attempts have been made to destroy the life tenure of the judges and establish a short term of office. A bill to limit the term to ten years has recently been introduced into Congress. Those who favor this change claim that the Supreme Court has become domineering, and that all its decisions tend toward a centralization of the national power. Calhoun claimed that since the federal courts are the creatures of the United States, they cannot check the power of the United States. The Supreme Court is sensible to the touch of public opinion, and it has changed its tendencies according to the political ideas of the men who composed it. From the organization of the court until 1835, the tendencies were in the direction

of extending the power of the national government. Then the survivors of the old federal party retired from the court, and there was a reaction against the extension of the national power up to the Civil War. Since the war, the national feeling has become stronger, and the tendencies are once more toward a centralization of power.

The rule was also laid down some years ago that the court would not consider the constitutionality of any question unless the case was a very clear one. The court will not decide upon a constitutional question unless there is some violation of property or freedom. The rule is also adhered to that all the laws of Congress are considered constitutional unless proven contrary; and when Congress once makes a law, the Supreme Court is very slow to decide it unconstitutional. Before paper money had been printed, no set of men would have decided that such an act was constitutional; but after the money had been issued, the court decided the issue to be legal as a war measure, and it was declared a legal tender. Thus we find that although the Supreme Court was organized as a check upon the actions of Congress, yet it has respect for the legislation of Congress. It also adheres to historical precedents, and is rather inclined to be conservative in its decisions.

Although the Constitution was originally adopted as a system of checks and balances, yet the great departments of government have endeavored to extend their power, each at the expense of the other, and, as a result, the Constitution has changed from generation to generation. A few clauses have become obsolete by the lapse of time or by amendment. The Constitution has also developed by the interpretations placed upon it by the Supreme Court. By this means the Constitution has thus been bent to cover powers once undreamed of. At the same time the Constitution has developed through usage. By means of usage the committees in both Houses of Congress have been created. The arrangement of the Congressional caucus and the importance of the chairman of the committee have grown out of usage, while the control of the congressman over spoils has also grown up outside of the Constitution. Through usage, the

presidential electors have lost the power which the Constitution gave them in the selection of chief executive, and, for the same reason, no president has served more than two terms, although the *Federalist* says that the president will and ought to be re-elected as often as the people think him worthy of their confidence.

Ordinarily, it is impossible for any mere form of government to restrain the passions of men, but the strength of the American Constitution lies in the fact that it is the product of the experience of our people in government. It was not imposed upon us from a foreign source, but it developed here out of colonial and revolutionary experiences. It has been impossible at times to follow the exact letter of the Constitution. In time of war it has been subject to a broad construction, while in times of peace the construction has been more strict. The party in power has generally construed the Constitution in the liberal sense, while the minority party has always tended toward the strict view.

Although failing to operate at times as an efficient system of checks and balances, still the certain form of our Constitution has been of inestimable value. Acting as a means of restraint it has trained the people into habits of respect for law, order, and written forms. Thus the Constitution silently operates over a vast extent of territory, and none of us feel the burdens of national law. We rarely see a federal official, and the masses have been so trained in the school of public institutions, that no army is needed to overawe them into submission to the law. The fact that man is a political animal is nowhere so fully illustrated as in America.

LEWIS R. HARLEY.

PLUMS IN POLITICS.

BY HENRY E. FOSTER.

A WRITER in a late number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS deplores the alleged fact that public service is so poorly paid in the United States. No doubt his is the broad, respectable opinion, the opinion of the officeholding and office-seeking class and of that small and favored segment of the whole sphere of humanity that live in affluence and are said to constitute society.

It would be uncharitable, and probably untrue, to stigmatize this sentiment as insincere. But an impartial judgment by an interested individual or class is contrary to a settled presumption of law, and not so much that a sinister purpose may taint the verdict, as that the logical faculties may be warped and biased by the predilection to believe a certain allegation true or false. There is many a thief, even, who would resent as an insult being called such, and to address the veriest liar by his characteristic name would be to invite the certain impact of his fist with the accuser's head.

Men who draw large salaries may readily and honestly bring themselves to believe that they should receive still more, and the resultant of all the changes in the emoluments of public trust has been to increase them, thus giving to him that hath, while taking away from him who, relatively, hath not, even that which he hath.

Taxation is the chief system by which this is done, however sugar coated by internal or tariff expedients.

In some municipalities the direct property taxes have waxed so burdensome that many say they cannot afford to own a home, as it is cheaper to pay rent. A tax rate of 3 and 3-10 per cent is assessed in the municipality in which the writer's lot is cast,—

a per cent more than Eastern and European capital has always been able to command.

In discussing an economic question affecting the whole population, we should not forget that selfishness, though in the most decent garb, is the dominant passion, and that it behooves the public to resist its encroachments with jealous vigilance.

The most specious, as well as the most venerable, argument urged in favor of increased pay in office is, that present compensation does not secure the highest ability.

Great lawyers are mentioned, for example, with the presumption that they would not leave their lucrative practice to take a place on the bench for \$5,000 or \$6,000 per year. To which it may be replied that generally the brilliant attorneys, who win renown and charge the big fees, would not make the most efficient judges.

A judicial office requires a judicial mind. It demands not brilliancy, or a charming tongue, but a fine sense of discrimination and a patient assiduity in poring over tomes of juristic precedent cited in the constant stream of contention, and which sometimes makes the judge more of a drudge than the menial who mows his lawn or grooms his horse.

With the bench, as with all places of public station, it may be stated as a corollary that he who seeks or accepts office for the money there is in it, is not worthy of it, and to virtually bribe or seduce men to take office by bidding against the pile of yellow dirt they can heap up some other way, would yield no adequate return for the public funds expended on the one hand, and the vanity engendered on the other. The latter is already no light thing to contemplate in this democracy. A Washington correspondent of keen observation wrote the other day that it had got so now that you must look up at a senator or a wearer of the ermine through a telescope, and that he would probably desire a microscope if he deigned to notice you; it may have been a little worse than usual at the time this scribe penned his letter, as the "social season" at Washington had just been "officially opened by the president."

Come to think of it such expressions as (metaphorical)

"Plums" and official social seasons were unknown until after the "salary grab," and, judging from the fruits of *that* increase, we may well hesitate before imploring our national legislators to vote themselves *et al* another raise.

We vaunt ourselves much on progress, but politically, our evolution has not been altogether that of the fittest survival. We knew no necessity for civil service reform to enforce common decency in ante-bellum days, nor was the sovereign voter compelled anywhere to register and be well-nigh muzzled and blindfolded as a prerequisite to depositing his ballot.

Grinding monopolies, regnant trusts, "corners," and the sale of princely public franchises for a morsel of pottage, are the concomitants of impolitic conditions which have conspired to put seventy per cent of the wealth of the nation into the hands of about three tenths of one per cent of the entire population. Is it any wonder that millionaires have multiplied until a special magazine is required to tabulate them, while their complement is found in hundreds of thousands of people in abject want?

There is somehow a community of interest and social fellowship betwixt the domini who rule the financial and business world and the possessors of high official position, and this relation would be strengthened by increasing the emoluments of office.

We hold that a public officer, be his station high or low, should receive pay according to the exactions of responsibility and labor, but that no bounty should be placed on the *dignity* of an office. If public salaries were reduced to the level paid for corresponding service in private business, it would go far toward relegating venal politicians to the haunts of Lethean repose, and would clear the way once more for ingenuous statesmen.

A sense of public duty was something in the days when the office sought the man.

Washington felt it when he fought out the war for independence, asking his expenses only; and all the presidents, until Lincoln passed away, managed to eke out a comfortable living on \$25,000. Prodigality and venality are chiefly due to an excessive command of money. In private life, it is generally the

trusted employee who draws the largest salary, who fails to have enough, and whose account is found deficient. The federal government is living beyond its enormous income, and because it is enormous.

Palpably the perplexing problem of patronage would be more difficult of solution if public functionaries were granted larger pay, and more baleful would be the corrupt means employed to secure the spoils. Every experienced ward heeler knows that a place seeker will often stake five or six thousand dollars on the chances of securing even a fat local office, such as that of treasurer of any large municipality.

I venture to say that if the major salaries were materially reduced, instead of being increased, the public would receive more faithful and efficient service than it does now. Yet it is these major salaries only, for which larger pay is demanded. The pitiable condition of the chief justice who gets but \$10,500 a year is especially commiserated, and the government is held to be peculiarly stingy to its foreign ministers of first class, who are ground down to \$17,000 per annum.

It is urged that as England pays her minister here \$30,000, and other countries exercise corresponding liberality to support the dignity of a throne, that the United States should ape this extravagance in order to enable our diplomats to "keep up such establishments as do credit to their governments."

There is a popular supposition that our ministers are sent abroad, as the name imports, to serve us, as occasion requires, and not to keep up "establishments." The amount of consular pay among foreign states is largely a matter of pride and caprice, as shown by the cited fact that while England pays Sir Pouncefote \$30,000 for wearing his spangles at Washington, France, republic though she is, lavishes on her representative at London \$60,000. It is said this latter amount falls below the expenses of the Gallic diplomat, who trenches on his private fortune to make up the deficiency. There is no limit to the amount of money any coxcomb is capable of making away with, but the United States government has found its greatest glory in its avowed economy and simplicity. These characteristics reflected by a

high-minded and cultured citizen would ultimately command more deference at a foreign court than any "establishment" which money can sustain.

General Jackson's fame does not suffer because he did not go to his inauguration in a regal private car, and the story goes that he rode to the Capitol on a mule which he made fast to an old rail fence. Yet Washington is becoming better known as a social center of wealth and snobbery, than as the dignified but simple seat of governmental service and authority.

Shall this un-American, aristocratic, and infectious tendency be fostered by increasing the emoluments of office? The time for so doing at least, seems inopportune when thousands are pinched with hunger and when a reputable body of common folk * have formally asked their state executive to reduce his own and all other salaries under his control.

Still, economy is not the chief ground of objection to increased pay for public service. A more serious one would be found in the wider separation it would create between the people and their alleged servants, and in the prodigal efforts it would inspire among lower social strata to emulate the extravagance which may be borne by those of super-station and means.

Our school system and the printing press have not been operated in vain, and men could be selected from the toiling multitude with begrimed faces and calloused hands, qualified to administer any office in the land. There is no apparent reason why public place should not be filled with some regard to the general law of supply and demand.

There are doubtless salaries too low, as there are salaries too high. But I have preferred to generalize from data which all may know, in taking the vulgar side of this question. It will be solved some day, but never permanently, by a process which makes more sharp the inequalities existing among a free people.

HENRY E. FOSTER.

* The Farmers' Alliance in State Convention at Columbus, Ohio.

THE SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK CITY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "PRESTON PAPERS."

"THE despisers of mankind—apart from the mere fools and mimics of that creed—are of two classes: they who believe their merit neglected and unappreciated make up one class; and they who receive adulation and flattery, knowing their own worthlessness, compose the other."—*Dickens: Barnaby Rudge.*

In reading Dr. Rice's book, "The Public School System of the United States," I am reminded of the man who, late in life, became interested in astronomy, but whose first hour of study of the sun showed him the spots upon it, and who thereafter turned his entire attention to them, thus reducing the noble study of astronomy to a mere examination of sun spots. The distinguished author says (p. 29):

"In describing the schools of our cities, I begin with the discussion of the schools of New York City because they represent a condition that may be regarded, in many respects, as typical of the schools of all our large cities." (Other cities please take notice !)

Unlike him I have found very good work, done by very good teachers in very good schools, in New York City, where I have recently spent many weeks going from one class room to another—utterly failing to find the "purely mechanical drudgery" teaching, done upon the wholly unscientific principles, by the unprofessional pedagogues, which he found so prevalent that he calmly states that any other would be "very exceptional," adding with charming *naïveté* that he had not "found any exceptional ones." (*Mem.*: I have yet found only three schools which were "visited" by this expert in "School Reform." In one of these he actually spent an *entire half hour*—although he did not go into a single class; so although I have found some very fine work done by pupils and teachers in this school—numbering about 2,000 pupils—I am scarcely surprised that he did not, nor that he did not respond to the cordial invitation of the principal to "Look in at our class work.")

I have been greatly pleased with most of what I have seen of the New York schools; but with only thirteen years' actual service in the school-room, I am hardly competent to pose as an expert, although very closely associated with teachers and their work for more than twenty years.

Being a stranger in the city, an entire stranger to its school system, unknown to its superintendent, principals, or any of its teachers, I was not—to put it mildly—prejudiced in their favor, or in favor of the management, by the *Forum* articles. It is only fair to add that I have been greatly surprised as well as pleased to find an entirely different condition of things than that for which I was prepared and which I will specify in part :

1. *Active, working, intelligent principals.* In some way I had learned to look for these “figure heads” in their offices, instead of which I have almost invariably found them in their classrooms, and always at work.

On pages 46 and 47 of the book from which I have quoted, I had read :

“As a rule the newly appointed teachers are better qualified professionally than the principals. While the new teachers are normal school graduates, many of the principals have had no professional training whatever; nor have they at any time, either with or without guidance, devoted a sufficient amount of time to professional studies to learn the A B C of scientific pedagogy. Some principals read enough educational matter to pick up a few devices, but those who may be said to be experts are very rare exceptions. . . . What the average principal does beyond keeping an accurate account of the attendance of pupils and teachers, and listening to complaints from parents and teachers, is also a matter that has puzzled more than one intimately acquainted with the New York public schools.”

All this would be lamentable, if true. *I have not found it so*, and am surprised that the New York principals have not risen in a body to deny the allegations and to call for a specific statement as to *who* of them are so densely ignorant, so idle, so lacking in preparation for the noble work of the teacher. I have *not* seen all the principals, nor even a majority, as yet, but I have seen many, and watched their work with the unbounded interest of an ex-teacher who, herself, always loved school work.

I have found them students of pedagogy, and, better still,

students of child life. I have found them readers and owners of professional literature, and *broad* readers, of general and current literature—fully as necessary for a symmetrical development as the narrower study of pedagogics only. I have not as yet seen any who were without professional training and general culture. Doubtless they have to “listen to the complaints of parents” at times, but that they spend a major part of their time in this way, or in keeping the records, I have not found even a *scintilla* of evidence to support. Neither have I found the methods “barbarous” or “absurd” even in isolated cases, nor the teachers “hard” and “unsympathetic,” although I see no reason why some reports that have gone out concerning them should not have a tendency in that direction, if sarcasm, ridicule, and exaggeration ever do produce that effect on frail humanity.

2. *Earnest, sympathetic teachers* whom the children not only love but obey and respect. In one (primary) school of 800 children, with eighteen teachers, whose principal had been there more than twenty years, I found, as I have in several other cases, not only the most perfect sympathy between teachers and pupils, but *absolute harmony* among the teachers; and there had never been any discord!

3. *Happy, childlike children*. From the “barbarous” treatment described, I expected nothing short of wistful, pleading faces of children who “hate to go to school,” but instead found exactly the reverse.

4. “*Free and easy*” recitations. Necessarily, with so large a number of subjects to be handled, with so many children to be accommodated, with time and room both filled, the motto “Save the minutes,” gets a due proportion of regard in the mechanical execution of many recitations—as, passing materials, rising and sitting, etc.; and when enthusiasm runs high, as *I have seen it*, it is quite possible that there is less regard for *appearances* than for the actual work, and the scholarly comparison found on page 37—“a traveling pump handle”—may not have been entirely without reason.

Should the distinguished critic wish to see some “free and easy” recitations, I would that he had been with me when I

visited the classes of the Misses MacDonough and Brecht, at primary school No. 7, Miss M. Augusta Rohda, principal; Miss Margaret Finley and Mr. Bert Cronson at grammar school No. 3, Matthew J. Elgas, principal; one that was having a "matched game" at *arithmetic*, when I went into grammar school No. 36, Alpheus D. Du Bois, principal; any number of classes in grammar school No. 41, Miss Elizabeth Cavannah, principal, where I sometimes found them drawing from casts, designing, cooking, * sewing, *singing by note*, (I did not say "making a noise") doing much—and *more than well*—which seems not to have come within the expert's line of vision; several at No. 3, B. D. L. Southerland, principal, where I found some "excellent" work, and expect to find more; others at No. 16, J. H. Zabriskie, principal (some of the language work in the primary department was specially commendable); No. 40, George W. Harrison, principal, where I saw "marvels" of manual work of various kinds and grades, from paper folding and drawing to wood working, carving, designing (in wood and in paper) inlaying, and clay modeling. Some of the *original* "form and color" work was inexpressibly beautiful, and had I not seen it in various stages of progress I could not have believed it the work of *children* from ten to fourteen years old. (This was *one* of the schools "visited" by the expert whose "report" seems to have avoided carefully all references, to the manual training of the public schools!)

But why continue? *The list is too long*, of those already seen.

Just one word, especially in regard to the primary teachers and teaching. On page 38 we read: "The typical New York City primary school, although less barbarous and absurd than the one just described, is nevertheless a hard, unsympathetic, mechanical drudgery school—a school into which the light of science has not yet entered. Its characteristic feature lies in the severity of its discipline—a discipline of enforced silence, im-

*The second day that I went into one of the cooking classes of this school, I was served with a dish of tapioca pudding, and one of rice boiled so scientifically that while each kernel held its shape *it was done*, and both were such as would satisfy the daintiest epicurean, and all the work was done by girls whose average was twelve years. Can you estimate the value of this teaching, or of the influence of the noble "mother teacher" who is the principal of the school, who lives with and for her school?

mobility, and mental passivity. The differences found in going from room to room, and from school to school . . . are differences in degree only, and not in kind."

These are severe charges, and should have been made only after the closest scrutiny, and *many days* of "visiting" and careful study, by an *experienced teacher*. There are forty-seven primary schools, with large primary departments in nearly all the grammar schools, including the work of *many hundred primary teachers*; and when "outsiders" read these statements of a *critic*, concerning nineteenth century work done in a city like New York, they are bound to think one of two things: that New York is permitting, perpetuating, and paying for work which must create "artificial stupidity," or that the critic was either biased or incompetent. What is the verdict in the business and professional world to-day? *Are* the graduates of our schools stultified, beyond *ordinary* business capacity? Let the business and professional men of to-day answer if they are employing such, or *if they are such*!

Moral training seems to have received no notice in the *Forum* "reports," yet it has a place in the schools, and an important one.

The school buildings are described on page 48 as being "so unsanitary as to be unfit for the habitation of human beings." If this is true, the Board of Health should be "examined" by an expert of some kind, or a theorist, at least; but it is just possible that there is a slight shadow of a fringe of diluted exaggeration in this statement, which is accompanied by the refreshingly candid remark that the fact that parents send their children to such schools "is of itself sufficient to prove that they are in no way concerned with what the schools do with their children. This does not apply alone to the more ignorant classes, some of the most unhealthful schools in the city being attended by children from the best of homes." (There seems a slight incongruity between "no way concerned" and "the best of homes.") Could such indifferent parents be at the head of such homes?

What a lamentable condition for poor, unenlightened New York, who is sending out teachers, missionaries, books and

papers in such numbers yearly for the help, pleasure, and enlightenment of other people and places, yet to be in such midnight darkness herself, educationally ! Unsanitary buildings, in which children are "dehumanized" (page 31) by teachers who "are very rarely discharged, even for the grossest negligence and incompetency," presided over by tyrannical principals who are feeding from the public crib without having prepared themselves for their positions, who hold them without merit, supervised only in the most desultory way and by thoroughly incompetent men, whose only effect while "inspecting" is to "disturb the teacher's mental equilibrium during the intervening period!" (Page 46.) Oh, New York, New York ! Better were it for thee that a millstone——

Yea, and though for more than a score of years, the use of the rod has been abandoned, thou must henceforth sit condemned (and by such an unbiased judge), for thy severity, thy rigidity, thy general good-for-naughtness ; and that, too, with Liberty standing in thy harbor, her beacon lighting up the waters as thy schools may never hope to the mind ! Of what art thou thinking, *if these things be so ?* Arise and answer, lest the layman annihilate or ostracise thee, "immediately if not sooner."

L. A. Y.

THE MONEY QUESTION AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

BY GEORGE G. MERRICK.

IT HAS been a tedious and expensive experience which the American people have had before them for these many years, and the lesson is, that there is such a relation between prices of all commodities or property as that market values are interdependent upon money volume, and if that fact be well understood and the remedy applied now, and for all time, the great and decisive step will have been taken in the monetary and commercial redemption of America from European domination and control. If the American people are paying two million dollars a day to the foreign collector of interest for the European Gold-Trust, how do they pay it? Most assuredly in American products, the results of labor expended upon American soil. They pay it in wheat, cotton, and other products of industry.

It is not necessary to argue the fact that, the lower the price of wheat and cotton in the European markets, the more the American producer will have to sell to meet the contract stated in dollars. Fifty bushels of American wheat in 1873, paid as much interest in gold as $117\frac{1}{2}$ pays to-day. Fifty bushels paid as much in gold in 1883 as 105 bushels do now. In 1873, 1,000 pounds of cotton would exchange for \$188.00; in 1883, for \$108.00; in 1893, for \$70.00. But this is not alone a wheat and cotton and silver question: the inquiry, if carried to other matters—land values, the price of lumber, wool, and other products—gives like results, showing a continuing decline in all else but gold. One reason for referring to these general commodities is, that the fact of a decline of fifty per cent all along the line should suggest to the thoughtful observer a relationship rather than a coincidence—an evil that calls for a remedy.

The claim that these conditions arise from overproduction is most certainly fallacious, for while it is true that the number of bushels of wheat, pounds of cotton, ounces of silver, and ounces of gold annually produced may now greatly exceed the same quantities of each produced annually up to 1873, it must not be forgotten that population has also increased, and to such an extent that in proportion to the number of pockets to be supplied with money, backs to be clad, and hunger to be allayed, there are relatively less of these great staples produced now than then.

If overproduction could be the cause of these continually falling prices, why are not the great mass of the people reveling in luxury, rather than in poverty? Why are they not fat with abundance rather than suffering from hunger? Why are they not well clothed, rather than in rags? Surely there is somewhere a gross violation of a law quite different from that of overproduction.

These facts, recognized on every hand, go to show that millions of people and of families in these United States have for a long time been under-consumers of those things necessary for human comfort, convenience, and happiness. And this, too, in a land which God has blessed with an abundance of all these things which are essential to the health, comfort, and prosperity of its people.

Along the Atlantic coast cities, and in the manufacturing centers of the nine northeastern states, the mill owners and operatives are given to earnest declaration that the change of a few cents in the tariff is now the sole cause of idle mills, of workingmen, women, and children unemployed, and forced to eat the bitter bread of charity; and these working people have assembled at various places and have passed resolutions, of which the following from the *New York Press*, December 16, 1893, is a fair sample.

Here are the resolutions which these operatives, Democrat and Republican, side by side, passed and forwarded to Washington:

"To the Honorable J. DeWitt Warner, member of Congress, and colleagues, and to United States Senators David B. Hill and Edward Murphy, representing the State of New York.

"Honored Sirs:—Whereas, We, the carpet weavers of the Thirteenth Congressional District of the State of New York, in mass meeting

assembled, beg to inform you that a large portion of our people are now out of employment, which we believe is due to uncertainty regarding the tariff.

"Whereas, The proposed Wilson tariff will admit foreign competing products at a lower rate of duty than now imposed, we believe it will be necessary for us to accept less employment or less wages.

"Be it resolved, That we earnestly protest against the passing of the Wilson tariff bill, thus depriving us of a means of earning a livelihood.

"Be it further resolved, That if we are obliged to work for reduced wages we will hold those responsible who vote for this or a similar measure."

Resolutions were also passed calling upon all organizations of wage-earners to combine their efforts against the passage of the Wilson bill, and asking the American Protective Tariff League to give the carpet makers and kindred organizations their support in bringing petitions before Congress.

These resolutions were adopted without a dissenting voice, and a monster petition, to be sent to Washington, was signed by nearly everybody in the hall, including many women who worked in the Higgins factory, and who took a deep interest in the meeting. A number of rousing speeches were made, and were heartily cheered. John Kearney, president of the workmen's temporary organization gotten up to hold the meeting, presided, and made a brief speech. He said :

"I worked in a factory, and don't know much about the fine points about this new tariff bill, but I do know that it cuts the duty on the kind of carpet I work on from 41 cents a yard to 15 per cent ad valorem. I know, also, that I am out of work, and have been for five months. I know, too, that if this bill passes I will keep on being out of work, for I will not have any protection on my labor against the pauper labor of Europe."

Mr. Kearney did not go beyond his own environment for ideas, but he got in an argument that could not well be answered by a tariff reformer.

Robert Miller, an Eighth avenue carpet dealer, also spoke. He said the times at present were like those of free trade panic in 1857. He could remember them ; it was when, under low tariff, carpet dyers had to work in New York City for 85 cents a day. History would repeat itself under the Wilson bill. He added : "You voted for a change last year. You have got it."

The speaker went into the details of carpet manufacture and the effect of tariffs, and said it had always been a life and death struggle for American manufacturers to sell their goods and make a profit with European goods competing. The McKinley tariff just enabled them to make a living and keep their employees busy. The Wilson bill would press them hard, and the direct effect would be seen in a forced cut in wages and time of operatives. Mr. Miller warned his listeners to hammer away at DeWitt Warner, and impress upon him that they were the people who elected him and that they would avenge any free trade vote he might cast. "Tell him," said the speaker, "that you

have had but six days' work in five months, and that you are almost in starvation's grasp. Tell him that he must vote against the Wilson bill."

Other speakers who addressed the meeting, were George E. Murray, the labor advocate and member of the American Protective Tariff League, F. W. Showman, secretary of the Essex County (N. J.) Protective Association, and Mrs. Margaret Foster, the lecturer, who addressed the women present. Several of the workmen also spoke. "We must do all we can to have the factory started again," said one of them to a *Press* reporter. "It is our bread and butter, our life, and it was a good place to work in—none better."

I give this resolution and the comments upon it, as it seems to be a fair exposition of the views and opinions of the factory operatives of the manufacturing centers. Whether the 3,500 idle mill hands at Lawrence, Massachusetts, would echo the same cry, I do not know, but it is reasonably certain that they would. If so, it shows how diligently the gold trust has inculcated its insidious views into the minds of the victims of bad laws, to their own destruction. There is no other source of wealth, of prosperity, of continuing industries, than such as is drawn from the cultivation of land. And if, by any means, the prices obtained for farm products are low, then the consumers of manufactured goods cannot buy, and the factory operative cannot be employed. I wish to drive this point home to the understanding of every factory operative out of work or working on starvation wages. If the American farmer does not receive for the products of his toil expended upon his land such remunerative prices as will enable him to meet current expenses of the farm and household, to clothe and educate his children, pay interest and taxes, he will have no money with which to buy carpets, or any other manufactured goods. The retail dealer's stock lies on his shelves unsold, his orders to the wholesale merchant are canceled, the wholesale merchant withdraws his orders from the manufacturer and the mill closes, and the operatives must go cold and hungry.

I now quote from the *New York Sun* of September 10, 1893. The whole article is of great interest, but too long for use here. *The Sun* says :

"As 206,000,000 acres of land are now employed in growing staple crops, it follows that the power of the farmer to purchase is this year

\$1,563,000,000 less than it would be if he was receiving the prices of 1866-70 for his great staples. If the prices now realized, should the crops of 1893 give average yields and the prices equal those current 1881 to 1885, the farmers of the United States would have \$645,000,000 added to their debt-paying and purchasing power; and like advances on the other products of the farm would create an ample fund for building and general improvement, thus employing more labor.

"The least of these sums, added to the sums yearly distributed among the producers of metals and textiles, would afford employment for great numbers, keep the mills in motion, make money abundant, and bring good times.

"Much stress is laid upon the necessity for cheap food for the wage-worker; but what possible benefit can be derived from a cheapness that deprives the thirty million who *produce* food and fiber, of the ability to keep the wage-worker employed by buying the products of artisans and operatives?"

This statement of *The Sun* places the situation in so clear and vivid a light that every factory operative, every mill hand, carpet weaver, or wage-earner of whatever name, should be able to realize the truth of it, and that neither tariff nor free trade has been or can be the cause which has produced the widespread idleness with which the nation's industries are paralyzed. The one sole and sufficient cause has been stated—the inability of those who are the great consumers of manufactured goods to purchase and pay for them. Why are not the farmers, the miners, the railroad operatives, and other consumers of goods, as well able to buy and pay for goods now, as they were ten or even five years ago? Because of the continued appreciation of gold and the consequent shrinkage in prices, as before stated. And why does gold continue to appreciate and prices to decline? The answer is, because of the "outlawry of silver." Let the American people understand, now and forever, that the prices of wheat and cotton, and of all commodities in general use, will rise and fall with the rise or fall in the price of silver. All experience, all economic laws, and the laws of monetary use and monetary science, are at one on this question. Therefore if the American people desire the return of prosperity—if they wish to restore prices, if they wish to open the mills and factories, if they hope to see the unemployed again at work, if they desire to remove beggary, want, cold, and hunger from the land, if mortgaged

homes are to be redeemed, if debts are to be paid, if farms are to be owned by the farmer, if the mechanic and factory operative are to have a chance to do something better than remain the bond-slaves to avarice, if industry shall reap its just reward, if hope shall not be stricken down, and liberty shall not die, there is but one remedy : silver must be restored to its time-honored place as a constitutional money metal, with the free and unrestricted coinage of it as it prevailed from the earliest history of the nation onward to that detestable crime of 1873.

But the gold trust says : "Wait, America can't do it alone. America must wait till England, Germany, Russia, and all the monarchies of the world agree, until the monarchies consent to permit the American republic to manage its own affairs, to protect its own industries, to relieve the distress of its own people, to do justice, right wrongs, and restore the ancient landmarks of money."

All this policy of delay is forcibly illustrated by the fable or story, which you have all doubtless read, of the lark who had her nest of young birds in a ripening wheat field. When, on a Sunday evening, the farmer said to his son, as they were looking over the field, and leaning on the fence, "I will ask our neighbors to-morrow, and we will harvest the wheat," the little birds, alarmed, said, "Mother, we must be gone," and the mother said, "No, we need not hurry." In a day or two the farmer again came down to the fence and saw the wheat was fully ripe, and said to his son, "To-morrow I will invite your uncles John and William and your cousins, and we will harvest the wheat," whereupon the little birds felt sure they must move, but the old bird said no, there was still time. A day or two later the farmer and his son were again looking at the wheat field, and the farmer said to his son, "The wheat is overripe, we will grind the scythes and to-morrow we will cut the wheat." Upon this the old bird said, "It is now time to go, for when a man concludes not to depend upon his neighbors or relatives for assistance, but resolutely undertakes to do his own work, it will be done."

Therefore, if the American people intend to remain independent—to maintain liberty—let them make haste to establish an

American system of money and finance in the interest of American industries, the development of American resources, the building up of the great common people, and do this without the intervention, consent, or control of any foreign power, influence, or agency whatsoever.

Wait for England to say what the American people shall do in their own interest?

England, as the universal creditor of nations, insists upon the single gold standard for money; and is able to maintain that standard for the reason that the greater number of the commercial nations have no surplus money and are constant borrowers. This one fact sufficiently explains why England will not enter into an agreement by which the volume of the money of the world shall be increased through the remonetization of silver. The increase of poverty in England will not force that government to free coinage of silver. Nor will the impairment of her commerce with India, or the destruction of the native races in her Eastern dependencies, in the slightest degree change the hard and fast policy of the English aristocracy or the policy of the money-changers of Semitic origin—a policy adopted in 1816, and pursued with a tenacity of purpose as reckless of human wants, of human suffering, as ever disgraced human history, unequaled even by the horrors of the middle passage in the days when the African slave trade was carried on in English ships and protected by the English flag. It is true that some Americans, from a bad ancestry, associations, and example, shared in the bloodmoney of the African slave trade. But the nation has paid its penalty in blood, in money, in debt, while England seeks to fasten upon us a system more disastrous than wars, pestilence, and famine. "They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow!" Don't go out asking your Uncle John or your Uncle William to come and help you—in this case they both have crowns on their heads, and to them "Republics are not quite respectable." Do not imitate the policy of England, for her single gold standard means to America, if fully adopted, the ruin of the republic even to its destruction.

No surer means for the promotion of poverty, crime, beggary, want, destitution, riots, and death, was ever devised by man or devils than was the contraction of the money volume by the striking down of silver and the consequent increase of credits bearing interest.

In the world's history no nation has survived the constant shrinkage in her volume of primary money—no nation can survive such a process. Business dies, industry dies, honor dies, the people die,—or emigrate,—the nation is dead. On the other hand, all history and common sense tell us that, with a constantly increasing volume of money, all industries prosper—that the people are well clothed, well fed, full of energy, self-respect, and personal and business honor.

Civilization advances with giant strides. Literature, learning, arts and science, keep pace with the general prosperity. The earth yields her fruits in abundance; hunger, cold, poverty, idleness, misery, are alleviated, if not entirely removed, and the blessings of peace, charity, and good will, abide in the land.

Choose ye, choose ye, which shall it be!

GEORGE G. MERRICK.

THE NON-SURVIVAL OF THE MOST MORAL.

BY H. C. BLACKWOOD COWELL.

THE forces which are manifested to us through phenomena and which, when undirected by any conscious effort on our part, we call natural, are morally indifferent. Nature is neither just nor unjust; it neither hates nor loves; it is neither kind nor unkind; it is indifferent. It works according to unchanging remorseless laws. The pretty guileless child culling flowers in the forest is crushed by a falling tree. The wind is not hushed in its favor nor the action of gravity suspended. The prayers of the holiest of women do not deflect the bullet a hair's breadth from its course toward the heart of her soldier son. Poison is as fatal when administered by the hand of love as when administered by the hand of hate. Man, that kills more, robs more, and enslaves more than any other animal, stands at the head of the animal world—and that because of his ability to kill and rob and enslave. What if nature were just? Virtue does not turn the knife of the assassin. The lightning spares not the church. The storm does not discriminate between the ship that bears missionaries to a heathen land and the vessel of the pirate. Steam does not care whether it performs the useful work assigned it or bursts the boiler. The best swimmers survive the wreck, not the most moral. The battle is to the better generalship, the greater number, the better equipped, the braver, not to the side of justice. "Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just," expresses not so much an observed fact as the noble desire of the poet that it should be so. The better swordsman wins the duel, not the better man; nature is indifferent.

"But," opposes some one, "nature *does* favor the moral man; observe the health of the clean-lived, and observe on the con-

trary how she punishes the drunkard, the opium fiend, and the debauchee."

But nature does not favor the clean-lived because he is moral; he is accounted moral merely because the natural results of clean living are in his favor. Nature does not punish the drunkard, the opium fiend, and the debauchee because they are vicious; they are accounted vicious because nature "punishes" them, or, more correctly, because the natural results of their actions are not in their favor. Hence we see that certain actions are classed as moral or immoral according as their natural results tend to produce pleasure or pain. Nature is still indifferent. Murder and theft have no "natural punishment" where they have the social sanction. With nature might is right. The painful results of murder and theft, which constitute them crimes, do not naturally fall upon the criminal, but upon his victim and society at large, which is rendered more unstable through the insecurity of life and property. The so-called punishment of conscience does not fall upon the murderer in those societies where murder finds social approval. If nature be not morally indifferent, she at least punishes the drunkard and lets the murderer go free. All actions properly classed as immoral have pain as a natural consequent. The pain may, as in the case of the drunkard, fall chiefly upon the actor, or, as in the case of the thief, chiefly upon his victim and society. The pain does not follow the actions because they are immoral, but the actions are immoral because the pain naturally follows them. Hence, practical ethics is more concerned with the consequences of actions than with the motives prompting them, though by no means ignoring the latter. It teaches, in effect, that the moral man not only intends to do what is right, but labors earnestly to determine what is right. Indeed, in every moral doctrine, when rigorously searched, may be found an implication that acts which make for happiness ought to be considered good, and acts which make for misery to be considered bad; though different doctrines may be at variance as to what actions make for happiness, what for misery.

If then we consider moral those actions which tend to pro-

duce pleasure, and immoral those which tend to produce pain, it seems that the moral man should of necessity be happy, but this is not always so. Are we wrong, then, in judging conduct by its consequences in terms of pleasure and pain? By no means. There is no other practical criterion. But the moralist looks ahead. He foresees that such and such conduct would, if general, result in greater social stability, greater individual happiness. His own conduct may be at variance with his teachings. Many may admit the soundness of his reasonings, yet their conduct may remain unaltered; for with most persons the intellect is morally in advance of the feelings, and the feelings are the determinators of actions. Thus they know better than they do. They have intellect suited to a civilized state with many feelings suited to a savage state. From this lagging of the feelings behind the intellectual conception of right conduct, much misery results. It seems strange that a man should persist in a course of conduct which he is convinced will result in misery to himself, yet drunkards do so habitually. They know better than they do. It is also strange that certain courses of conduct which civilized men universally affirm to make for happiness are not universally pursued. The proximate explanation is that the feelings do not grow moral so fast as the intellect. This moral sluggishness of the feelings which causes men's acts to belie their beliefs is tacitly recognized by most writers on ethics as so great an evil that the motives of actions assume such gigantic proportions in their mental eyes as to hide the consequences which lie in the background. Hence, they account moral the man whose conduct is congruous with his intellectual conception of right—that is, the man whose feelings keep moral pace with his intellect. His conception of right may be false; his conduct may not be such as makes for social happiness, yet so much value is placed upon congruity between conduct and conception of right that the evil consequences of his conduct sink into insignificance. But before giving such a man our unqualified approval it is necessary to assure ourselves that his false conception of right may be changed to the true conception, and that, this being effected, his feelings will undergo a corresponding

change. The really moral man is one whose conception of right is the true one, and whose feelings are such that there tends to be complete congruity between his conduct and that conception. Nevertheless, in civilized countries, the common conception of right is so far accurate that there is at present much more need of making the general conduct congruous with the general conception of right than of making the general conception of right more accurate. Not for a moment would I have men relax their efforts to answer the question of questions—"What is right?" or the related question—"Will what is right to-day be right to-morrow?" But I would have them recognize the fact that it is a much less difficult task to alter opinions than to alter feelings—that, having corrected the conception of right, there remains to be effected such a change of feelings as will bring conduct into harmony with that corrected conception.

Before society can be perfected, it is necessary not only that men should know what conditions are essential to a perfect social state, but also that they should possess feelings appropriate to a perfect social state; and the need of the hour is that "motive" morality which consists in harmonizing conduct with ideas of right and finds popular approval in such expressions as: "He did the best he knew how," "He did it all for the best," "He knew no better." For though men may possess "best intentions" and yet lack adequate knowledge of what really constitutes good conduct, and so cause much evil, men may also possess adequate knowledge of what really constitutes good conduct and yet lack "best intentions," and so cause much greater evil. Having adequate knowledge of what constitutes good conduct, and feelings which prompt them to act accordingly, the most moral suffer in many ways—chiefly from the lack of harmony between their conduct and the general conduct. They find that, owing to the interdependence of the members of advanced societies, so long as the majority of men are immoral, it is impossible to remain in society and escape being involved in the web of immorality. They literally may not do the things that they would. There are many occupations from which they are morally debarred, many others in which it is almost impossible

to succeed without doing some violence to their delicate moral sense. When they buy from those whose practices are morally fraudulent they consider themselves abettors of immorality. When they pay taxes to a government enforcing laws which ethics does not approve or carrying on aggressive wars, they feel morally condemned as its accomplices. Though they abstain from engaging in business lest they should be entangled in the "tricks of trade," they are driven to desperation when they remember that if they will not make money by "business" methods, they may not consistently take money made by "business" methods, and that most money possesses the taint of the "business" method. In short, they see that if they consistently refuse to countenance the immorality of their neighbors they will probably starve. They cannot escape their conditions. In an imperfect society the most perfect are not the fittest to survive.

Daily we witness the success of the immoral and the failure of the moral, and are grieved thereat. We consider that the most moral *ought* to succeed and survive, but nature recognizes no such obligation. He who avoids bearing pain, not he who avoids giving pain, is still the "favored" in the struggle for existence. Some persons refuse to believe the evidence. "The moral," they say, "must surely prosper." Others say, "Virtue is its own reward," and so salve their wounded feelings; and yet others, "Virtue will find its reward in another and better world," and with this reflection are comforted. All these assertions are so many attempts to hide the fact which each hesitates to confess, even to himself, that the most moral are not the fittest to survive. But in the minds of those who recognize this fact, the following question is of paramount importance: "Are we tending toward a state of society in which the most moral will, other things equal, be fittest to survive?"

H. C. BLACKWOOD COWELL.

HOW TO ABOLISH POVERTY.

A REPLY TO MR. E. M. BURCHARD.

BY ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.

DURING the early period of American history, though everything possible to a poor and pioneer people was done for the education of men, next to nothing was done for the education of women. As a natural consequence, the United States developed a set of men who, having one artificial advantage, education, proceeded to give themselves another artificial advantage over women—the ballot. Superior education and self-arrogated habit of rule inevitably fostered in American men a tendency to consider women a “weaker sex,” in spite of the proof furnished in amplest abundance by pioneer life that women really are not, either physically or mentally, inferior as a sex. At this time the widespread education of women is rapidly reducing that artificial difference between the powers of the sexes produced by the short-sighted policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But so persistent is the survival of that ancient fallacy that our world is still permeated with its spirit. Very rarely does a man have any sort of discussion with a woman without making some display of the masculine feeling that the mere fact of being a woman renders one human being inferior to another.

A striking instance of such display is presented in Mr. E. M. Burchard's criticism of an article which appeared in the April number of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*. This gentleman was offered certain arguments expressing the writer's opinions as to the responsibility for poverty. With these arguments he does not agree, but how does he start out to refute them? Beginning with the sweeping assumption that “It is the habit of this writer to state more things that are not true than

is possible to most writers," Mr. Burchard continues, "One cannot but regret that she is not a man ; to speak the plain truth then would not seem so rude. She discourages those of us who look for the reformation of society through woman's public influence."

Now I fail to see how it could seem less rude to tell a man that his opponent considers him an habitual and wholesale falsifier than to make such an assertion to a woman. It is true such rudeness can generally be perpetrated with greater impunity when the recipient of the rudeness is a woman. But it is an inexcusable rudeness in either case. To publish that one woman is an habitual falsifier and to follow it by an intimation that this constitutes a ground for distrusting the whole female sex in the "reformation of society," is a specimen of the style of influencing public opinion against women which has been current in our country during the past two hundred years. The very least that Mr. Burchard should have felt himself in duty bound to do, after such a preface, was to have furnished the readers of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS* with some sort of proof to sustain his sweeping and injurious allegations.

This he utterly fails to do. He adduces no facts which disprove the facts that he wants to overthrow. Mrs. A. L. Cornwall, in the first place, made certain statements concerning landlords and employers, charging that these league together "to force rents up and wages down." I demonstrate that it is renters and wage-earners who force their own rents up and their own wages down. Now Mr. Burchard appears on the scene, and, not relishing the unpleasant truth which I present, he hurls forth a wholesale charge of misstatement, and assumes that he himself is a superior individual, tenderly anxious to promote the welfare of the poor, while I am a hard-hearted, selfish individual, utterly indifferent to the misery of the poor. It is about time for this sort of thing to be inspected and labeled for the prevention of continued public delusion.

The only genuine friend of the poor is the person who tells the truth. Poverty is to society what disease is to an individual. It is decidedly unpleasant to have to tell an individual that his

disease is the result of his own folly and the folly of his ancestors, and that if he wants to get well he must make a radical change in his mode of living. If he be told that in order to be cured he must practice great self-denial and exercise great patience, as strength can only be restored to one thus weakened by a slow, tedious process of upbuilding, the chances are ten to one that the patient will refuse health at such personal cost, preferring a short life of self-indulgence to a longer life, purchased at the expense of self-control. If he be a fool he will doubtless fly into a rage, and heap invectives against those out-of-reach wretched ancestors, who cursed him with so miserable an inheritance, and he will probably waste his substance running after all sorts of quacks and panaceas which hold out specious promises of working miracles in his behalf.

The case of the poor is precisely parallel to that of this imaginary individual. In the beginning, mankind was undoubtedly as nearly on a level as now is a village of chimpanzees in an African forest. There was but one way for any to rise higher than the others, and that was by the self-development of superior intelligence. Only the industrious achieved such intelligence. The most intelligent paired with most wisdom and produced the most intelligent progeny. The industrious and intelligent saved, and the less able lived on their bounty. The chief distinction between a highly civilized man and a savage, to-day, is neither their code of morals nor their habits in regard to clothing or non-clothing. The only advantage which the civilized man has acquired after hundreds of thousands of years of painful effort, of experiments which failed and experiments which succeeded—is simply the power to save, the power to practice present self-denial for the chance of future self-gratification. Now, though among sixty-five million of people there doubtless are numerous exceptions, yet the rule for success and non-success is precisely the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Those who “get on in the world” are those who discount the present, hoping for enjoyable reward in the future. Those who do not prosper are those who have not yet learned this open secret.

The mass of the poor present all the characteristics of savages slightly toned down and glossed over by their close contact with the superior civilization which is influencing them gradually to greater wisdom. They marry with the same utter recklessness, choose their abodes with about the same carelessness, live from hand to mouth after the same fashion, and cherish the same superstitions about "luck" as a source of good fortune. Not having arrived at the reasoning stage, they still worship a fetish which they believe to be all-powerful, and which they alternately cajole and upbraid, and whose name is "Society." They want to eat their cake and yet still have it, and when they fail in such desire, wild are their shrieks against those who still have cake because they saved cake. Then the man who has cake becomes an "oppressor," the man who has eaten his becomes a "victim."

Now, what is society? Society is not the very few who are richer, better educated, wiser, than the vast mass. The former are to the latter but as the drops of a small bay are to a mighty ocean in numbers. It is the mass, this great majority, which determines the condition of society. It is true the few who are more intelligent will have an advantage over the less intelligent. Intelligence, as a whole, rises above unintelligence as inevitably as man has risen above the non-human, as naturally as oil rises above water. No wonder Mr. Burchard has to admit that it is "a laborious task" to disprove such an "assumption"! The very attempt he makes to show that there is no such natural law demonstrates the helplessness of unintelligence in the presence of intelligence. Why can he throw a bushel of corn into a box, forcing some grains to remain below and placing one on top? Because here is an active, powerful intelligence dealing with inert, helpless unintelligence. But there is no analogy between the struggles of a competing crowd of human beings and Mr. Burchard regulating the position of grains of corn. If he wishes to find a true analogy between mankind and the vegetable world, let him go to a natural forest, where living trees and vines manifest different degrees of will animated by intelligence, and he will find in vegetable society a strikingly similar condi-

tion to that which exists in the human world. He will find that well-born trees grow straighter and stronger, and are better able to lift their heads into the nourishing air and sunlight than are the ill-born and sickly. He will find that that struggle for life has so developed the intelligence of certain members of the vegetable world above others that, beginning from the same soil, some have learned how to use others for their own advancement, the more intelligent climbing up beyond the less intelligent and even living at their expense. There he will find the same contrasts of thrift and shiftlessness, which are so deplorable in human society.

But what lesson should we learn from the rank, crowded forest where a few live and many perish of overcrowding? What is the great advantage the human has over the vegetable? *It is the power of self-direction.* The seed's choice is limited: it must struggle for life where it happens to fall, and take the soil, air, and sunlight as it finds these conditions. Man's choice of conditions is practically unlimited, so far as nature is concerned. Wherever there is soil he can get a living. He can refuse to contribute his offspring to swell that wretched mass of cheap laborers in city slums. He can make work and be his own employer if he be heroic enough to pay the price of liberty. But the price of liberty is self-direction, self-support. He does not lose liberty by working for an employer if he conserves for himself sufficient to enable him, at any time, to choose his own employer and his own place of abode. And he does lose liberty just as surely by selling his power of self-direction to a trades union as to an employer.

In every word he writes, Mr. Burchard betrays his longing for impossibilities. His quarrel with society is the quarrel of a tree which wants to have all the advantages both of boundless room and of crowded company, and yet have every member of the densely overcrowded forest have the benefits which all cannot share from the very nature of densely overcrowded places. It is very sad that nature has made such laws, but is it any less hard to kick against the pricks? The sensible thing is to recognize the pricks, and avoid or remove them.

Mr. Burchard next assumes that I know nothing about farmers, and proceeds to show that he does, by indicating certain things which in his opinion make the farmer a "victim" of that imaginary "comfortable and respectable society" against whom his fierce wrath is directed. As was to have been expected from a "greenbacker," Mr. Burchard attributes the cause of the farmer's difficulties to "financial legislation producing an appreciating dollar and diminishing price of product. Money borrowed to be paid with wheat at a dollar and a half per bushel is now payable in wheat at fifty cents per bushel. A farm bought, stocked, and operated, on the scale of a dollar and a half for wheat is now struggling under a fifty cent product."

Now here we have the value of wheat, and the value of a farm and all its stock, measured in money. Yet on page 558, Mr. Burchard wheels round completely and flatly asserts that, "The assertion that money is a measure of value is absurd. Value is a human estimation, to be expressed, not measured. Money does not even facilitate the operation; it has absolutely no connection with it. Take one of numberless illustrations—the valuing of a horse, for example. . . . The horse may be worth an acre of good wheat land or a city lot; a hundred bushels of wheat or two hundred of corn; it may be worth two cows, a yoke of oxen, or fifty sheep. . . . All trade is an exchange of equivalents; money has become the universally accepted equivalent; this explains the stoppage of trade under an insufficient money supply; it stops just as cutting stops when one half the shears is lost."

But even Mr. Burchard should be able to comprehend how and why it is that money is a measure of value, if he will ask himself what is involved in his own statement that "money has become the universally accepted equivalent" in all exchanges of horses for wheat, or of cows for sheep, etc., etc. The word "equivalent" means, literally, "that which is equal in value to something else." Now is it not clear to any reasoning person that a thing must have some value of itself in order to be equal in value to some other thing? Yet Mr. Burchard declares that dollars do not need to be made of valuable material in order to have value, that "a money made of paper, based upon nothing

but the necessity to use money, may have any value given to it by manipulation of the quantity available for use" !

I do not hope to be able to help Mr. Burchard to discover his own errors in regard to what money is and what it can and cannot do. A writer who contradicts himself at every point, now claiming that money is the universally accepted equal in value of every other sort of value, and then again claiming that money does not need to have any value in order to be equal in value to the most valuable things in trade—such a writer is beyond the hope of mental salvation until he discovers what it is that he is saying. The proposition that "two plus two equals four," is a true proposition, undoubtedly. But what has this truth to do with the exactly opposite statement that a thing of no value is the equivalent of a thing of value ?

The greatest enemy civilized society still harbors, or has ever entertained, is this absurd fallacy. It is the parent of a brood of legislative evils which work nothing but evil, and that continually. This smallpox of the "greenback" party reappears in milder form in the varioloid of the bimetallists, who insist that a thing of less and of fluctuating value may be forced into a fixed partial equivalence with a thing of more value.

The world of commerce, as I have said before, needs a fixed starting point in the business of exchange precisely as it needs a unit in calculating numbers, a grain in the system of weights, or an inch in the system of measures. This starting point is the basis for all calculation of value, and it is just as essential to have a definite understanding of what its nature is, as to have a decided agreement in regard to an inch, an ounce, or a bushel. The whole civilized world is to-day agreed that a grain of gold is a valuable thing. The whole civilized world holds paper as one of its cheapest productions. The whole civilized world considers a grain of silver as less valuable than a grain of gold. Gold is, therefore, to-day, what may be called a natural standard of value. The human race has experimented with, and after long experience has rejected as less fit, every other conceivable object. The decision in regard to gold is a product of mental evolution : it is a case of the survival of the fittest. Legislation

has not brought about this result ; for legislation had done everything possible to hinder it, until the universal estimation of a grain of gold as superior for the basis of the monetary system forced legislators to record such result.

To try to reverse this universal decision by efforts to substitute paper is like going back to the days when society had no fixed standards for weights and measures. It is a socially confusing and wholly foolish and injurious process. The "green-back" people suffer from a delusion that the stoppage of trade depends upon the size of the money supply. If this assumption were true, trade would be more brisk where the supply is greatest, and would proportionately languish where the per capita supply of money is lowest ; trade would be most flourishing at the time and place when and where nations were most careful to keep their own money within their own realm, and least flourishing when nations allowed money to flow in and out as it would, without let or hindrance.

As a matter of indisputable fact, when we examine the nations of the world, we find that the poorer or the more ignorant the people of a country, the greater is their proportion of money to commerce, while the more enlightened and prosperous the nation, the smaller is their proportion of money to commerce. Russia, for instance, has 152 millions (pounds sterling) of money to 120 millions (pounds sterling) of commerce. But Great Britain finds it necessary to have but 185 millions of money to 570 millions of commerce. Italy has 105 millions of money to 96 of commerce, while Germany needs but 150 millions of money to 330 of commerce. Spain and Portugal have 68 millions of money to 53 millions of commerce, but Austria has only 82 of money to 128 of commerce.

That which the farmer needs is not a greater money supply by the government, but better banking facilities for the distribution of our already more than ample supply. It does not matter if wheat is fifty cents a bushel, if the farmer can now get the same quantity of other necessities of life for fifty cents, as he formerly had to pay a dollar and a half for. If, with our vast improvements in machinery, in power of production, and in

facility of distribution, all manufactured goods are high in price, while farm products alone are low, he must indeed be a stupid farmer who cannot sometime discover the unfairness of a system which bolsters up prices for one favored class. It is neither high prices nor low prices which make a country a desirable or undesirable place of residence. The injury comes in the legislative interference which protects a few at the expense of the many, by giving the few control of the market. Our present tariff compels the farmer to sell in the cheapest and buy in the dearest market. As long as his ideal of civilization remains that avowed by Mr. Burchard, that is, the elimination of the natural freedom of natural creatures, I do not see how any earthly plan can help him.

ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK.

ARE THE NEW UNITED STATES BONDS VOIDABLE?

BY A. C. HOUSTON.

IT CERTAINLY is a question of great moment to the American people whether or not the secretary of the treasury, under existing laws, has a right to increase the public debt, not only for purposes of redemption, but to pay the current expenses of the government.

Senator Sherman, while secretary of the treasury, claimed and exercised a right to sell bonds for the former purpose, and the present secretary has in effect claimed and exercised a right to sell bonds for the latter purpose. Was the act of Secretary Carlisle alone illegal, or were both acts in violation of law?

To determine these questions it is necessary to properly construe portions of two acts of Congress—the Resumption act of 1875, and the Act of 1878, modifying it.

The only provisions of those acts bearing upon the questions are here set out, as follows :

Act of 1875 :

SECTION 3.—“ That Section 5177 of the Revised Statutes, limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, be and is hereby repealed, and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law, without respect to said aggregate limit ; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing law, without respect to said aggregate limit ; and the provision of law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national bank currency among the several states and territories is hereby repealed.

“ And whenever and so often as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the secretary of the treasury to *redeem the legal tender United States notes in excess only of \$300,000,000* to the amount of 80 per cent of the sum of national bank notes so issued to any such banking association, as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes

are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of \$300,000,000 of such legal tender United States notes, and no more.

"And on and after the first day of January, 1879, the secretary of the treasury shall *redeem in coin the United States legal tender notes then outstanding*, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50. And to enable the secretary to prepare and provide for the *redemption* in this act authorized or required, *he is hereby empowered to issue, sell, and dispose of*, at not less than par in coin, either of the description of *bonds* of the United States, described in the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled, etc., . . . *to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purposes aforesaid.*"

Act of 1878 :

"That from and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful for the secretary of the treasury or other officer under him to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal tender notes. And when any of said notes may be *redeemed* or received into the treasury under any law from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States they *shall not be retired, cancelled, or destroyed*, but they shall be *reissued* and paid out again and kept in circulation."

The section taken from the Resumption act of 1875, it is seen, provides for the redemption of the legal tender notes in excess of \$300,000,000. There were at that time about \$375,000,000 of these notes in circulation. The redemption of this excess was to begin at once, and "on and after the first day of January, 1879" the secretary was to "*redeem in coin the United States legal tender notes then outstanding.*"

The word "redeem" is twice used in the Act of 1875, and evidently means "to pay and cancel." The secretary placed that construction upon it and did pay and did cancel and destroy the legal tender currency until it was reduced to about \$346,000,000, when the Act of 1878 was passed. If "redeem" meant to pay and cancel in the first clause under which the secretary acted, it must also have the same meaning in the last clause because the context does not tend to vary its meaning.

What then was the effect of the Act of 1878? Did it put a stop to the redemption of legal tender notes? The act uses the word "redeemed" saying: "When any of said notes may be *redeemed* . . . they shall not be retired, cancelled, or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again and

kept in circulation." The word here then has evidently a circumscribed meaning, and different from that which it has in the Act of 1875 ; and, although redemption is only indirectly referred to, it recognizes it as a continuing process. It does not say it shall cease, but says it shall stop short of cancellation. The word "redeemed," then, in the Act of 1878, must mean payment without cancellation.

The first effect of this act, therefore, is to stop cancellation ; but leaves the duty of the secretary to pay these notes when presented intact. On and after the first day of January, 1879, the notes must be paid when presented, but not cancelled or retired.

But the act goes farther and says these paid notes "shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation."

Now the question arises, What is the effect of this payment and reissue ? Without doubt it is the destruction of the old contract and the creation of a new contract. The payment of the note satisfies the debt of which the note is the evidence and security, and if the same paper be reissued and accepted it becomes the evidence and security of another contract—a contract which had no existence prior to the reissue and acceptance. Can this reissued note, then, be paid or redeemed under the present law ? By no means. Because the law says the secretary shall redeem "the United States legal tender notes *then outstanding*"—that is, outstanding on the first day of January, 1879.

Some have maintained that the treasury under the law as set out above had the usual powers of a bank of issue and could redeem or pay and reissue the same notes continually. But a treasury is not a bank and can through the secretary exercise only the powers which are given to it by the law strictly construed. Banks of issue under the usual charters have not only the right to issue the paid note as the security of a new contract, which it is, and pay it when presented, but to make new issues, new not only as to contract but also as to evidence and security. Under such a construction the secretary might infer the power to increase the non-interest bearing debt of the United States indefinitely. But under a strict construction of the law, the secre-

tary of the treasury has only the power to redeem or pay a certain number of notes that were outstanding on the first day of January, 1879.

The non-professional reader may think this interpretation technical, still if it is logical and correct it is law and must be obeyed. To show the importance of the principle involved I am constrained to quote the following paragraph, from the opinion of Chief Justice Gibson in *Jones vs. Johnson*, 3 Wall and Serg. (Penn.) p. 276. It is not offered as a case directly in point but as shedding much light from a side window upon a question often difficult and perplexing.

The Chief Justice said: "There is a substantial distinction . . . between cases of extinguishment by merger of the security, and cases of extinguishment by satisfaction of the debt. In the first of them the original security is extinguished but the debt remains; in the second the debt as well as the security is extinguished."

The conclusion therefore is that Senator Sherman, then secretary of the treasury, had the right in the exercise of a reasonable discretion to sell United States bonds "to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect and to use the proceeds thereof for the purposes aforesaid"—that is—"to redeem in coin the United States legal tender notes then outstanding."

If the object of the Act of 1878 had been to stop payment in coin of these notes, it would have been very easy to enact that the secretary should not redeem or pay them in coin. But the act said only that he should not "cancel or retire" them. The reason no doubt why payment was not prohibited was because such an enactment would have been deemed repudiation. The only object of the Act of 1878 was to prevent any farther contraction of the currency by destruction of legal tender notes.

Accordingly, the secretary of the treasury sold bonds and piled up in the treasury \$90,000,000 in gold. The result has shown it was a great mistake as to the amount of coin needed, and that the principal incentive to presentation for redemption was taken away as soon as the secretary was directed to "reissue" the notes.

The next step in the course of the argument follows inevitably—that this fund of \$90,000,000 can only be used for the purposes for which it was created by law, *unless the present or any succeeding secretary of the treasury shall deem the discretion exercised by the former secretary unreasonable, and in the exercise of his own discretion reduce the fund to a point where it will be sufficient “for the purposes aforesaid.”* Secretary Sherman could have created a fund of \$100,000,000 or \$50,000,000 as he thought best. During his administration of the office he could have reduced the fund if he found it larger than necessary; and Secretary Carlisle in the exercise of the same discretionary power has the same right. It would be a strange proposition to maintain that a secretary could bind his successor in the exercise of a power discretionary and adhering in the office where the execution of the power vests no rights in third parties. True, this fund has been created “for the purposes aforesaid,” but if the “purposes” no longer require, it can by the direction of the secretary be carried—a part of it or all of it—into the general fund of the treasury.

So, while the conclusion is reached that Secretary Carlisle, in the exercise of a wise discretion, had the right to reduce the reserve fund to the extent deemed proper by himself, still no one would suppose that a wise discretion would lead him to reduce it *in order that he might restore it*, because he has no right to reduce it except upon the ground that it is larger than necessary “for the purposes aforesaid.” If the fund had proved insufficient, the secretary would have had the right to add to it under the law, but the jugglery of an attempt to take away with one hand and restore with the other would certainly call forth the enjoining power of a court having jurisdiction if the question were properly presented.

This discussion, it seems, makes apparent that the discretionary power given to the secretary of the treasury is a dangerous power; that in order to give the treasury the right to redeem the legal tender notes of the United States as often as they may be presented, additional legislation is necessary; and that the bonds lately issued by Secretary Carlisle are voidable.

A. C. HOUSTON.

WHAT AILS INTER-AMERICAN COMMERCE?

BY KURT VON STAUFEN.

THE United States imports from the countries of Central and South America merchandise (mostly tropical products) to more than twice the value of what they export, notwithstanding the fact that these countries are heavy consumers of manufactured goods of various kinds. Europe has the supremacy in the markets of Central and South America, a fact which has been attributed in this country in part to the Europeans underselling the Americans, and in part to the antipathy of the Southern nations against the Americans, the results of the alleged machinations and intrigues of the jealous Europeans. The remedial agencies applied were calculated to lead to a cure. But neither reciprocity treaties nor tariff stipulations, whatever their own intrinsic or peculiar merits or demerits may be, have availed. The Pan-American Congress, so auspiciously ushered in, has also ended in failure. So there must be something else amiss somewhere. The disparagement of mutual trade relations undoubtedly exists, but the surmised sources, which have been held as responsible so far, may not have been the real ones.

There can be no doubt as to the reality of the native antipathy (to put it mildly) against Americans throughout the countries of Central and South America. The feeling exists, is an indirect factor, and must be reckoned with. Who is responsible for it?

Now, it so happens that the Southern countries have ever been the favorite fields of operation for unprincipled adventurers and scoundrels of every sort from the United States, who have been exceedingly numerous at times, and have succeeded in making the American name an uncomplimentary byword. Any intelligent and observant person having traveled extensively in

the South American countries will have had some opportunity of verifying this statement. There are American residents who are highly respected by the natives, but I am very sorry to say that they form the minority ; as to the majority of American sojourners and travelers, it must be said, that they possess a phenomenal ability of giving offense to the sensitive Southerners by their lack of tact and discretion in public and private affairs. They make the grievous mistake of holding the middle and upper classes in the Southern countries as not better in point of civilization than the peons (serfs), while, in fact, education and culture among the well-to-do are of a high order and not surpassed even in this country. This has nothing to do with their political shortcomings. Nothing is more abhorred in those countries than impoliteness, for it is a well known fact that politeness is universal among rich and poor, high and low. To an American the time spent in exchanging polite phrases upon any and all occasions is often very trying I will admit, but it is the one custom that the native holds supreme, and any infraction of which he considers a personal insult. The American may not dream of slighting anybody intentionally, nevertheless, his native brusqueness and impatience may get the best of him, and then the damage is done. The Europeans are much more cautious in this respect, and also better prepared, because ceremonious politeness is practiced, to a greater extent, in their home countries than in the United States. In the United States business is generally held to be independent of the common civilities of social life, and subject only to the bare necessities of personal attention ; it is otherwise in the Southern countries. There business is carried on, flavored with civility and courtesy, and no one need expect to succeed unless he can be likewise civil and courteous.

Another American custom, which is perceived in visitors from this country, is making a very bad impression on the nations of the South, and that is the free and easy fashion of social intercourse between members of opposite sex (especially unmarried ones), accepted as a matter of course in the United States. Americans, not aware of the peculiarities of the people,

and carrying themselves as they do at home, are therefore likely to be misunderstood, and their manners held to be nothing short of scandalous. So, take it all in all, there is some show of reason for the startling Mexican saying about the Americans: "*Los hombres son sin honor y las unjeres son sin pudor*" (the men are without honor and the women are without shame). The combination of deplorable circumstances that has made such a saying possible, which has become in time a popular proverb spread farther than Central America, cannot fail to have produced some effect on the mutual commercial relations.

Thus it will appear, that the Americans have mainly themselves to blame that an antipathy exists against them. It is nothing short of silliness to charge the Europeans with being responsible for the existence of said feeling, because it would presuppose concerted action on their part against the Americans, an eventuality which is entirely out of question, when it is considered that their own interests are anything but identical. They have enough to do with themselves.

The feeling of antipathy though is by no means the most difficult matter to deal with. I have treated first of this minor ill, because it has been rightly recognized as an ill by everybody concerned, though according to my findings it is attributed to the wrong source. But here all further similarity ends. I reject as totally spurious the allegation, that the Europeans are to blame for the existing state through their underselling the Americans and conspiring to keep them out of the markets of Central and South America.

The most serious and most far-reaching of all ailings of inter-American commerce is "the unwillingness of American producers to accommodate themselves to the wants, likes, and dislikes of foreign consumers." In order to show how deep-seated this defect is ingrained in the American people, I will call attention to the following facts. Germany and Russia in the year 1893 carried on a tariff, or commercial, war. Germany is a heavy consumer of rye, and, not growing enough of this staple grain, has to make good the shortage by importing rye, and has relied so far mostly on Russia. It could not do so then on account of the pro-

hibitory tariff. Here was a good opportunity for the producers of grain in the United States to acquire an excellent market for their own surplus. The opportunity was clearly seen, but it was not exploited. I have taken particular pains to sift this matter and have carefully and persistently perused to that intent fifty of the leading American newspapers. Every one of them commented upon the subject, but not one of them drew the logical deduction and gave rational advice. Three among the number, in elaborate editorials, contented themselves with saying that the American farmers could never have a better chance to get a market for their products; further than that they did not go. But forty-seven out of the fifty newspapers congratulated themselves and the country on the excellent chance of opening a market in Germany for the American surplus corn and cornmeal! And this in face of the fact, that Indian corn, though known and grown to some small extent, but sufficient for all home demands in Germany, is there looked upon unfavorably by the large majority of people! These papers must have been aware of the efforts that have been made for years by American agents to create a market in that country for Indian corn, efforts which have met with indifferent success so far. Not one of these leading newspapers advised the growing of rye for a market which would have been a sure and permanent one if properly looked after. It was rye which Germany wanted and not corn. The United States deliberately let slip a golden opportunity, the Danubian countries instead improved it.*

The strange attitude of the press in the aforesaid matter finds its exact counterpart in the one maintained by the American manufacturers and merchants in relation to the markets of Central and South America. The Europeans there studiously try to keep always in accord with popular demands in trade, they never seek to foist undesired goods upon unwilling customers. They never rush things, but build up their trade carefully and cautiously; one of the main points securing them commercial supremacy is the custom of giving long-time credits—in short

* There may have been newspapers that treated the matter sensibly, but I am not aware of it.

they are masters of the art and science of commerce. Whoever has had occasion to get an insight into the methods of American business men in the markets in question will know that they are apt to be just the reverse of those I have described. Then also it must be kept in mind that the southern countries depend for their material development very largely on outside money, which is supplied almost exclusively by Europe and secures it a so much stronger basis for its trade. All of this goes to show that the Europeans would not be the shrewd traders they are, should they fail to improve the opportunities which the Americans themselves are instrumental in maintaining. There is no necessity whatever for them to stoop to any dishonorable means, to break down American competition, nor can the charge of underselling hold good, for the simple reason that American exporters compete with the Europeans in the latter's own home markets ; why, then, should they not be able to do so in the southern countries of this continent, except it be for the reasons I have set forth ? For however good or superior American articles may be for use in this country, or to a measure in Europe, it does not necessarily follow that such should also be the case in the southern countries. International trade is carried on down there strictly under conditions of competition ; the successful trader will therefore, other things being equal, always be he who knows best how to please.

All the evidence adduced so far goes to show that the difficulties the Americans labor under are in large measure self-imposed, and are capable of being avoided or eliminated, with the possible exception perhaps, that the financial strength of American business circles may not yet suffice or be free to cope with their European competitors successfully in that respect. In this latter case, then, my former judgment will have to be materially modified, provided of course that the other causes be removed.

The American government is also responsible to some degree for the present state of affairs. American manufacturers and merchants rely for their information regarding foreign markets to some extent on consular reports. The officials sent out by

the United States as diplomats and consuls are many times very capable and intelligent men, but often the reverse. Can anybody imagine a more egregious and unpardonable folly, than the putting of men in the foreign service of the nation without regard to special fitness, simply because they have rendered the party in power some questionable services? Does it not happen frequently that such an individual gets into trouble through his partisan habit of taking sides in foreign contentions, when he ought to hold strictly aloof? The damage likely to result from such intermeddling is simply beyond calculation and often beyond repair. That a man, who is absolutely ignorant of language, customs, and manners of a people to which he is sent, must be greatly handicapped, goes without further elaboration. After he may have familiarized himself with his duties, political destiny may have his successor ready, and so the round of misrepresentation goes on and on. The foreign service, principally the consular one, ought to be remodeled upon sensible business methods, and the sooner the better. As to the United States consuls, nobody expects them to act as commercial drummers, but they should be well-informed advisers. They are to be watchful of the commercial interests primarily. Why, then, should not the commercial bodies of the country have some say in the premises?

The best way to remedy the existing unhealthy state of inter-American commerce, is for American manufacturers and merchants to adopt, as far as feasible, the methods of their European competitors, and then strike out with the experience so gained, but on independent lines. It would be well, for instance, to establish branch depots in the principal trade centers, in charge of gentlemanly representatives who should possess, aside from sterling business ability, the necessary qualifications to live down the prevailing prejudice. These depots could at the same time be places where the last practical finishing touches could be given to those who wanted to choose a mercantile vocation in the respective branches and fields. The real technical, linguistic, and other foundations ought to be always laid in this country; that is what the commercial colleges ought to be for. Experi-

ence in store and counting room is nowadays quite insufficient to produce a perfect merchant, who would be serviceable both at home and abroad. I think it unnecessary to make any further remarks on the case; what I have said ought to be plain to everybody and carries with it its own import. If the Americans always act according to this specific observation "that the manner and matter of traffic must always fit the market," and bear in mind in general the "Golden Rule," than which there is no better, then their ascendancy in the markets of Central and South America will materialize in due time.

KURT VON STAUFEN.

AN ARTIFICIAL PANIC IN RETROSPECT.

BY WILLIAM KNAPP, OF THE DENVER BAR.

BY WHAT occult causes or overt act was the panic of 1893 precipitated upon the country, and what is its interpretation as it passes in review before us?

At the outset, let a few axiomatic truths be stated. National prosperity or adversity has its origin, primarily, from monetary and financial conditions more than from all other sources. Tariffs raise revenues upon different theories, and are exterior and local in their effects; but a sudden change to a dearer and ever appreciating monetary standard of values, creates consternation and panic in business affairs. In measuring quantity and length, the same result follows by increasing the capacity of the bushel or by lengthening the yard stick. A quick withdrawal of currency from actual circulation causes a monetary stringency, and, if of sufficient amount, causes a sharp panic. A gradual monetary contraction will also create a falling market and continuing bad times.

Notice the industrial condition of England. Silver was demonetized in 1816, and free trade has long been the obstinate policy. For the past twenty years, at least, times have been uninterruptedly bad, and are growing worse. In 1885, Mr. Alfred Wallace, LL.D., an eminent writer, gave as reasons for bad times in England the following: "Foreign loans; increase of war expenses; rural depopulation; pauperism in England and Ireland; agricultural depression; increase of millionaires; speculation and finance, and adulterations and dishonesty." The final report of the Royal Commission, appointed to investigate the causes of the depression in trades and industries in England, made in December, 1886, gives, in connection with some of the above reasons, the following: "The protective tariffs of so many foreign countries."

Now, while these things may have had some incidental influence upon the times, foreign tariffs especially, do not most of the reasons given seem entirely superficial? They are, however, on a par with most causes given by gold standard advocates, for hard times in our own country after 1873 and at the present time.

England, rather than admit that free trade is at all responsible for the never-ending bad times, charges the protective tariffs of other countries with being the chief causes, and, to gain a monopoly of manufacturing, those nations are advised to abandon the principle of protection. The idea that a single gold monetary standard and a vast credit system of banking induce bad times, has not entered the British mind with any force until quite recently; and, against the interests of nine tenths of her people, to secure for her money lenders a larger field for the investment of idle money of enhancing value, the United States and other large debtor countries are counseled to abandon silver, to which we slavishly listen, and fasten upon ourselves English theories of banking and currency.

But social and national disintegration is going on in England according to all accounts; and, as predicted years ago, the estimable head of the dynasty may be the last. One third of the population has been supported by charity for several years and the percentage is increasing. The new Councils bill is simply a communistic method of confiscation in disguise. The masses are seeing that all the devices of legislation have had the effect of keeping the comforts of life in the hands of the few. Communistic and anarchistic sentiment is increasing with alarming rapidity. The House of Lords—the only check to the dismemberment of the nation—is threatened with abolition by the party in power. Even the invulnerable Bank of England is entitled, by a writer in the *Investors' Review*, a “paralytic,” and a monopoly against the interests of the community, dragging other banks down with it. Our gold-worshiping flunkies are fastening upon us the same conditions; and it will not be a surprise if, to escape the wrath of an indignant people, they are soon longing for a monarchy here.

It is not my purpose to go into the theory or history of panics, and I will not go back of those of 1873, when silver was demonetized. For over five years from that time till the passage of the Bland act in 1878, the industrial depression was the worst and most peculiar in our history. A dark pall of fear and consternation suddenly overspread the country. Strikes and riots were frequent and tramps filled the land. It is unnecessary to dilate upon it. The friends of the single gold standard, then as now, thought that silver was put down forever. The history of that period and the theories of bimetallists show that prosperity did not return until the partial restoration of silver into our currency in 1878; which has been the only cause of the measure of good times we have had since. That period and the present are quite analogous. History is repeating itself. Money lenders, here as in England, give most labored and superficial reasons for the terrible depression; and hold out rose-colored hopes and indications of a revival of good times and lasting prosperity.

The two older political parties have hitherto maintained a favorable attitude toward silver money, fearing certain defeat if pledged to the single gold standard. Now, evasion and deceit have run their race upon this issue. The last national platform of the party in power declared for the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and that all paper currency should be kept at par and *redeemable in such coin*; also, for the repeal of the ten per cent tax on state bank issues. Mr. Cleveland endorsed that platform in his acceptance speech at the Madison Square Garden, and gave the people to understand that he would support it. Yet, no sooner was it known that his party would control the two branches of government for the next four years, than the gold syndicates of London and New York seized the opportunity, through the executive branch, to treacherously overthrow silver. The universal cry went up from subsidized papers, banks, and all financial and commercial institutions in the east, of the great and imminent danger of a silver basis, if silver purchases were to continue. Most urgent demands were made upon the outgoing administration for repeal and bonds to

continue specie payments, that is, gold redemptions. Upon the advent of the new administration, March 4, 1893, the demands for an extra session of Congress for repeal became peremptory. Heavy exports of gold were most foolishly charged to continued silver purchases, and Congress was finally called together. The only reason for the panic given in the message, was silver purchases, and an assurance of prosperity upon repeal.

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Henry Clews on June 26, 1893, giving the conspiracy away, doubtless reflected the sentiments of the extra sessionists. He said: "The houses that were engaged until lately in shipping gold *became so zealous in that enterprise that they tried to outstrip each other, and more gold was shipped than Europe required.* As soon as our crops ripen, there will be a good deal of gold return to this country. One of the arguments in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law has been that the baser metal has driven the finer metal out of the country. In a little while, *with gold returning to us the strength of that argument will be sapped.* An early session of Congress will leave that argument in full force."

The conspiracy is here laid bare. More gold was exported than was called for, for the purpose of intensifying the scare of a silver basis. Congress should be called so as to act before imports of gold commenced, or the chances of repeal would be endangered.

There was no just reason for a panic at this time. There was no excessive speculation in the country—no heavy failures—no want of confidence *by the people.* We had recovered from the incidental shock of the Baring Bros. failure in 1890. The fact that gold returned to us in large quantities before the repeal bill was passed proves the absolute falsity of the claim that silver purchases in any way stimulated its export except artificially, in the spring of 1893. An unwise method of basing legal tender paper money upon the market price of bullion purchases, was made the pretext of putting us upon a gold basis, which could not have been done under a stringent silver coinage law. The panic was instituted to fan the flame of fear and bring about repeal.

The associated banks are the chief factors in this great conspiracy. Do we realize the power of about 3,700 banks scattered uniformly throughout the land, and all acting in unison under orders from the central associated head? They demand an immense national debt to perpetuate their existence. They demand the power to issue all the paper currency. They are now demanding a tax upon the legal tender or greenback issue—the best paper money we ever had—to stop its circulation. If they cannot secure these advantages at the hands of this administration, they never will get them. That which it is necessary to clearly comprehend is, that, with the power of the banks to issue all the paper currency upon a single gold standard, the volume of money would be absolutely under their control; and, by contraction or expansion at pleasure, the people would be completely at their mercy, as this panic clearly shows. I do not object to banking institutions in their legitimate operations, but must raise my voice against any private corporation being intrusted with such dangerous powers, and against the creation of a public debt for that purpose.

The proof that this panic was most unnatural and criminal, appears from an order issued by the management of the associated system to all national banks, to secure concerted action for the objects indicated in the circular. It was issued March 12, 1893, and is substantially as follows:

DEAR SIR:—The interests of national banks require immediate financial legislation by Congress. *Silver, silver certificates, and treasury notes must be retired and national bank notes upon a gold basis made the only money.* This will require the authorization of from \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, of new bonds as a basis of circulation. You will, at once, *retire one third of your circulation and call in one half of your loans.* Be careful to *make a money stringency felt among your patrons especially among influential business men.* Advocate an extra session of Congress for the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman law, and act with the other banks of your city in securing *a large petition to Congress for its unconditional repeal, per accompanying form.* The future life of national banks as fixed and safe investments depends upon immediate action, as *there is an increasing sentiment in favor of government legal tender notes and silver coinage.*

Here the purpose and inception of the panic are clearly established, namely: By creating a monetary strain, to be attributed

to gold exports, sufficient to influence the calling of an extra session of Congress ; to put our currency upon an absolute gold basis ; to secure such legislation as will retire all forms of paper money and allow the banks to issue all the non-metallic currency ; to entail upon the people the burden of a large fresh interest-bearing debt, especially for the banks, as a basis for this paper currency.

Now, can any tenable reason be shown why it was necessary that *all* the national banks in the country should suddenly, as by an imperial edict, retire one third of their circulation, at that time amounting to about \$50,000,000, from actual use in business ? Did their safety require at the same time, from any cause whatever, an immediate calling in, throughout the *whole* country, of one half of their loans, at that time amounting to about \$1,000,000,000 ? None whatever ! Yet, aside from the positive proof we have, it is within the most uncertain recollection that, about that time, *all* banks without previous warning notified their customers of the stoppage of loans and discounts, and that all outstanding obligations must be met without further extension. We all know also that about this time the money market became very tight, and that bank and other failures commenced by the wholesale.

The great majority of the people can not experience prosperous times any more than they do in England, under a single gold standard, without the recognition of silver and a continual contraction of the currency. At times, there may be some apparent improvement in trade and business, but it can not be permanent and healthy.

Notice the contraction since the bank bulletin was issued. Added to the bank circulation retired to make a monetary stringency felt, the monthly supply of about \$3,500,000 under the Sherman law ceased upon repeal. There has also been a further contraction of \$50,000,000, in the purchase of bonds to bolster up specie or gold resumptious. Another illegal act of contraction by the banks, of which the comptroller of the currency takes no notice, is reported as being practiced—that of hoarding gold, to be used in the purchase of bonds whenever the reserves

run low. The gold received in daily balances is diverted into safe deposit vaults in New York. Clearing-house gold certificates are issued against this gold, *for circulation among the banks only*, and are included in calculating the weekly bank reserve statements. This has been going on since repeal, and how much gold has been thus hoarded and taken out of circulation among the people, is known only to the banks. How quickly the comptroller would interfere, by taxation or in some other manner, to stop the use by the *people only*, to save themselves from ruin, of a form of currency like a clearing-house loan on gold certificates.

We frequently read laudatory articles upon the management of the banks during and since the panic. The facts, however, show that their conduct was altogether selfish and not at all salutary. If solvent customers could secure discounts freely during the height of the panic, when depositors were refused payment, and resort was had to clearing-house loan certificates to prevent the whole associated system from going under, it could not have been done to relieve the monetary strain and prevent failures. There was a time when the banks and the government relieved a tight money market whenever it became serious.

At the inception of the panic it was claimed by the banks that the people were hoarding the money. Then, that the country banks had it all in their vaults; and a heavy rate was charged for extending loans, to bring it back to the city banks. At the height of the panic, upon the authority of an associated bank president, the New York banks had about \$35,000,000 more than at the corresponding period last year. Nearly three months before repeal, the banks received from Europe nearly a quarter of the gold recently exported, and, as he expressed it, had money to give away. The bank reserves have been on the increase for months. The clearing-house loan certificates have long since been cancelled, and it is known that the banks are gorged with money, while there is probably not over three dollars (\$3.00) per capita in actual circulation among the great mass of the people. During bank suspensions, one of the banks of this city had a reserve of 75 per cent, which it was said to be the in-

tention to retain, and the other banks retained about double the reserves required by law, which is kept from circulation. Yet no effort is made by these institutions to relieve the acute money tightness; but it has been on the increase since repeal, contrary to all the predictions of gold monometallists.

There must be something vitally wrong when the banks can thus control the money of the people, as I attempted to show more fully in the August number of this journal, and then refuse to grant relief after the panic is over. If it had been an honest panic growing out of natural commercial operations, prosperity would be returning. But under a radical change of the monetary standard in the interest of *non-producers* and of *wealth absorbers*, an era of good times cannot be expected. The history of gold monometallism in England and her system of banking prove that under similar conditions we are doomed to bad times. The distrust by the banks of the people will grow greater and greater under such a state of things. It is this *distrust by the banks* rather than a *want of confidence by the people* that stands in the way of returning prosperity. The people will not be captious about the standard of money if they can become prosperous and contented.

The panic resulted in an extra session and repeal. Will the other objects be attained? No! If a government by the people, of the people, and for the people is to be longer maintained. Our gold basis credit system of banking is a great curse to the masses. It *necessitates debt*; for, under it, there is an insufficient supply of money to carry on business and development, which must be done by *borrowing*. Then come frequent panics, and debtors lose the earnings of a life time and are set back twenty years or more, under advancing age.

The debt of our municipalities, railroads, farms, and homes alone, amounts to over \$48,000,000,000; and 31,000 persons own one half the wealth of the country, as appears by the census returns. Our annual interest account with England alone is estimated to be about \$125,000,000, to say nothing of the balance of our foreign and domestic debt, which, all told, is equal to our total wealth. We are constantly being told that

our money should be as good as that of the world. Yet, we are a debtor nation; and the dear money standard in the interest of creditor countries reduces the people to servitude and want. Among other countries, Argentine, Australia, and even the United States, are examples in hand. They are burdened with great debts which it is impossible to meet under this system of credit. We *pay our debts by borrowing*, as the government maintains its specie reserves by borrowing.

The oft-repeated assertion, that, with an increasing silver money, the currency is made unsound, is false in theory and in practice. France has double our currency in proportion to her population in actual use, with more silver money than gold; and her paper money is redeemed in both gold and silver equally. The French are not noted for immigration. They are comparatively free from debt, and most prosperous and contented. If, like France, we had an ample currency of \$50 or \$60 per capita, we would not be compelled to borrow half so much as we do. Our present deplorable condition is due to *credit and an insufficient money supply*. Yet, a standing argument in the gold basis papers is, that to continue the use of silver money will prevent foreign investments and cause a dumping of securities for settlement. No danger. They are able and willing to carry us and put us deeper in debt.

Have we not displayed very poor financiering in the management of our monetary affairs? In imitation of England, and having the luxury of a large debt, we have refunded our war debt in the interest of national banks, until it will now take much more labor to pay what remains than it would have done to settle the whole when it was first contracted. And now the national banks ask for gold-bearing bonds amounting to \$1,000,000,000 that this most disastrous system of inadequate currency and extensive credit may be fastened upon the people, and they permitted, at their own niggardly will and pleasure, to supply all the paper money of the country.

What a lack of statesmanship to establish a bonded debt in the purchase of gold for the purpose of maintaining specie payments, when, as in France, legal tenders should be redeemed in

both gold and silver equally. It has not driven France to a silver basis, neither would it us, if the alternating principle of redemption were adopted under free coinage. There is not sufficient gold in the world to begin to pay the debt of the gold standard countries. Why! The Rothschilds alone own over \$1,600,000,000 in gold. They have more gold at their command than all the currency of the United States—gold, silver, and paper put together. There is not gold enough in the country to begin to pay our foreign debt. How, then, can any country meet its obligations in gold?

Some of our eastern friends assume that silver is cast down forever. But it has been current money since the days of Abraham; and three fifths of the population of the earth have no other money to-day, while the other two fifths of the world use both gold and silver. Yet, we are continually being told of the end of the silver craze.

Gold standard countries cannot stand the decline in the silver market any better than ourselves. Gold appreciates in the same proportion and paralyzes all industry everywhere. England is suffering from the repeal of our silver purchases and the panic. It has already stopped English exports of cotton goods. The fall in silver, while it is ruining us, has cut off the demand in England for her goods by silver using countries. Silver using countries, indebted to England, have suspended payments of interest.

The retrospect of the panic shows most clearly, how thoroughly deceived were the friends of silver, throughout the south and west particularly, by the pledges upon the subject of silver money made in the last Democratic platform, as well as by the claims made in behalf of the candidate standing upon that platform. It must be patent now that they have been completely sold out, and delivered over most remorselessly into the hands of their enemies.

During the pendency of the repeal bill at the extra session, it was tacitly, at least, understood with the friends of silver who were induced to vote for the bill as a party measure, that a currency and banking bill, said to have been in contemplation and

course of preparation by the executive department, in which silver would be satisfactorily recognized, would be brought forward at the general session in December. This was conditioned upon unconditional repeal. But Congress and the party are most thoroughly paralyzed, under the influence of Lombard street and the prototype of the Bank of England.

It is the intention not even to coin the seigniorage silver bullion now idle in the treasury, unless authority is given the executive by Congress, to issue low interest-bearing bonds to an unlimited amount for the purpose of securing the necessary gold to sustain our foolish and strained attempt to keep up specie payments in gold alone. The recent moves made to bring the United States, Austria-Hungary, and India to a permanent gold basis, will make it more difficult for us to maintain gold payments in the future, and compel the frequent addition to our debt for that purpose.

Mr. Cleveland, in his late veto message, admits that our currency and financial affairs are in a confused and crucial condition ; hopes a way will be found to give silver its proper place in our currency ; is very solicitous for the restoration of confidence in our financial management abroad, while simply depreciating loss and discouragement to our own people. No suggestions are offered for the relief of our currency from its confused conditions, and no attempts are made in that direction. A conference of either gold or silver countries is not favored. There seems to be an unaccountable insensibility to the unusual devastation and ruin caused by the panic and repeal.

Such, however, is always the case when great wrongs are being committed against the popular will. The final outcome of these methods employed to force a gold basis, is quite likely to result in the restoration of the ancient and constitutional right to the free and unlimited coinage of silver by the people. The reaction may be so complete that the shining blade of the guillotine, made by the gold trust to cut off the head of silver, will be used by the latter for the decapitation of the former, and the complete enthronement of silver.

WILLIAM KNAPP.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY DUANE MOWRY, LL.B.

THERE are many obstacles to overcome before practical municipal reform will have made any considerable progress in the larger cities in this country. Of course, one of the chiefest things to accomplish is to awaken an active interest in that class of voters in primaries and caucuses, who have hitherto taken no interest, or but slight interest, at most, in those political gatherings. This means a complete change in public opinion upon those matters.

And, if I judge the situation aright, the agitation of municipal reform, to be even tolerably successful, must largely come from practical, careful, business men, who discern the great need of it and will cast their influence and exert their best endeavors for its accomplishment. The great difficulty with many, with nearly all so-called reformatory movements, is, that they are apt to be championed by, if, indeed, not the wild fancies of, thoroughly impractical, although it may be, well meaning and honest citizens. They are often men who have had no practical experience in affairs, and are mere theorists at best. I do not hesitate to say that this class cannot, and I think should not, command the support of the sincere friends of true municipal reform. It will impress the average individual that such a reform as they usually propose would be much like flying "from the ills we have, to others we know not of," and, at most, would be a change with no substantial relief.

In the struggle for better municipal government in the large American cities, let us then, first of all, seek the aid and counsel of the broad-gauged men of affairs. Demonstrate the need of reform, not with argument mainly, but with undoubted facts chiefly. Disclose the rottenness of the rings which connive and conspire to get fat contracts at the public expense. Do not stop to ask with what party the criminal associates. No respectable

political party can afford to own any such. And if the other political party were any better it would not. Show up a dozen cases of bribery in the vote of the common council on some important question—important to somebody—but most important to the public at large. Make official action so thoroughly subject to just criticisms that honest action will be secured. Show up the utter incapacity and worthlessness of this official on account of his lack of education ; or, of that one on account of his well-known dissolute habits and extravagance ; or, of the other one because he is notoriously unreliable and dishonest. Let these charges be made, not upon mere rumor, but supplement them with the facts to sustain your position to a legal certainty. A war of words dealing simply in personalities is worse than foolish. It can serve no useful or profitable purpose. Take every official for his real worth for the place he occupies. Conduct an investigation as you would your own business. Invoke business methods.

The one branch of the public service in free America that needs a most thorough and searching fumigation is that one which is found in control of the municipal affairs in all the larger cities. It is the acme of official corruption that here appears and flourishes. It is the political methods of rankest criminality that here prevail. It is the legalized stealing of the people's money that is here tolerated. So patent to the average mind are the foregoing propositions that few intelligent citizens, who wish to pass in respectable society, have the hardihood to seriously combat their truth. And yet the patient public seems loth to act and rid itself of the growing and festering sore that cleaveth to the body politic with a fiendish clutch. Undoubtedly, the remedy, primarily, must come from the people themselves. If they are satisfied to suffer and wait, the opportunity for them to wait and suffer will certainly be given them. In a free country, like our own, public opinion is, after all, the court of last resort. All wrongs and rights can be, yes, and will be, let us hope, finally and satisfactorily adjusted there. If we are diligent in well-doing, something may be done in the press and on the rostrum in arousing the masses to a realization of the perils which surround them. Let every patriotic citizen not hesitate to contribute his share in directing attention to the impending dangers.

DUANE MOWRY.



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